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THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

A BICENTENNIAL HISTORY 1789–1989

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UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

A BICENTENNIAL HISTORY
1789–1989

By Donald R. Kennon
and
Rebecca M. Rogers

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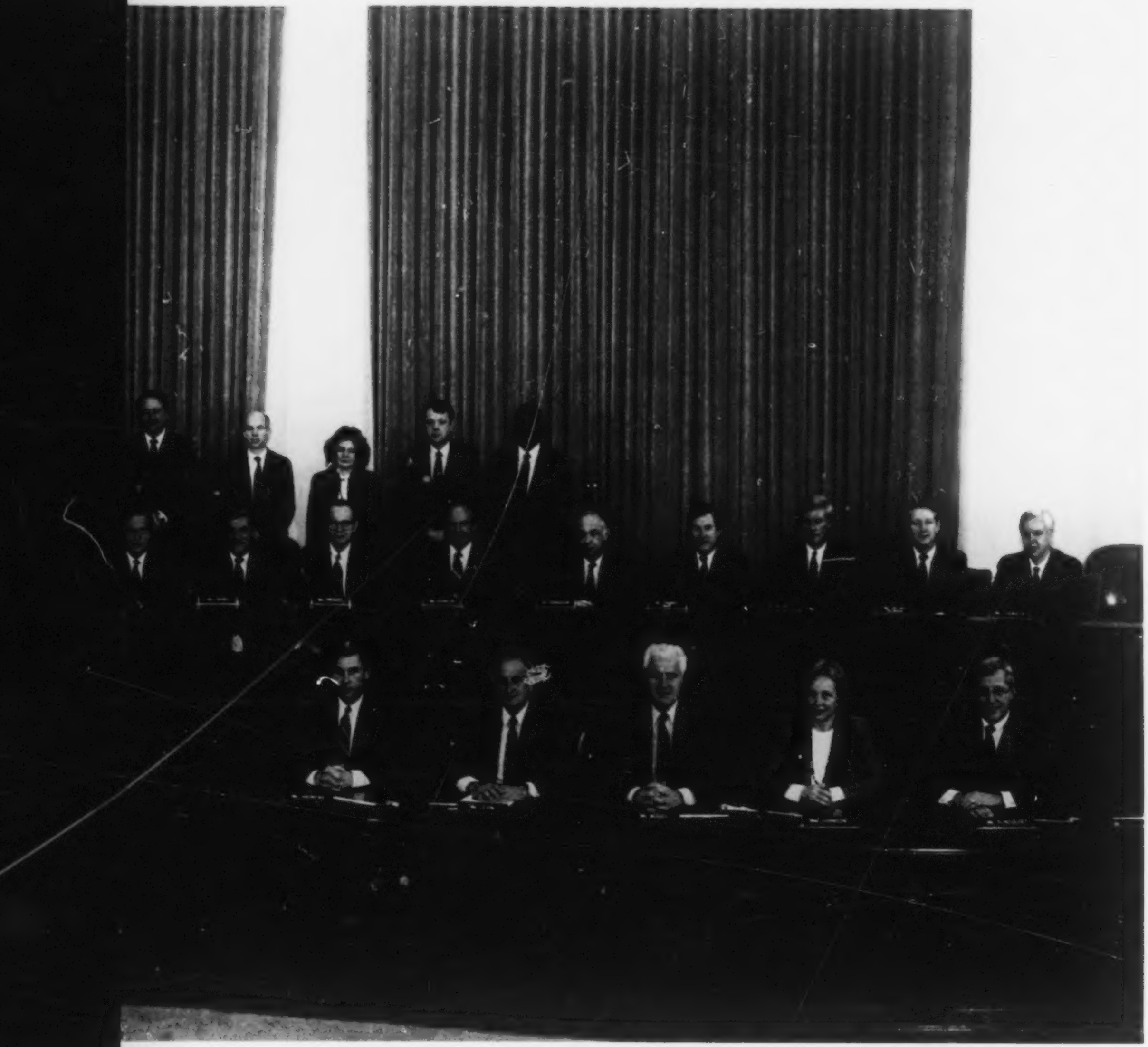
J.J. Pickle
Sam M. Gibbons



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Foreword

On July 24, 1989, the Committee on Ways and Means celebrates its bicentennial. The Committee on Ways and Means is the oldest committee of the Congress. Its history is a large part of our nation's history. The responsibilities vested in the committee have placed it at the center of some of the most critical legislative decisions faced by the Congress.

The prestige accorded the committee is due in part, of course, to the breadth of its legislative jurisdiction: all revenues, the management of the public debt, tariff and trade laws, the Social Security and Medicare systems. These responsibilities alone would make it a committee of note. But just as important to its reputation has been the manner in which the members of the committee have exercised those responsibilities.

On the occasion of this two hundredth anniversary of the committee, I hope readers will forgive me for some self-indulgence, but I think this history is fascinating. And I hope that historians, political scientists, students, and citizens who just want to know a little more about this country of ours will read this book and feel the same way. But more important, I hope that we can learn from this impressive story. History is of little value if we do not derive from it some lessons for the future.

One lesson to be learned is the importance to sound government of the legislative process itself. I am frequently described as being as much interested in the process as I am in the substance of legislation. Well, it's true, and the reason is simple: the process affects the substance. Time and time again, we have seen that the principle of majority rule, combined with the procedures and precedents that allow for all views to be heard and considered, is the purest way to produce good law.

Reasonable people can differ over any number of policies. This history details many of these differences. The wonder of our legislative system is that such differences are aired in free, open, and often spirited debates. The legislative process at its best is inclusive, not exclusive. It strives to assure that all points of view, all interests, are heard. The results, while never perfect, benefit from this exchange of views. Our legislative efforts would be futile if they did not enjoy respect, and that respect is best guaranteed through a decision-making process that is fair and open.

Another lesson from this history is that while no member can or should ignore his constituency, the process of legislating should encourage and assist representatives in rising above purely parochial interests.

One cannot read the history of the Committee on Ways and Means without recognizing the important role played by certain individuals at critical points in our nation's history. The history of the committee is replete with examples of legislators who, through the strength of their convictions, were able to lead the country in a direction it might not otherwise have gone. Examples include Gallatin, Randolph, Stevens, Underwood, Hull, Doughton, and Mills.

I believe that the greatness of the Committee on Ways and Means lies in the fact that regardless of the issue, throughout its history, the representatives on the committee have sought not only to serve their constituents, but also to serve the national interest. This commitment will be sorely tested in the years to come.

Today we face enormous and seemingly permanent budget deficits the likes of which have never been seen in our history. This generation's unwillingness to pay for the government it demands means that future generations will be saddled with an intolerable debt burden. This situation did not begin in the 1980s, but it has increased dramatically during this period.

What is disturbing is not so much the size of the debt; significant debts have accumulated in the past, especially in times of war. Much more troubling is our seeming inability to even debate, much less decide, on those changes necessary to reduce or eliminate the oppressive budget deficit. However, in the end it must be done or our nation will suffer the consequences.

One can only wonder if this is not one of those critical periods when it is necessary to look beyond narrow parochial interest, a time when strong leadership is required. The future of our children and their children depends upon the leadership we exert today. Perhaps this history can provide some guidance to meeting today's challenges. I sincerely hope so.

This work is the product of countless hours by numerous individuals. Those who read and enjoy these pages should be grateful to all of them. First and foremost is Fred Schwengel, President of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society. Fred's vision of all committees of the Congress having their own written history led to a cooperative arrangement with the Committee on Ways and Means in order to celebrate its bicentennial. This work is the latest of Fred's contributions to our greater knowledge and appreciation of the history of Congress.

Donald R. Kennon and Rebecca M. Rogers of the Capitol Historical Society, the authors of the work, are to be congratulated. They were able to research, analyze, and write the history of the Committee on Ways and Means in an interesting, informative, and scholarly manner, facing the deadline of the committee's bicentennial. Students of congressional history and those of us associated with the Committee on Ways and Means are indebted to them for their hard work and scholarly commitment.

A large debt of gratitude is also owed to the five individuals who served as the advisory board for this work: Dr. Richard Baker, Historian, Senate Historical Office; Dr. Charles O. Jones, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin; Mr. Fred Pauls, Chief of Government Division, Congressional Research Service; Dr. Robert Peabody, Professor of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University; and Dr. Raymond Smock, Historian, Office of the Bicentennial. The members of the advisory board contributed generously of their time and made valuable suggestions as the work proceeded. It is fair to say that the success of this work is in large measure due to their involvement. In addition, Judy Schneider of the Congressional Research Service devoted countless hours in assisting in this project and deserves a special note of appreciation.

I would also like to thank those persons in government agencies such as the National Archives, the Department of the Treasury, the Internal Revenue Service, the Congressional Research Service, and the Office of the Architect of the Capitol who have given freely of their time and efforts. They have also contributed greatly and often anonymously to the success of this work.

A special thanks is extended to Charles M. Brain, Assistant Staff Director of the Committee on Ways and Means, who first approached me with the idea of a written history of the committee in celebration of the bicentennial and who coordinated the efforts of all of the contributors.

Finally, each member of the Committee on Ways and Means must thank all those committee members who have served before them. We have been entrusted with a precious legacy. We must resolve to pass it to future members of the committee with its pride, dedication, tradition of excellence, and willingness to confront the difficult issues of the day intact and untarnished.

Dan Rostenkowski

Dan Rostenkowski, *Chairman*

Acknowledgments

Undertaken as a cooperative venture between the U.S. Capitol Historical Society and the Committee on Ways and Means, this project could not have succeeded without the inspiration, foresight, and devotion to congressional history provided by Chairman Dan Rostenkowski and Fred Schwengel, President of the Historical Society. Charles M. Brain, Assistant Staff Director of the Committee on Ways and Means, supervised all phases of the project with keen interest and a dedication to accuracy and fairness. Margaret Hostetler, Ralph Birch, Gage Price, and other members of the staff made significant contributions. Ralph Birch's expert knowledge of the printing process was particularly crucial to the book's timely completion.

The five members of the advisory board acknowledged in the Foreword: Richard Baker, Ray Smock, Robert Peabody, Charles Jones, and Fred Pauls, contributed far more to this project than this book reflects. Whatever value the work has as historical scholarship is largely due to their guidance. The book's shortcomings reflect the authors' inability to translate the advisory board's suggestions into the text.

The following individuals and institutions also contributed reference assistance for the text or for the illustrations: David J. Rabasca, Holly Mirchell, James Blakely, and Mary Ison, all of the Library of Congress; R. Michael McReynolds, Charles E. Schamel, Robert W. Coren, and William F. Sherman, all of the National Archives; Jane Barton and Anita Claybrooke of the Treasury Department; Peggy Diamond of the Bureau of the Public Debt; Shelley E. Davis of the Internal Revenue Service; Lynn W. Vosloh and Charles Rand, Numismatic Division of the Smithsonian Institution; Barbara Wolanin, Florian Thayn, Pam Violante, John Hackett, and the staff of the Architect of the Capitol; the staff of the Congressional Research Service, Government Division; and William B. Bushong, U.S. Capitol Historical Society fellow. Professor Randall Strahan of Emory University graciously allowed the authors to use the manuscript of his forthcoming book on the committee in the 1970s and '80s. Special thanks go to the production staff, especially to editor Paul Martin, design director Cindy Scudder, illustrations editor Winthrop Scudder, and caption writer Richard Crum. Without their professionalism and attention to detail, this book could not have been produced to schedule.

The authors wish to single out Ms. Judy Schneider, Specialist in American Government, Congressional Research Service for special praise. Ms. Schneider read every one of the several drafts of this manuscript and offered expert advice at every stage. She also prepared an exhaustive and invaluable jurisdictional history of the committee.

The authors owe a debt of gratitude to each of these individuals. But, in a sense, the most important debt is the one that we owe to each other. This book could not have been written without the contributions of each coauthor. Donald R. Kennon bore the primary responsibility for writing the text, and Rebecca M. Rogers conducted the research and wrote detailed chapter outlines. Each coauthor read and revised the initial chapter drafts. It proved to be a productive partnership.

Introduction

The celebrated American humorist Will Rogers once joked that "outside of traffic, there is nothing that has held this country back as much as committees." [1] Most students of congressional procedure have disagreed with the perception of committees presented in that commonly held view. Scholars have long recognized the importance of congressional committees to the legislative process. In the 1880s, Woodrow Wilson, a young political historian who would later become the 28th President of the United States, argued in a now classic phrase that committees represented "miniature legislatures" in which the real work of Congress was performed.[2] The authors of a recent study conclude that an understanding of committees is central to an understanding of how Congress functions. Most policy decisions are made in committee before bills ever reach the floor of the House or the Senate. Moreover, they contend, it is in these panels that members voice their most significant input into the legislative process and develop their reputations and careers as lawmakers.[3]

Of the current standing committees in the House, the Committee on Ways and Means ranks as one of the oldest, most prestigious, and most important. First established as a select committee on July 24, 1789, it was discharged less than two months later. Reappointed continuously from the first session of the Fourth Congress in 1795, the panel functioned essentially as a standing committee before it was formally listed as such in the House Rules on January 7, 1802. Until 1865, the jurisdiction of the committee (referred to as the Committee *of* Ways and Means before 1880) included the critically important areas of revenue, appropriations, and banking. Since 1865, the committee has continued to exercise jurisdiction over revenue and related issues such as tariffs, reciprocal trade agreements, and the bonded debt of the United States. Revenue-related aspects of the Social Security system, Medicare, and welfare programs have come within Ways and Means' purview in the 20th century.

Appointment to the Committee on Ways and Means has been a prized goal almost since its creation. The roster of committee members who have gone on to serve in higher office is impressive. Eight Presidents and eight Vice Presidents have served on Ways and Means, as have 21 Speakers of the House of Representatives. For most of the 20th century, the Democratic members controlled their party's committee assignments, serving as the Democratic Committee on Committees. Moreover, because of the importance of revenue bills, which under the Constitution must originate in the House, the 19th century chairmen often served as the de facto floor leaders. Before the post of majority leader became an official position of party leadership at the turn of the century, the chairman of Ways and Means had most often performed the function of directing floor consideration of legislation. From 1899 to 1919, the chairman was the official majority leader. Chairmen such as John Randolph and Thaddeus Stevens before 1899 and Oscar W. Underwood after 1899 were acknowledged masters of legislative influence. As terms of legislative service have lengthened in the 20th century, chairmen Robert L. Doughton and Wilbur D. Mills have exerted an influence over revenue legislation that each spanned more than a decade.

In ten chronological chapters, this book attempts to trace the contributions of the Committee on Ways and Means. A study of this one panel in effect provides a window on the growth of the federal government and the development of House procedure. Over 90 years ago, Lauros G. McConachie, in the first comprehensive study of the congressional committee system, posited that each legislature has "its own external and internal conditions."[4] This study adapts McConachie's model by treating the history of the Committee on Ways and Means from two perspectives: first; in the context of the institutional development of the House of Representatives; and second, in relation to its involvement in the important legislative accomplishments of each period.

The first two chapters trace the origins of the House Committee on Ways and Means from its Anglo-American antecedents. The earliest known ways and means committee was created by the British House of Commons in 1641 within the context of the movement for legislative autonomy from executive control of the public purse. American colonial and state legislatures imitated British practices, but adapted them to local political realities. While the British panel was a committee of the whole on revenue only, American ways and means committees tended to be smaller bodies, some with appropriations as well as revenue responsibilities. The U.S. Constitution incorporated the experience of legislative autonomy by granting to the House of Representatives the exclusive right to originate revenue bills.

During the first decade of the Federal Congress, legislative procedures evolved slowly, especially those relating to public finance. The House created a Committee of Ways and Means in 1789, but discharged it in favor of the executive Department of the Treasury under Alexander Hamilton. After Hamilton left office, his political opponents were able to reestablish the Committee of Ways and Means on what might be referred to as a "semi-standing" basis, just as other select committees that functioned in essence as standing committees were subsequently recognized as such in the House Rules.[5]

The last eight chapters provide a narrative history of the committee from 1800 to the present. Although these chapters take a narrative rather than a thematic approach, several themes stand out. One central theme is the complex but crucial relationship between the committee and the executive branch, especially the Department of the Treasury, and in the 20th century, the Internal Revenue Service and the Social Security Administration. The committee and Congress have generally been most productive when both branches have been controlled by the same political party. From the time of President Thomas Jefferson's strained but initially productive relationship with Chairman John Randolph to that of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson with Wilbur Mills, the committee has most often responded favorably when executive initiatives have been submitted by a President whose party has a majority in the House. In recent decades, the phenomenon of "divided government"—a President and Congress of different parties—has compelled both the executive and congressional leaders to compromise to reach workable agreements.

For 200 years, Congress has indeed worked most effectively as a vehicle to divert potentially divisive and disruptive issues into legitimate channels. The demands and needs of business, industry, consumers, and taxpayers have all been directed through the Committee on Ways and Means. From its beginnings, the committee received petitions and requests from ordinary citizens as well as organized business and private groups on issues as diverse as relief from a tax on whiskey stills to plans for a national lottery. As early as the second decade of the 19th century, Ways and Means held hearings on issues within its jurisdiction, although this procedure did not become institutionalized until after the Civil War.

The formalization of congressional hearings as a means to gather information reflected a third theme in the committee's history—the growth of the committee and the increasingly technical nature of both the procedures it utilizes and the issues it considers. The membership and staff have grown steadily since 1802. The committee's size increased modestly before the Civil War from seven to nine. By the 1880s, membership had reached 13, but it stood only at 17 by the end of the century. From 1919 to 1975, 25 members composed the committee. Membership currently stands at 36, following the increases mandated by the 1974 committee reforms. The committee's staff evolved more slowly at first, but it has mushroomed in the 20th century. The first permanent clerk was allotted to the committee in the 1850s. By the end of the 19th century, the staff only numbered one clerk, one assistant clerk, and one stenographer. By the 1960s, the staff had grown into the 20s. In recent years, the number has approached and exceeded one hundred.

As the committee grew in size, the use of subcommittees to facilitate its workload evolved from an informal to a formal procedure. Although the records of committee proceedings are incomplete, missing, or haphazard for much of the early 19th century, it is evident that subcommittees were appointed for certain purposes from as early as the late 1850s. Thaddeus Stevens' committee during the Civil War, for instance, utilized subcommittees to consider revenue and banking and currency issues. After the Civil War, it was common for subcommittees to be appointed to prepare portions of tariff bills dealing with general categories of imports. The use of permanent subcommittees became formalized in the 20th century, but they were not used during the chairmanship of Wilbur D. Mills (1958–1974) because the chairman preferred to centralize decision-making at the full committee level. Since the committee reforms of 1974, six permanent subcommittees have been appointed.

Subcommittees and an enlarged membership and staff were made necessary not simply by the growth of the House, but also by the changing nature of the central concerns that have faced the committee. Ways and Means' most basic responsibility has been to devise the legislation to provide the revenue to finance the federal government. Loans, in the form of bonds or certificates of indebtedness, have been one major means to raise money, especially in times of war. The tariff was the principal individual source of revenue throughout the 19th century. As such, it was a hotly contested political issue, particularly because the tariff could be used not only to raise revenue, but also to protect domestic industry from cheaper foreign imports. In 1934, the responsibility for tariff rate-making was transferred to the executive branch, but Ways and Means continues to exercise jurisdiction over tariffs and reciprocal trade agreements. In the 20th century, the income tax has become the principal source of revenue, beginning briefly during the Civil War, but becoming much more important after ratification of the 16th Amendment in 1913. The addition of Social Security and Medicare in the New Deal and the 1960s, respectively, has greatly compounded the complexity of the issues confronting Ways and Means.

For 200 years, the Committee on Ways and Means has fulfilled its legislative mandate. At times, it has functioned efficiently and harmoniously, such as during the Civil War and the early years of the New Deal. At other times, the committee has been frustrated and torn apart by partisan bickering. It has been led by chairmen who rightly rank among the legislative giants of Congress, but it has also been headed by legislators whose names history has long obscured and ignored. The committee's history is significant both for its accomplishments and its shortcomings, its well-known leaders and its unknown members. This first attempt to chart its history, it is hoped, suggests something of both upon which other scholars can build.

1641 ★ 1789

Antecedents: Legislative Finance Committees in Great Britain and America

By 1789, legislatures in Great Britain and in America had nearly a century and a half of experience with legislative finance committees. In 1641, Great Britain's House of Commons had asserted its control over public finance—and its autonomy from the Crown—when it established the first ways and means committee as a Committee of the Whole House with jurisdiction over revenue. American and early state legislatures adopted British parliamentary practices, and adapted them to local conditions. American ways and means committees tended to be smaller bodies that included appropriations as well as revenue matters. The Constitution of the United States incorporated the experience of Anglo-American legislative autonomy by granting to the House of Representatives the exclusive right to originate revenue bills.

"Every legislative proposition which has been passed or rejected since the first establishment of a legislature in this country, has been determined to be law, or not law, by the forms of parliamentary proceedings." (Thomas Jefferson, 1778) [1]

The control over public finance lay at the very heart of the development of representative government in the Anglo-American tradition. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the elected representatives of the people in both Parliament and the American colonial legislatures sought to limit the autocratic power of the Crown or its representatives to levy taxes without their prior consent. The Constitution of the United States in 1787, moreover, institutionalized this concept by bestowing upon Congress the power to levy taxes. When the First Federal Congress assembled in New York City in the spring of 1789, its members were in virtual agreement that the popularly elected house of the legislature should initiate money bills. There was less agreement on how public finance was to be administered.

The purpose of legislative control over public finance was to separate those who administered the laws from those who made the laws and levied the taxes. In principle this made for good government, but in practice there has always been a close connection between administration and legislation. By the mid-18th century, the British had developed a parliamentary cabinet system that intermixed legislative and executive functions. The heads of the executive departments were also the leaders of the House of Commons; these members not only made the laws, but they were also responsible for administering them.

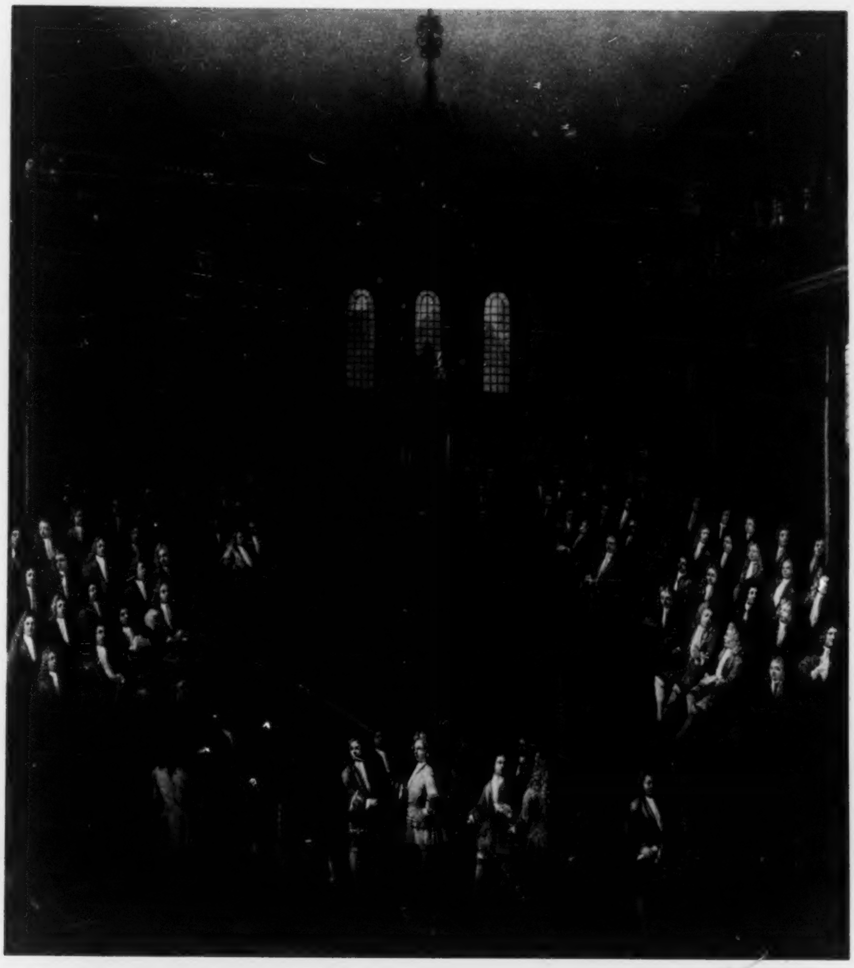
Legislative and executive functions were also mixed in the American Continental Congress in the 1770s and 1780s. An early experiment with legislative committees gave way to a reliance upon executive boards and ultimately to the creation of executive departments, including the Department of Finance under Robert Morris. Although Morris and most of the members of the Board of Treasury were not taken from the ranks of Congress, they were considered to be the agents of the legislature. This intermingling of legislative and executive functions formed a frame of reference for the members of the First Federal Congress as they considered both the legislative procedures and the administrative mechanisms to levy and to collect taxes under the new Constitution.

Parliament and the Taxing Power

The members of the First Federal Congress were well aware of the history of representative government in England and the long and bloody power struggle between King and Parliament. The control over public finance, known in the 18th century as "the power of the purse," was central to the contest between the executive and legislative branches of government. The creation of the Committee of Ways and Means in the House of Commons in 1641 was an important development in legislative efforts to restrain the financial prerogatives of the Crown.[2]

Before the English Civil War in the mid-17th century, the monarchy resisted Parliament's attempts to limit its financial autonomy. Throughout the Middle Ages, large revenues from lands owned by the Crown and from certain customary dues had kept the monarchy financially independent from the legislature, except for certain "extraordinary" needs, such as the waging of war. For such expenses the Crown had traditionally obtained a bill of "aids and supplies" from Parliament. Rather than appropriating a specific sum, bills of aids and supplies enabled the King to levy taxes. Although such bills became the accepted method for imposing taxes, the House of Commons had no control over how such moneys were spent.[3]

During the 17th century, Parliament sought to obtain control over finance by devising institutional mechanisms to ensure that moneys would be spent according to its wishes. One of these mechanisms was the creation of small committees selected from the membership to investigate the disposition of public funds. A second and ultimately more enduring mechanism was the creation of two finance committees: the Committee of Supply (1620) and the Committee of Ways and Means (1641). The function of the Committee of Supply



The birthplace of the Ways and Means tradition: Members of Great Britain's House of Commons convene in this 1708 illustration of the lower house of Parliament. Seeking autonomy from the Crown and control over money bills, the House of Commons in 1641 created the first Committee of Ways and Means to oversee revenue matters. Parliament's committee became the prototype of ways and means committees set up to deal with financial concerns by several assemblies in colonial America.

was to consider the needs, or "estimates," of the government as requested by the Crown, and to appropriate a given sum for that purpose. The Committee of Ways and Means then considered precisely what its name implied, the "ways and means for raising the Supply granted" to the Crown. The House of Commons, by utilizing these two committees, separated the legislative functions of appropriations and revenue.[4] By meeting as Committees of the Whole House, these committees also provided greater procedural flexibility and privacy, since the Speaker—considered to be the "king's man"—was excluded from the proceedings.[5]

In addition to asserting its claim to originate supply bills, the Commons also sought to limit, if not repeal, the right of the House of Lords to amend or to reject money bills. The lower house passed several resolutions in the mid-1600s that limited the upper body's power to amend its legislation.[6] The lower house no longer defined its role as merely a supplier of funds for use at the Crown's discretion, but as a body with the ability to determine how those funds were to be spent. For the most part the upper house acquiesced in this distribution of power, which established the basic relationship between the two Houses of Parliament that exists today.

Finally, in 1689, the English Bill of Rights settled the long struggle between the Crown and Parliament. One key provision eliminated the Crown's authority to impose taxation:

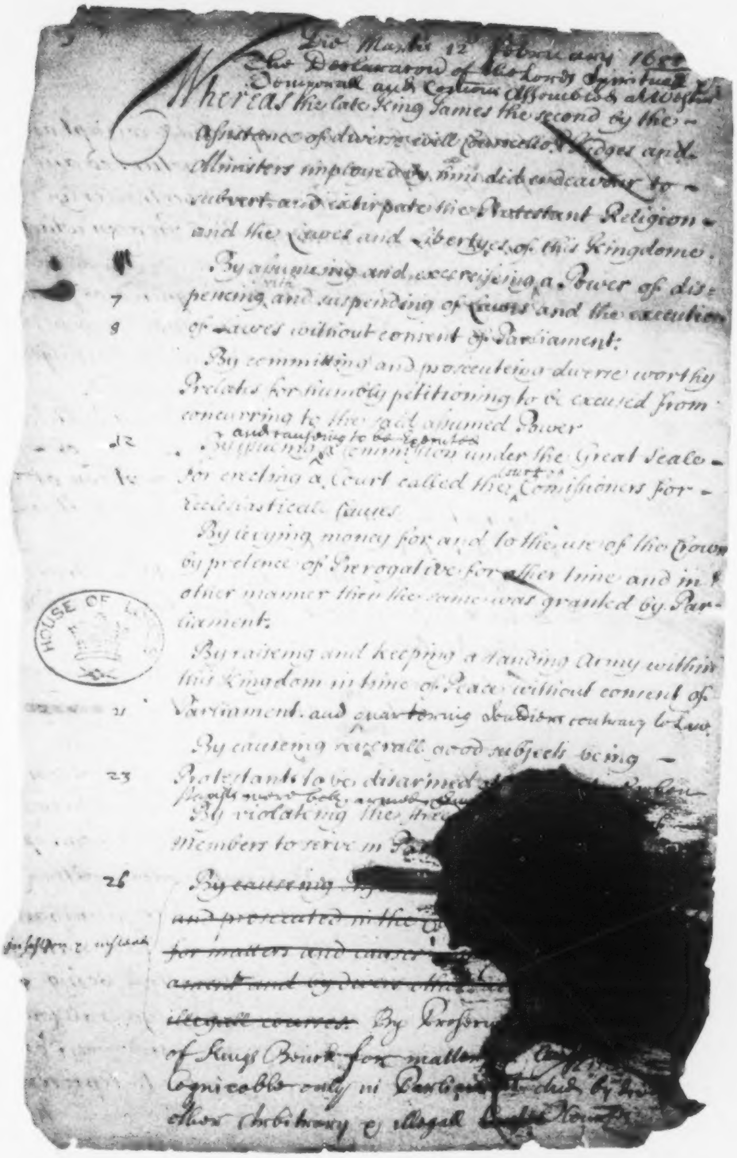
> That levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other measure than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.[7]

Thus, by the 18th century the balance of power between the three levels of the British government had been achieved: The Crown retained the authority to request bills of supply, but only the lower house, through the deliberations of its two finance committees, could grant these funds by statutes authorizing expenditures and imposing specific taxes—measures which the upper house could accept or reject but not amend.[8] This relationship defined the parameters of power between the executive and legislative branches in the Anglo-American world, and set the stage for the conflict over public finance in the American colonial legislatures prior to the Revolution.

Finance Committees in American Colonial Legislatures Before 1775

American colonial legislatures both imitated the British parliamentary model and adapted it to the conditions of colonial status. In Great Britain, the executive (the Crown) and the legislative branch (specifically the lower house) shared the power to initiate finance legislation. Two conditions had to be met before the enactment of such measures: the Crown had to request money and the Commons could then define the terms of its monetary grant. In time, the executive request became more a matter of form compared to the actual power of the Commons to initiate money bills. In the American colonial legislatures, the lower houses similarly denied the right of both governors or upper houses to initiate or to amend such measures.

Colonial government bore a striking resemblance to the parent country. The executive function was represented by the governor, either a Crown appointee in the royal colonies or an agent of the proprietor in the proprietary colonies. Most colonial legislatures were composed of an appointed upper house, usually referred to as the governor's council, and an elected, representative lower house or as-



Die Martis 12° Februarii 1688
The Declaracon of the Lords Spirituall Temporall and Commons Assembled at Westm

Whereas the late King James the second by the assistance of diverse evill Councellors Judges and Ministers imployed by him did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant Religion and the Lawes and Liberties of this Kingdome.

7 By assuming and exercising a Power of dispencing with and suspending of Lawes and the execution
8 of Lawes without consent of Parliament:

By committing and prosecuting diverse worthy Prelates for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed Power

12 By issuing and causing to be ~~executed~~ a Commission under the Great Seale
16 for erecting a Court called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiasticall Causes

By levying money for and to the use of the Crowne by pretence of Prerogative for other time and in other manner then the same was granted by Parliament.

By raising and keeping a standing Army within this Kingdom in time of Peace without consent of
21 Parliament and quartering Souldiers contrary to Law.

By causing severall good subjects being
23 Protestants to be disarmed [illegible]
Papists were both armed [illegible]

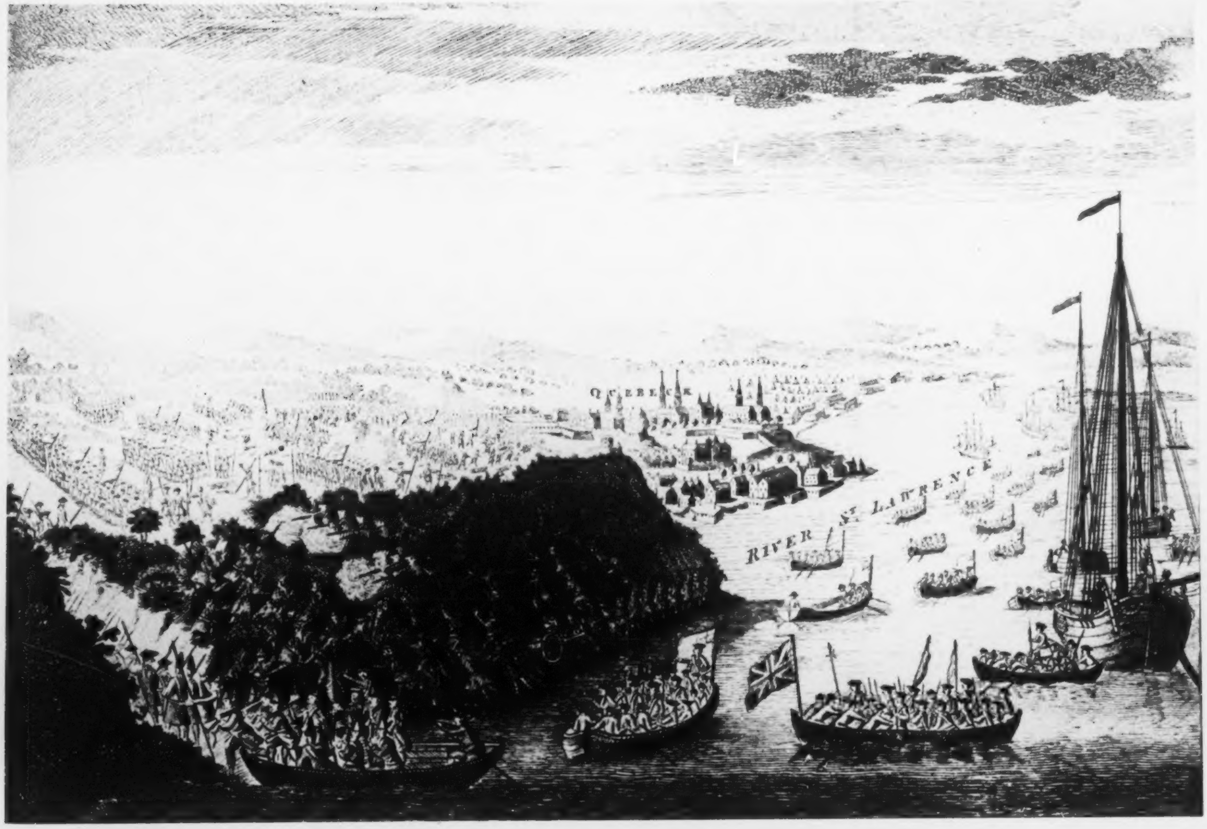
By violating the [illegible]
Members to serve in Pa[illegible]

26 ~~By causing [illegible]~~
~~and prosecuted in the [illegible]~~
in stead ~~for matters and causes [illegible]~~
~~assent and by divers other [illegible]~~
~~illegall courses.~~ By Prosec[illegible]
of Kings Bench for matters [illegible]
cognizable only in Parliament [illegible] by diverse
other Arbitrary & illegall [illegible]

A draft of the Declaration of Rights composed by the House of Commons opens with an assertion of grievances against King James II and follows with a listing of 13 rights. These grievances formed the centerpiece of the British Bill of Rights adopted in 1689. This act limited the power of the throne, ensured the right of Parliament to meet frequently and to have freedom of speech in debates, and confirmed the right of Commons to control public finances. The Constitution of the United States incorporated many of these principles, including the exclusive right of the House of Representatives to originate revenue bills.

sembly. Throughout the colonial period, the lower houses jealously maintained their similarity in function and authority with the British House of Commons, in spite of periodic attempts by the Crown to check the assemblies' control over colonial finance.[9]

The power to originate money bills, to audit accounts, and to determine how taxes should be spent were the three basic components of the assemblies' efforts to control colonial finance. Like the House of Commons, the American legislatures assumed power over expenditures by appropriating specific, detailed revenues, and by appointing



officers to dispose of the sums. In the process, colonial legislative procedure imitated British precedent in which the basic principles and terms of a revenue bill were discussed in Committee of the Whole House; the procedure differed in that a smaller committee would then be appointed to draft specifically defined legislation. In the case of a military emergency the King, through the governor, would request a monetary grant. The lower house would then convene into a committee of ways and means to determine the methods of raising money, and a select committee would draw up the necessary "supply" bill. The reason that the colonies did not use a Committee of the Whole for appropriations remains obscure, but it possibly reflected the belief that once general principles had been decided by the entire membership, the technical details could be better worked out in a smaller committee selected for that purpose.

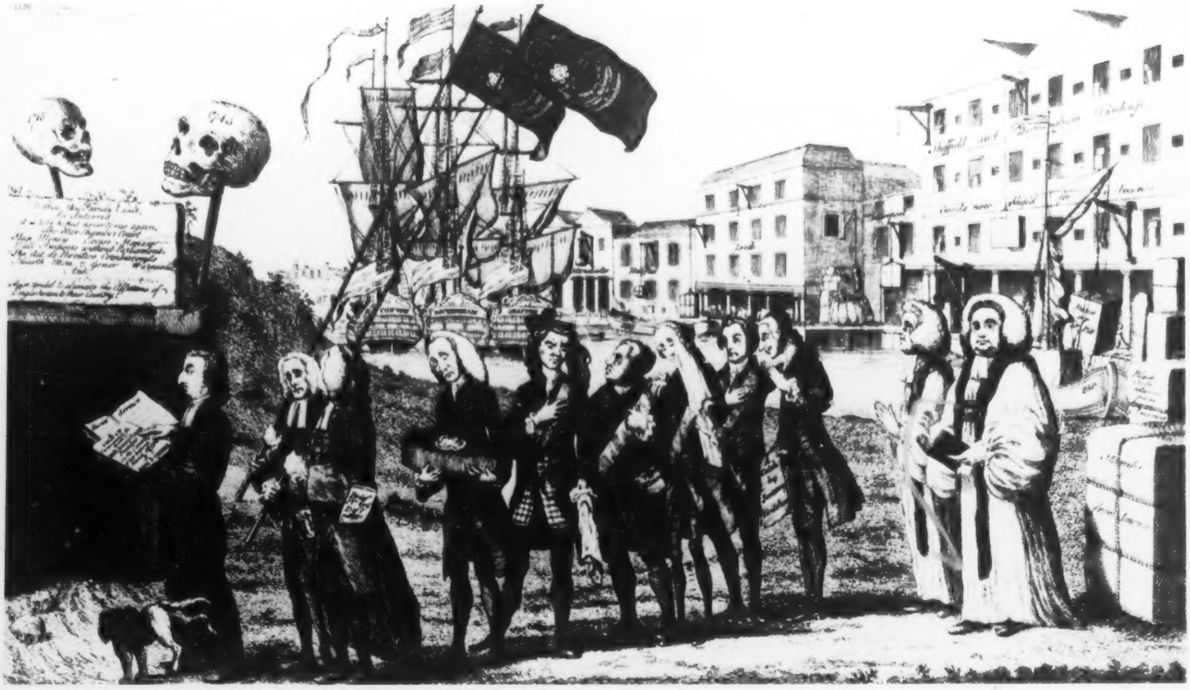
Some colonial assemblies established committees with the same names as those in existence in Parliament, but the number of members varied to suit the needs of each legislature. In New York, for instance, the Assembly created, following British custom, committees on Grievances, Elections, and Courts of Justice; these were Committees

During the British-French struggle for control of North America, Redcoats slip down the St. Lawrence River, land at a small cove, and climb to the Plains of Abraham overlooking Quebec (left). From this commanding position, the troops forced the French to surrender the city on September 13, 1759. The British victory, led by Gen. James Wolfe (right), mortally wounded during the attack, made British dominance of Canada inevitable and foreshadowed the end of the French and Indian War. In the 1750s, as France and England clashed in colonial America, Virginia and North Carolina each appointed British-style ways and means committees to raise funds for military defense against Indian attacks.

of the Whole, appointed during each session to handle claims and hear elections disputes. The committees of Virginia's House of Burgesses had similar names, but their memberships were smaller, with additional members appointed during the course of a session as the need arose. Most colonial committees were given permission to meet as they wished, and to call for any papers or persons that could provide additional information for their reports.[10]

During the colonial period, standing committees tended to be utilized in large and populous colonies with strong commercial and cultural ties to Great Britain.[11] In these areas, competing local interests prompted the adoption of sophisticated legislative methods previously developed in the mother country. The only exception among the large colonies was the Massachusetts Assembly, which generally preferred to transact its business through committees created for a specific purpose, i.e., those which are today known as select committees. The legislatures in smaller and less populated colonies also elected to employ this method.[12]

The colonial development of ways and means committees reflected a pattern of imitation and adaptation. Ways and means committees were originally appointed in the colonies to supply money for the King's use in special circumstances. Legislative records reveal that several of the colonies, such as Virginia and North Carolina, appointed ways and means committees during the 1750s for military purposes, specifically to defend the frontiers from Indian attacks, and

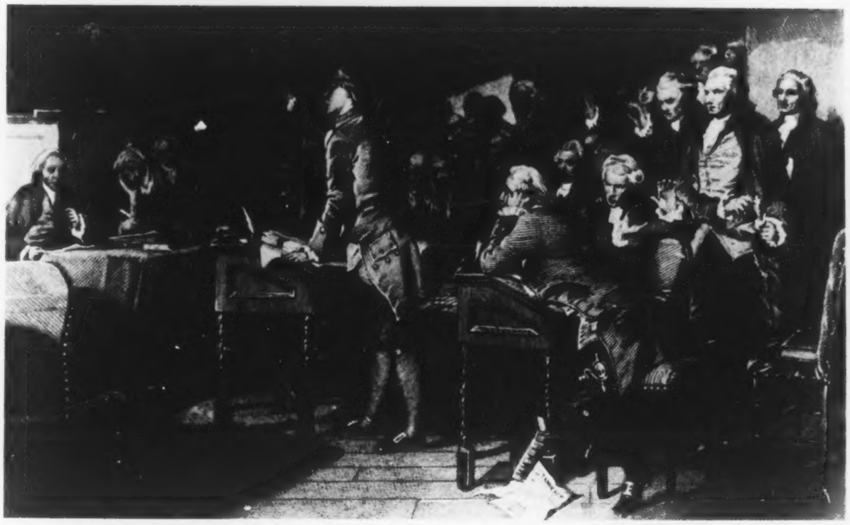


then ceased to reappoint such committees once the necessity for special funds had ended.[13] These ways and means committees were Committees of the Whole House like that of the House of Commons. Twenty years later, during the Revolution, many of the state legislatures again used ways and means committees for essentially the same purposes. This time, however, they patterned their committees on the example of some of the larger states, such as Pennsylvania and Virginia, whose ways and means committees were smaller bodies that administered additional financial chores. Thus the idea of ways and means committees evolved sporadically in America, first in the colonies whose legislative procedures were most closely patterned on the British model, and later in other colonies as an informational agent of the House in the preparation of tax plans.

State Legislatures During the American Revolution

Independence posed new and complex problems for American legislators. The early state governments were faced with the task of creating legislatures whose structure combined elements of British parliamentary procedure with notions of the accountability of the government to the governed. This was a knotty problem because the basic procedural structures of the existing colonial legislatures were rooted so

American colonists protest the Stamp Act (left). When Parliament imposed taxes without representation in the mid-1760s, the colonies united in outrage. A riot helped lead to the repeal of the Stamp Act, but colonial discontent lingered and later exploded in the Revolutionary War. At right, firebrand Patrick Henry rouses the Virginia House of Burgesses. The Revolution prompted more colonies to form ways and means committees to finance the war. During and after the Revolution, the states faced the problem of blending British parliamentary rules with new notions of self-government.

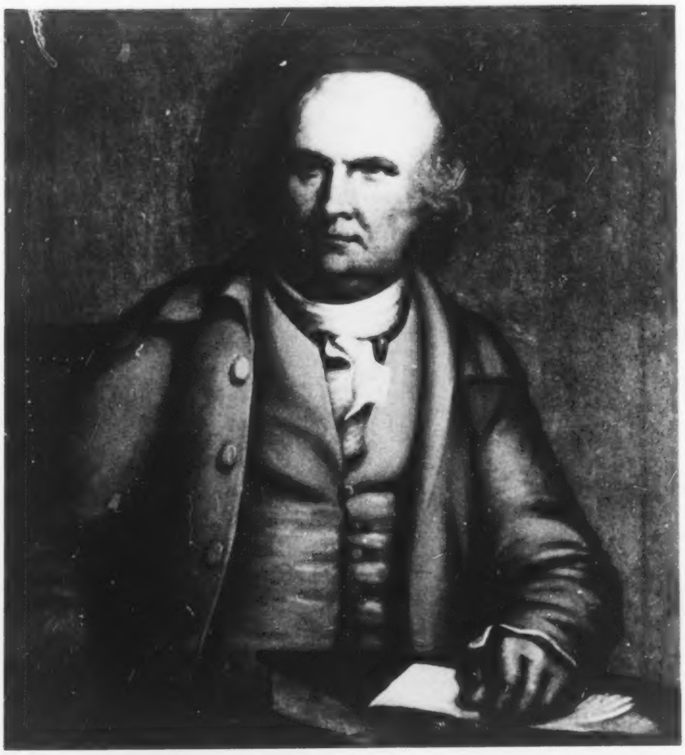


firmly in parliamentary precedent. While certain practices associated with the British system were unacceptable, such as the arbitrary exercise of sovereign power by one branch of government, Americans nonetheless revered their shared Anglo-American political heritage.

Thomas Jefferson addressed this issue as a member of Virginia's House of Burgesses in January of 1778. Jefferson rejected the Senate's right to amend revenue bills, arguing that the new state constitution did not give the upper house "equal powers over money bills." Jefferson further justified the House's exclusive jurisdiction over revenue bills on the basis of British parliamentary practice. He was careful to qualify this assumption with the argument that the authority of the House in this area did not stem from a blind adherence to British custom, but rather as a natural outgrowth of common law:

> Nor do we, by this, set up the Parliament of England as the expositor of our constitution but the law of Parliament as it existed . . . a law coeval with the common law itself, and no more liable, as adopted by us, to subsequent change from that body than their common or statute law, which we in like manner have adopted. To suppose this branch of law not existing in our code would shake the foundation of our whole legal system, since every legislative proposition which has been passed or rejected since the first establishment of a legislature in this country, has been determined to be law, or not law, by the forms of parliamentary proceedings.[14]

The focus of American state legislatures shifted from British precedent during the Revolution as they encountered the increased finan-

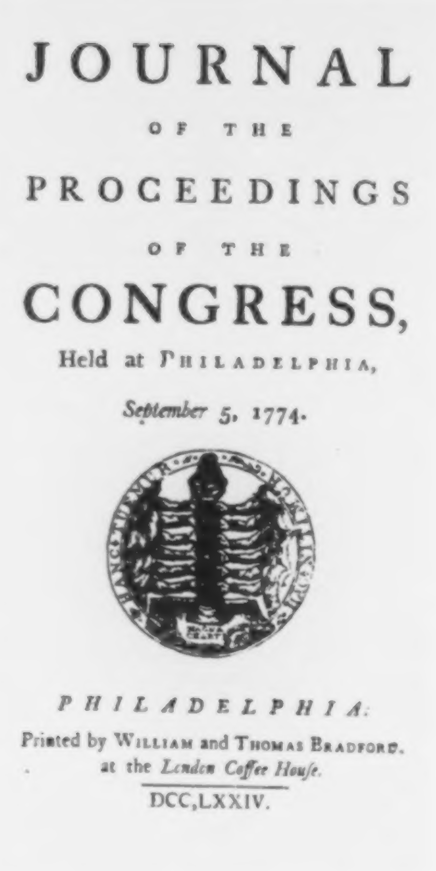


Robert Morris of Pennsylvania skillfully superintended Revolutionary War finances for the Continental Congress. He overcame serious difficulties in borrowing funds to provide material assistance in the field. His strategy to generate revenue by selling government securities would come into play in later military conflicts, especially the Civil War. As Superintendent of Finance in 1781, Morris raised the money for the Yorktown campaign. The battle gave George Washington the final victory of the war. Morris declined the job of Treasury Secretary under Washington. He joined the new government as one of Pennsylvania's first two senators.

cial burdens of the war, as well as the need to demonstrate the accountability of the government to the people.

The Revolution posed financial problems for the state governments that exceeded those faced by the colonial legislatures. The lower houses had always levied taxes to meet the ordinary expenses of government, but war placed an added strain on the public purse. Most of the newly created states were reluctant to levy unpopular direct taxes. To finance the war effort they turned to the more acceptable expedient of printing securities and currency, whose value steadily depreciated.[15] By the end of the Revolution the state governments had also incurred sizable debts to private citizens for supplies and services rendered during the Revolution.

From an administrative standpoint, the Revolution had a significant impact upon public finance in America. New mechanisms were instituted in the state legislatures to handle the complex problems of taxation, currency, loans, and the issuance of bonds and other securities. One of these mechanisms was the creation of legislative finance committees to fulfill three functions: 1) to investigate ways and means of financing the war, 2) to examine methods for settling public accounts after the war, and 3) to oversee the disbursement of public moneys by state officials.[16]



JOURNAL

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONGRESS,

Held at PHILADELPHIA,

September 5, 1774.

PHILADELPHIA:

Printed by WILLIAM and THOMAS BRADFORD,

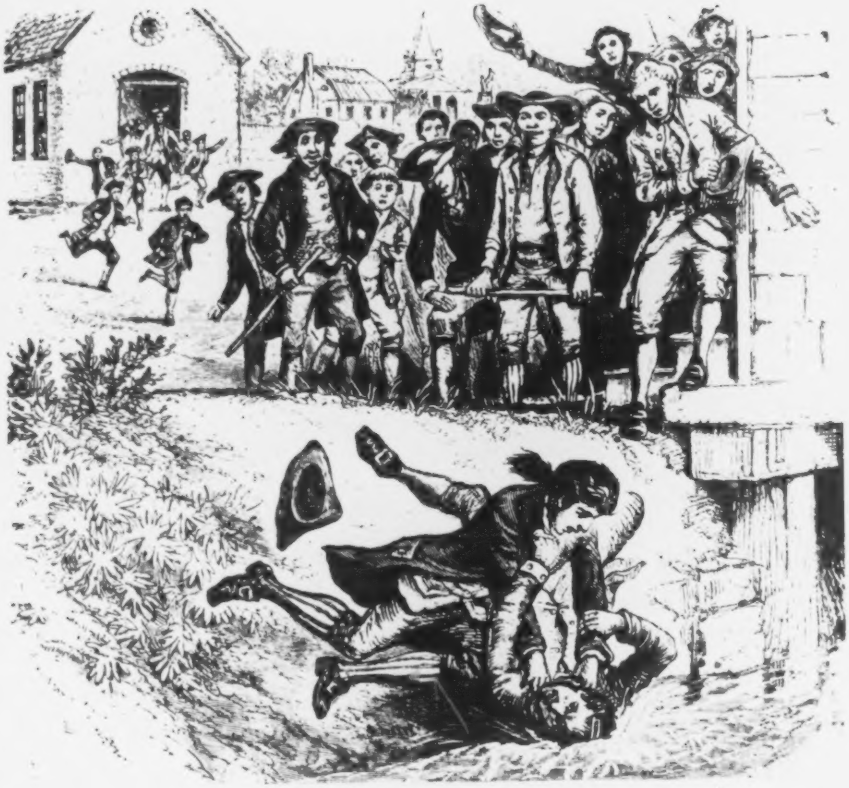
at the *London Coffee Houſe.*

DCC,LXXIV.

A journal report reprints the proceedings of the Continental Congress, America's first national governing body. During the Revolutionary War, the Continental Congress and state legislatures evolved different procedural machinery to deal with appropriations and tax matters. State assemblies preferred standing committees. On the other hand, the Continental Congress and its successor, the Confederation Congresses, vested executive boards and departments with fiscal chores. These diverse practices were useful frames of reference for representatives to the new Federal Congress in 1789.

Between 1776 and 1790 more of the state assemblies began to create specialized, policy-oriented finance committees. Although not formally designated as such, some of these were committees of ways and means, charged with broad jurisdiction over money matters. The evolution of these ways and means committees in the early state legislatures was largely the result of experimentation. In New York, for example, the House created both a ways and means committee and a committee to consider means for supplying the treasury. A standing committee formally designated as "Ways and Means" was eventually appointed in Massachusetts in 1780. This committee of nine members, selected by ballot, was instructed to devise ways and means to supply the treasury for military and contingent expenses, but it went beyond these narrow instructions to recommend sweeping changes in the state's treasury department and currency laws. In other reports the committee suggested various tax plans and submitted estimates of the revenues to be gained from these sources.[17]

By 1781, the Massachusetts Ways and Means Committee pre-



The thrashing of a government official by a frustrated property-holder excites New England townspeople. This engraving reveals the anger gnawing at citizens who were losing their possessions through seizures for overdue debts and delinquent taxes in the depression years immediately after the Revolution. Massachusetts courts virtually ignored pleadings for reform. In desperation, a group of debtors—led by a sympathetic office-holder, Daniel Shays—took up arms. Though quickly defused, Shays' Rebellion of 1786–1787 demonstrated the potential for further social unrest under the weak Articles of Confederation. The insurrectionists thus unwittingly bolstered the movement that led to the creation of the U.S. Constitution in 1787.

pared the budget, and even drafted appropriations and tax bills, a task that most state legislatures still delegated to select committees. By consolidating control over revenue and appropriations, this early legislative committee exercised jurisdictional powers similar to those later assigned to the Committee of Ways and Means by the House of Representatives. For the next six years the Massachusetts House did not appoint a standing finance committee. Beginning in 1788, the House appointed a standing committee on finance and in 1789 added a standing committee on revenue. These committees were charged with far-reaching duties over public credit, debts, government expenditures, revenues, and the state treasury department. Select committees were assigned to perform certain specific functions within the jurisdiction of the standing finance and revenue committees.[18]

Pennsylvania and South Carolina also appointed ways and means committees during this period. Pennsylvania's committee, composed of one member from each county and the city of Philadelphia, prepared revenue plans and estimates, but did not draft bills. South Carolina's committee not only prepared the budget and suggested revenue and appropriations, but also framed tax bills. Thus, by the time the Constitution was ratified, several of the states had experimented with the idea of standing finance committees to administer tax, currency, and appropriations measures.[19]

The Continental Congress

The Continental Congress, unlike the state legislatures, exercised both legislative and executive functions, in what was nonetheless a confederation with limited authority. Each state was granted one vote in Congress in order to maintain the jealously guarded equality of the states. Although the Articles of Confederation empowered Congress to borrow money, to regulate coinage, and to emit bills of credit, it did not have the power to tax, since it could only allocate the costs of government among the states.[20]

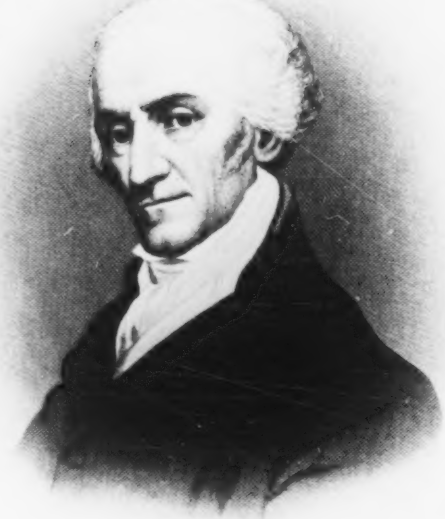
Between September 1774 and May 1775, Congress transacted a wide variety of business through select committees assigned to a specific duty. These select committees provided Congress with information and drafted resolutions and bills, but they had limited authority and were disbanded upon completion of their designated tasks. Standing committees were not initially used by Congress because of the members' inexperience, and because of disagreements between various factions concerning the powers to be exercised by such panels. Some members thought that committees should exercise the executive function in order to permit the entire membership to attend to the enactment of laws and statutes. This system would have been similar to the British cabinet system, in which the heads of the executive departments held seats in the House of Commons, led by the Prime Minister. Other members proposed that executive functions should be delegated to boards whose membership would be derived from outside of Congress. The administrative history of the Second Continental Congress between 1775 and 1789 was largely a story of experimentation with these two formulas.[21]

Problems with the exclusive use of select committees became apparent during the Second Continental Congress. Members with multiple committee assignments were overburdened, and the problems and complexities associated with organizing the war effort made further specialization necessary. As a remedy, Congress in 1775 and 1776 created a group of standing committees entrusted with executive duties and functions. One of these committees was a standing committee of five members appointed in February 1776 to supervise the Treasury. Although this committee basically operated as an accounts committee to examine the accounts of the treasurers, it was also instructed to consider ways and means of supplying the army, to superintend the emission of bills of credit, and to ascertain the population of the states in order to enable Congress to determine revenue quotas due from each state.[22] Although subsequent reorganizations took place,

this congressional finance committee remained in operation until it was superseded by the Department of Finance in 1781.

The standing committee system inaugurated by Congress in 1775 eventually encountered difficulties similar to those experienced by select committees in earlier sessions. Periodic relocations of Congress and poor attendance hampered the ability of standing committees to function effectively. The Continental Congress experimented with the creation of executive boards to remedy this problem, as well as the continually deteriorating state of national finance. The difficulties the Committee for Superintending the Treasury had experienced in 1776, for example, culminated with a resolution in late December, "That a committee of five be appointed to prepare a plan for the better conducting the executive business of Congress, by boards composed of persons, not members of Congress."[23] In 1779, Congress completely reorganized its fiscal administration by creating the Board of Treasury, only two of whose five members were taken from the ranks of Congress.[24]

Between 1780 and 1781, Congress replaced its executive boards with a system of executive departments to perform most administrative functions. On February 7, 1781, Congress replaced the Board of Treasury with the Department of Finance and elected Robert Morris



"The representatives of the people . . . ought to hold the purse-strings," argued Constitutional Convention delegate Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts (right). Gerry, a future member of the Committee of Ways and Means, equated the Senate with Britain's House of Lords and raised the historical objection to granting the upper house the power to initiate money bills. Delegates struck a compromise that distilled more than 150 years of legislative experience: The House of Representatives would originate revenue bills; the Senate would have the power to reject or amend them. At left, George Washington presents the final draft of the U.S. Constitution for signing on September 17, 1787.

as its superintendent. Morris, a wealthy Philadelphia merchant, brought some order to the existing financial chaos. Congress appointed select committees to communicate with the superintendent on matters of policy. On June 17, 1782, for example, a committee on finance chaired by James Duane was named to inquire into Morris' management of the Treasury. Morris resigned in 1784 due to continuing congressional criticism and the difficulties of financing a war through the weak instrument of the Articles of Confederation. Congress then recreated a three-member Board of Commissioners to administer the Treasury.[25]

By 1787 most of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were familiar with the basic procedural outlines of public finance in the Anglo-American tradition as they had developed in Great Britain, the American colonial and state governments, and the Continental Congress. Typically, the legislature held the power of the purse through its lawmaking function—often utilizing finance committees in informational or oversight roles. The executive branch, however, administered public finance through elected or appointed boards or departments of the treasury.

The Constitutional Convention

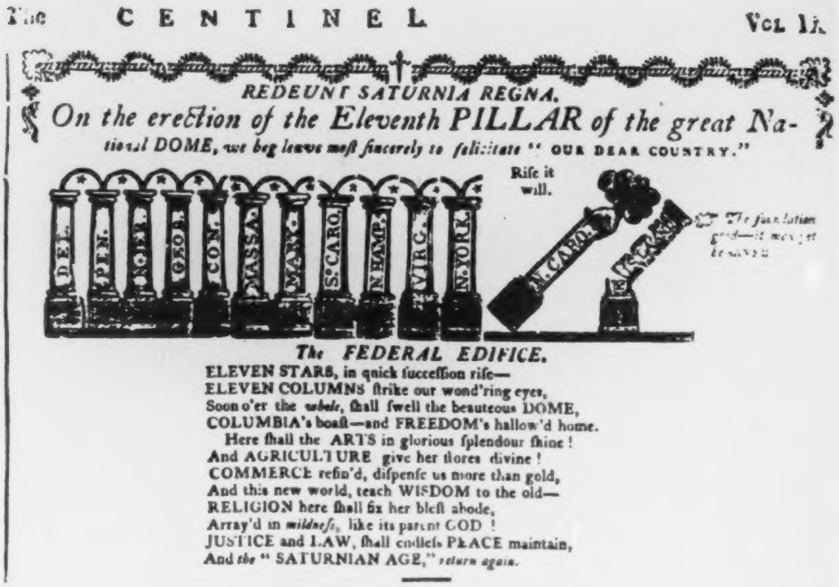
The powers and responsibilities of the national legislature were greatly expanded under the Constitution. Nationalists such as James Madison and Alexander Hamilton led the movement to revise the Articles of Confederation to remedy the central government's fiscal instability. Many of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention in the spring and summer of 1787 shared the belief that the national government's inability to impose and collect tax revenues had been its most serious inadequacy. To resolve this problem, the lower house of the legislature, to be known as the House of Representatives, was empowered by Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution: "To lay and collect taxes . . . to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States."

Several issues were discussed at the convention relating to taxation. One controversial question was whether the new government's ability to levy taxes should be specifically designated, or "enumerated," as one of its powers. The Virginia Plan, introduced by Edmund Randolph on May 29, would have given Congress powers and certain "legislative rights" not specified, whereas the New Jersey Plan, introduced by William Paterson on June 13, would have vested Congress with various enumerated powers, including the ability to tax. This was a delicate question. For the delegates to grant Congress powers previously reserved to the states—and to prohibit the states from exercising those powers—would be to establish Congress as the nation's supreme legislature. It would also limit the states' resources to establish a power base independent of the national government. The Constitution in its final form prohibited the states from laying duties on imports, although they could collect all other forms of taxes. Congress, on the other hand, could levy all forms of taxes except export duties. Because import duties were by far the more lucrative source of revenue, this arrangement benefited the federal government at the expense of the states.[26]

A second and more important issue was whether the upper or the lower house of Congress would have original jurisdiction over money bills. This issue raised old fears of aristocracy and old arguments against the upper house assuming any authority over public finance. Some delegates equated the Senate with the House of Lords and thus opposed any grant of power to the upper house to originate money bills. Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, for example, argued that the lower house as "the representatives of the people" should have the power of origination, because "it was a maxim that the people ought to hold the purse-strings." [27] George Mason of Virginia produced the most reasoned argument based upon British precedent. "The practice of Engld was in point," the Virginia legal scholar argued, since "The House of Lords does not represent nor tax the people, because [it is] not elected by the people." Mason likewise concluded that "the pursestrings should be in the hands of the Representatives of the people." [28]

Not every delegate shared Gerry and Mason's fears of an aristo-

"Rise it will": An illustration in the Massachusetts Centinel *predicts that North Carolina will soon join the colonnade of states that have ratified the Constitution. New York took its place as the "Eleventh Pillar of the great National Dome" on July 26, 1788. Rhode Island, fractured by antifederalist sympathies, was the last of the original 13 states to ratify. Once confirmed as the law of the land, the Constitution institutionalized the right of the House of Representatives to provide the ways and means of managing the fiscal responsibilities of the nation.*



The CENTINEL. Vol.

REDEUNT SATURNIA REGNA.

On the erection of the Eleventh PILLAR *of the great National* DOME, *we beg leave moſt ſincerely to felicitate* " OUR DEAR COUNTRY."

The FEDERAL EDIFICE.

ELEVEN STARS, in quick ſucceſſion riſe—
ELEVEN COLUMNS ſtrike our wond'ring eyes,
Soon o'er the *whole*, ſhall ſwell the beauteous DOME,
COLUMBIA's boaſt—and FREEDOM's hallow'd home.
Here ſhall the ARTS in glorious ſplendour ſhine!
And AGRICULTURE give her ſtores divine!
COMMERCE refin'd, diſpenſe us more than gold,
And this new world, teach WISDOM to the old—
RELIGION here ſhall fix her bleſt abode,
Array'd in *mildneſs*, like its parent GOD!
JUSTICE and LAW, ſhall endleſs PEACE maintain,
And *the* " SATURNIAN AGE," *return again.*

cratic Senate. Some saw no problem with both houses originating such legislation as long as their members remained accountable to the electorate either directly or indirectly. Pierce Butler of South Carolina, for example, who denied that there was any close analogy between the proposed Senate and the House of Lords, complained that "We were always following the British Constitution when the reason for it did not apply." [29] James Madison developed the argument that the Senate would have a salutary restraining effect upon potential excesses in the House of Representatives if the upper house were given the power to amend money bills originated in the lower house.[30] In the compromise eventually adopted, the lower house was entrusted with the exclusive authority to originate money bills. The Senate, on the other hand, would have the power to reject or to amend these bills. Article I, Section 7 provided the basic framework for the division of revenue authority between the two bodies: "All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills."

Conclusion

The combined experience of the British Parliament, American colonial and state legislatures, and the Continental Congress provided three basic lessons to American legislators in the area of public finance. The first lesson was the right of the popularly elected lower house of the legislature to initiate revenue bills. The power of the purse had been a major issue in the conflict between Parliament and the Crown; in the colonies it was a contributing factor to the American Revolution. A second lesson had been provided as lower houses experimented with mechanisms such as ways and means committees to perform its traditional fiscal responsibilities. The House of Commons committee was a deliberative body of the whole House on revenue issues only. American committees, on the other hand, tended to be smaller, select committees, some of which even drafted legislation. The centralizing tendencies of national government, as well as the pragmatic problems of fiscal administration, contributed to the third basic lesson, which was that the legislature must share authority over finance with the executive. In Great Britain this shared power was institutionalized in the cabinet system. The Confederation Congress similarly created an executive board and then a department to administer public finance. The reports, estimates, and even draft legislation prepared by these executive officers created a system of mutual dependence between the legislature and its agents. As with any such close relationship, the potential for conflict as well as cooperation was ever present.

The Constitution of the United States distilled this nearly 150 years of legislative experience when it granted original jurisdiction over money bills to the lower house of Congress. The power to tax was at the heart of the new scheme of government. Although the Constitution outlined the basic jurisdictional relationships between the various branches of government, Congress was left to establish its own legislative procedures. None perhaps was quite so crucial as the power of the purse. If the infant republic was to survive, it would have to raise the revenue to pay its debts.

* * *

1789 ★ 1801

Origins: The House Committee of Ways and Means

The House of Representatives created the first Committee of Ways and Means on July 24, 1789, yet that committee was discharged less than two months later. From 1789 to 1794, the first Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, was the principal architect of federal fiscal policy. Although the House as a whole reviewed Hamiltonian finance, it played a secondary role. After Hamilton left office, the House asserted its autonomy by reestablishing a legislative finance committee at the urging of James Madison and Albert Gallatin, political opponents of the Washington Administration's fiscal policy. From the Fourth through Sixth Congresses (1795–1801), the House reappointed the Committee of Ways and Means, which exercised legislative jurisdiction over the Treasury, the revenue, the public debt, and government expenditures.

"A committee of ways and means are employed in investigating our revenues and our wants . . . ." (James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, 31 January 1796) [1]

The United States in 1789 was an infant republic faced with economic troubles at home and challenges from abroad. With a population of less than four million in 13 quarrelsome states, the nation faced an uncertain future. Two states, North Carolina and Rhode Island, had not even ratified the Constitution when the First Congress convened and George Washington was inaugurated as President. Several of the states, as well as the national government, had heavy unpaid war debts. Great Britain continued to wage economic warfare against the United States while maintaining military outposts in Canada and along the western frontier. In order to assert its place as a truly independent nation in the world community, the United States would have to resolve its financial problems, provide for the payment of its debts, and strengthen its economic base.

The Constitution provided only an incomplete blueprint to help Congress resolve these problems. Many procedures would have to be developed by trial and error. While the document defined the power of the House of Representatives to initiate appropriations and revenue bills, for example, it was silent on the administrative mechanisms needed to enforce them. The history of Anglo-American public finance provided three alternative systems of administration: 1) the entire membership of the House, as was the case in the British House of Commons, 2) a select legislative committee, such as those in several state legislatures, or 3) an executive officer who was also considered an agent of the legislature, which had been the procedure adopted by Congress during the Confederation period.

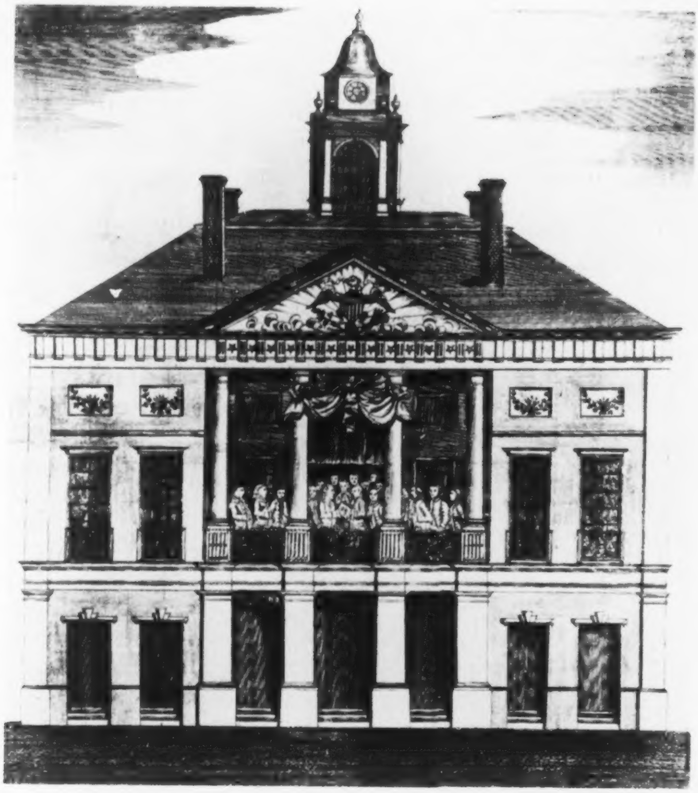
Between 1789 and 1801, the House of Representatives experimented with all three alternatives. Congress created the Department of the Treasury in 1789, but the first Secretary, Alexander Hamilton, formulated and administered policies that proved to be controversial. Although Hamilton submitted his reports to the House, he operated more as an independent policy-maker than as an agent of the legislature. To redress the imbalance of power between the executive and legislative branches, the House created the permanent Committee of Ways and Means, just as it had found standing committees for other recurring issues to be the most efficient vehicles to facilitate the legislative process.

The status of the House Committee of Ways and Means changed between 1789 and 1801. The committee established in the First Congress was a temporary body—in legislative terms a select committee. When the committee was appointed in the Fourth Congress in 1795, however, it was referred to as a standing committee, although not in the sense that the term is used today. The Committee of Ways and Means was not included in the standing rules of the House of Representatives, but it was reappointed by a separate resolution in each Congress from 1795 to 1801. Not until the Seventh Congress in 1802 was the committee included as a permanent standing committee in the revised House rules. There was nothing inevitable about the creation of the Committee of Ways and Means. Its establishment reflected the example of British and American precedents, but it was also a product of the development of legislative procedure during the political controversies of the 1790s.

The First House Committee of Ways and Means, 1789

The Constitution specified the powers of the House of Representatives, but it left legislative procedure only imprecisely suggested. The House of Representatives was empowered to "chuse their Speaker and other Officers." Article I additionally specified, among other things, that each House of Congress should meet at least once a year, keep a journal, and "determine the Rules of its Proceedings." Based upon English precedent and the experience of colonial, state, and Confederation legislatures, it would have been reasonable to expect the new Congress to utilize finance committees in some fashion.

As the House of Representatives began to organize during the first session of the First Congress in New York City in 1789, committees of supply and of ways and means were established. On April 29,



The home briefly of the nation's First Federal Congress, Federal Hall stands on Wall Street in New York City. Officials crowd the pillared balcony to hear George Washington take the presidential oath on April 30, 1789. During the first session of the First Congress, a motion by House member Thomas Fitzsimons led to the creation of a ways and means committee on July 24, 1789. The panel never reported, however, and was discharged in September—probably because Congress created a Treasury Department under Alexander Hamilton.

1789, the House ordered the appointment of a three-member committee chaired by Elbridge Gerry "to prepare and report an estimate of supplies . . . and of nett produce of the impost" for the present year. The committee on supplies and imposts was further instructed on May 8 to collect information on the value of foreign imports and on the tonnage of shipping entering and clearing American ports. Gerry presented the committee's report to the House on July 9.[2]

The issue of a ways and means committee arose during consideration of the bill to create a treasury department. Members from states that had utilized finance committees suggested that the House establish a similar committee. Samuel Livermore of New Hampshire, for example, argued against vesting the Secretary of the Treasury with the authority to propose revenue plans. He contended that a committee should be appointed for that purpose, if the House as a body was not able to prepare such plans. Thomas Fitzsimons of Pennsylvania moved the creation of a ways and means committee on July 24, 1789. Denying that he meant any criticism of Gerry's committee, Fitzsimons recommended, "If we wish to have more particular information on these points, we ought to appoint a Committee of Ways and Means, to whom, among other things, the estimate of supplies may be referred, and this ought to be done speedily." The favorable reaction of the House was recorded in its *Journal* for Friday, July 24, 1789:

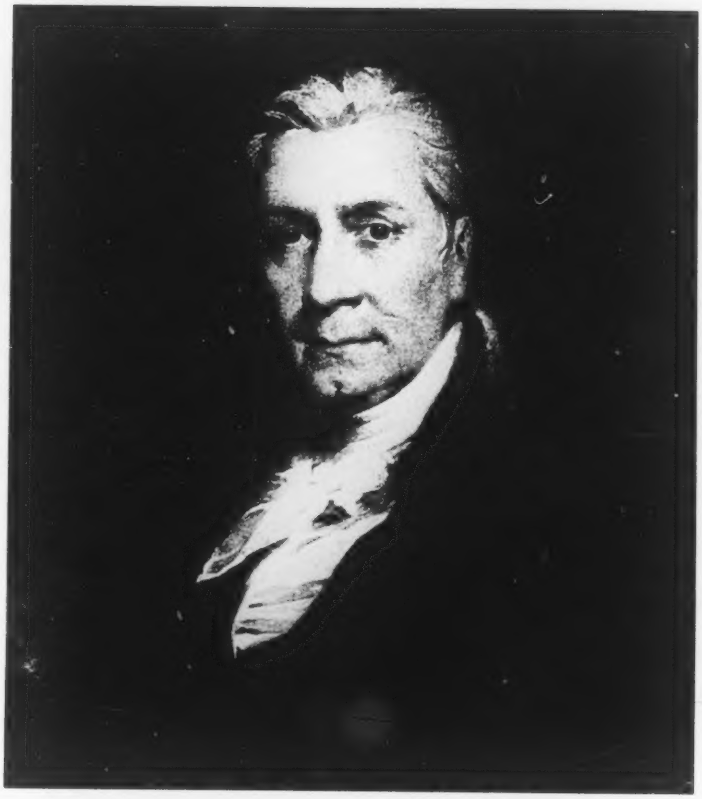
> ORDERED, That a committee of ways and means, to consist of a member from each state, be appointed, to whom it shall be referred to consider the report of a committee appointed to prepare an estimate of supplies requisite for the service of the United States the current year, and to report thereupon.[3]

The 11-member committee (North Carolina and Rhode Island had not yet ratified the Constitution and were therefore unrepresented in Congress) was chaired by Thomas Fitzsimons (PA), the member who had moved its creation, and included John Vining (DE), Samuel Livermore (NH), Lambert Cadwalader (NJ), John Laurance (NY), Jeremiah Wadsworth (CT), James Jackson (GA), Elbridge Gerry (MA), William Loughton Smith (SC), William Smith (MD), and James Madison (VA). Fitzsimons was a Philadelphia merchant, an ardent nationalist, and a signer of the Constitution. After leaving Congress in 1795, he would become a founder and director of the Bank of North America and would help organize the Insurance Company of North America.[4] As a proponent of a strong central government, he was known as a Federalist, just as were most of his fellow members on the committee. Only Elbridge Gerry was identified with those who had opposed the centralizing tendencies of the Constitution and were therefore referred to as Antifederalists.

There is no record concerning the work of the committee. For example, it did not present a report to the House. The only other mention of the committee in the *House Journal* was on September 17, 1789. On a motion by Gerry, the House ordered the committee discharged:

> ORDERED, That the committee of ways and means be discharged from further proceeding on the business to them referred, and that it be referred to the secretary of the treasury of the United States, to consider and report thereupon.[5]

If the committee never reported to the House and was discharged after less than two months, why had the House created it? One historian has concluded that the committee was of little significance, either in its creation or its demise.[6] Yet, when the committee is placed within the context of the creation of the Treasury Department (September 2, 1789) and the appointment of Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury (September 11, 1789), the significance of the short history of the first Ways and Means Committee becomes clearer. The statute that established the Treasury differed from those that created the other two executive departments (State and War), in that it



Thomas Fitzsimons of Pennsylvania told the House, "If we wish to have more particular information . . . we ought to appoint a Committee of Ways and Means, to whom . . . the estimate of supplies may be referred. . . ." Fitzsimons headed that first committee of 11 members, one from each of the states that had then ratified the Constitution. Born in Ireland and one of the few Roman Catholics to sign the Constitution, Fitzsimons played an instrumental role in establishing the nation's first bank, the Bank of North America.

required the secretary to prepare revenue plans, to report estimates of revenue and expenditures, and to give information in person or in writing to Congress. The Federalist majority evidently intended the Secretary of the Treasury to become an agent of the legislature, much the same as the executive departments had been in the Confederation. A single individual, responsible to and directed by Congress, would be more efficient than a committee with its shifting personnel. By appointing an executive officer, the House rejected the experience of state legislatures with finance committees. According to the new formulation, a ways and means committee was not necessary since there was an executive department responsible to the House to provide the information needed to prepare and draft legislation.[7]

Hamiltonian Finance, 1789–1795

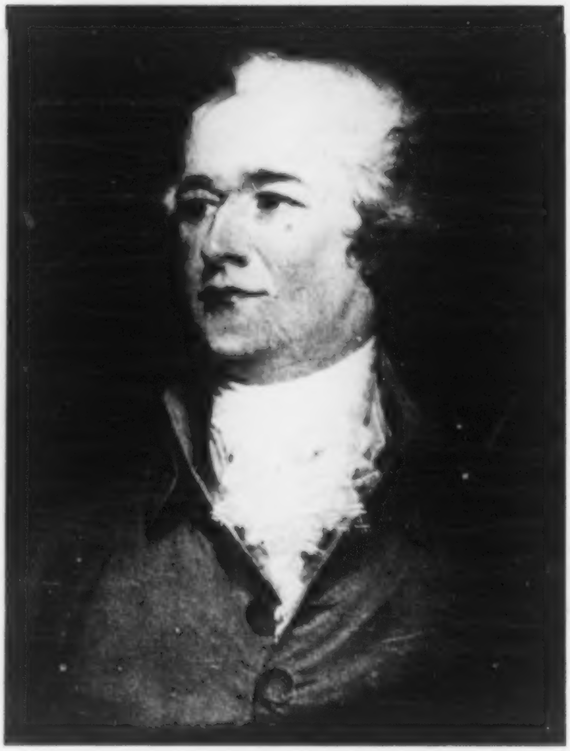
Between 1789 and 1794, the House of Representatives worked directly with Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton and other department heads to administer the finances of the federal government. Thirty-four-year-old Alexander Hamilton, one of the guiding forces in calling the Constitutional Convention, was a brilliant advocate of a strong central government. One of the authors of *The Federalist*, along with James Madison and John Jay, he believed that the federal government, indeed the nation itself, could survive only if it could establish a "habitual sense of obligation" among the people. To do this, Hamilton proposed for the government to operate directly upon the people, especially through taxation.

As Secretary of the Treasury, Hamilton recommended what has come to be known as "the economic counterpart of the Constitution." The four objectives of Hamiltonian finance were: 1) the funding of the debt of the Continental Congress, 2) the assumption of all state debts into the national debt, 3) the establishment of a national bank, and 4) the enactment of tariffs and bounties to promote American manufactures. Accomplishment of these four objectives, Hamilton believed, would strengthen the federal government, and in the process restore the credit of the United States both at home and abroad.

Hamilton's first *Report on Public Credit* (January 1790) recommended funding the national debt by the creation of a sinking fund based on British precedent. The national debt was composed of more than 10 million dollars in loans and interest owed to France, Holland, and Spain, as well as 40 million dollars owed to individuals in the form of war bonds or certificates that had been paid to soldiers and officers of the Continental Army or to farmers and merchants for war supplies. Additionally, Hamilton wished to assume the debts of the states, which amounted to nearly 18 million dollars. His sinking fund was designed to be a separate interest-bearing fund administered by a group of commissioners. The fund was to regularly receive specific government revenues, and it was to be used only to meet scheduled payments to redeem the debt and its interest. Originally, the proceeds from the sales of public lands were reserved for the fund. Later, in 1795, other sources of revenue were added, chiefly surplus revenues from import and tonnage duties.

The funding plan passed in spite of opposition from members such as Madison, who argued that repaying war debts at full value discriminated in favor of speculators. The debt assumption plan encountered greater opposition—in particular from states such as Virginia, Maryland, Georgia, and North Carolina, which either had smaller debts or believed that they would benefit more from a general settlement of debts owed by the national government to the states. Debt assumption passed in the late summer of 1790 as a result of one of the first incidents of legislative logrolling, when the plan was linked with the location of the new national capital on the banks of the Potomac River.

The national bank elicited much less opposition than debt assumption when it was introduced in Hamilton's second *Report on Public Credit* in December 1790. The Secretary's *Report on Manufactures*

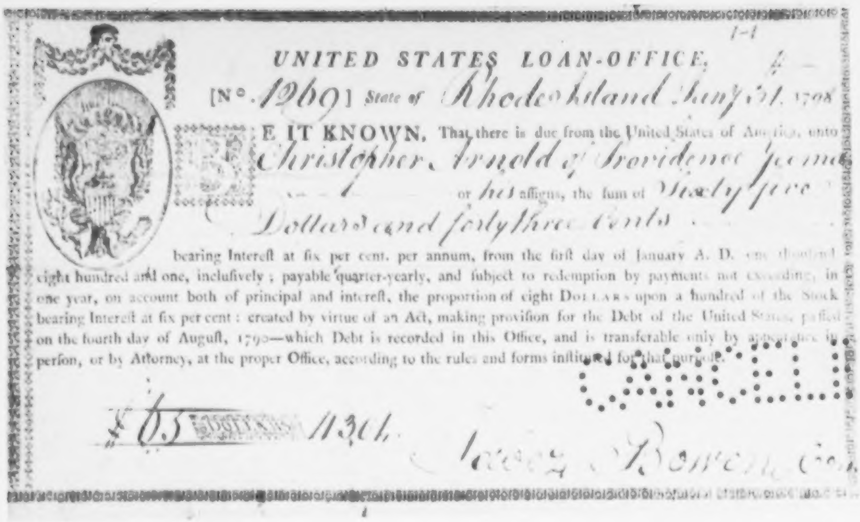


Brilliance in financial administration carried Alexander Hamilton to his peak of influence as Secretary of the Treasury from 1789 to 1795. So efficient was Hamilton that the House found it expedient to refer many revenue matters directly to him. Soon it seemed that this nonelected official of the executive branch wielded more power over fiscal policy than elected legislators. Hamilton's Federalist leanings toward a commercial aristocracy stirred opposition from Jefferson and Madison. The friction contributed to the rise of the first American party system and a movement to restore House control over finance by establishing a permanent committee of ways and means.

(December 1791) suggested increased tariffs and direct financial aid to manufactures in the form of bounties to promote the self-sufficiency of American enterprise, as well as to attract business support for the federal government. Congress enacted a higher tariff in 1792, but it did not provide the level of protection to American manufactures that the Secretary of the Treasury sought.[8]

The House worked closely with Hamilton to prepare annual estimates of revenue and expenditure, the closest equivalent then to an annual federal budget. Each year the executive officers submitted estimates to Congress of recommended sums needed to operate their departments. The House then considered these estimates, submitted in the form of a letter to the Speaker, and either approved the figures or sent them back to the executive departments for revision. Upon approval by a Committee of the Whole House, the estimates were referred to a House select drafting committee to prepare an appropriations bill that required the approval of both Houses of Congress and the signature of the President to become law.

Hamilton's estimates and reports were precise, detailed, and accurate. His estimates for the fiscal year 1793, for example, included specific outlays for department expenses and salaries itemized to the dollar. More often than not the House accepted Hamilton's depart-



1-1

UNITED STATES LOAN-OFFICE.

[N°. 1269] State of Rhode Island Jany 31. 1798

BE IT KNOWN, That there is due from the United States of America, unto Christopher Arnold of Providence yeoman or his aſſigns, the ſum of Sixty five Dollars and forty three Cents bearing Intereſt at ſix per cent. per annum, from the firſt day of January A. D. one thouſand eight hundred and one, incluſively ; payable quarter-yearly, and ſubject to redemption by payments not exceeding, in one year, on account both of principal and intereſt, the proportion of eight DOLLARS upon a hundred of the Stock bearing Intereſt at ſix per cent : created by virtue of an Act, making proviſion for the Debt of the United States, paſſed on the fourth day of Auguſt, 1790—which Debt is recorded in this Office, and is transferable only by appearance in perſon, or by Attorney, at the proper Office, according to the rules and forms inſtituted for that purpoſe.

CANCELED

$65 DOLLARS 1301.

Jabez Bowen Com.

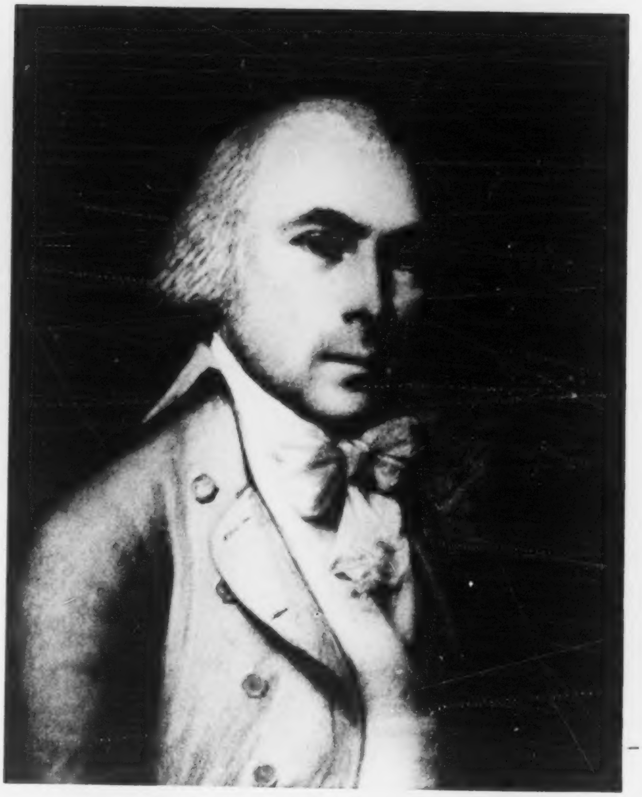
An interest-bearing loan certificate issued by the federal government in the 1790s represents a plan by Hamilton to fund the national debt by redeeming certificates of indebtedness with this new type of bond. Congressional opponents of Hamilton argued that paying the 50-million-dollar national debt at full value with such certificates gave advantage to speculators. Nevertheless, Hamilton's funding proposal became law as part of a compromise that placed the nation's capital on the banks of the Potomac.

ment estimates, and included these specific sums in its appropriations.[9] The Secretary's thoroughness and competence were such that in routine administrative matters, the House found it more convenient to refer matters to Hamilton. For example, the House referred approximately 300 petitions to the Secretary over a five-year period. Hamilton would report the merits of individual claims and the House would either reject the petition or draft a statute to reimburse the claimants, in most cases on the strength of the Secretary's recommendation.[10]

In the politically sensitive areas of the federal debt and taxation, on the other hand, some members of Congress questioned whether the Secretary of the Treasury was their agent or whether they were his. Hamilton's fiscal policies provided a catalyst for the formation of the first American party system. His plan to strengthen the federal government through the assumption of state debts proved to be controversial among leaders such as Jefferson and Madison who feared the consequences of a permanent national debt. As early as May, 1792, Hamilton believed "*That Mr. Madison cooperating with Mr. Jefferson is at the head of a faction decidedly hostile to me and my administration.*"[11]

Recent studies have indicated that political factions developed in the First Congress over the issues of the location of the capital and especially over Hamiltonian finance.[12] These congressional factions, however, did not begin to polarize into parties until the Third and Fourth Congresses (1793–1797) over the issue of the ratification and appropriation of funds for Jay's Treaty (1794). Party divisions were clearer in the Fifth and Sixth Congresses (1797–1801). In very general terms, the differences between the parties were that the Federalists tended to support the interests of the commercial, coastal regions

The first ways and means committee member to become President, James Madison had initially sided with Hamilton on the need for a strong central government. But in the early 1790s, Madison broke with Hamilton. He then played a prominent role in the evolution of a permanent ways and means committee by supporting the creation of a select House panel that would loosen Hamilton's grip on revenue matters. Madison served on the committee as a minority member. He left Congress in 1800, became Secretary of State under Thomas Jefferson, and succeeded him as President in 1809.



more closely tied to Great Britain. As such, their center of power was in New England and the Middle Atlantic states. The Jeffersonian Republicans, on the other hand, tended to reflect the interests of the agrarian, interior regions, and were more favorable to the French Revolution. These divisions suggested a basic difference over the kind of representative democracy desired for the United States. The Federalists, often called the "fiscal party" by their foes, sought to create a centralized state directed by a commercial aristocracy. The Jeffersonian Republicans, whom their opponents often called "Jacobins," favored an agrarian democracy represented by the early stages of the French Revolution. Jay's Treaty, since it involved commercial issues in the war between Great Britain and France, formed a pivotal event around which all party cleavages clustered.[13]

During the First and Second Congresses, however, the congressional opposition to Hamilton was initially weak and slow to organize. Capitalizing upon legislative distrust of executive initiative, where it existed, opposition forces harassed the Secretary by requiring detailed reports and by prohibiting him from presenting these reports in person. On December 3, 1791, Elbridge Gerry reported two resolutions from "the committee to whom were referred several motions for

CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE OF WAYS AND MEANS
1789–1801

Thomas Fitzsimons (F-PA)	First Congress, 1789
William Loughton Smith (F-SC)[1]	Third Congress, First Session, 1794 Fourth Congress, 1795–97
Robert Goodloe Harper (F-SC)	Fifth Congress, 1797–99 Sixth Congress, First Session, 1799–1800
Roger Griswold (F-CT)	Sixth Congress, Second Session, 1800–1801

[1] Smith also chaired the committee from June 10 to July 10, 1797, in the first session of the Fifth Congress.

obtaining annual and regular statements of the receipts and expenditures of all public moneys. . . ." Gerry argued that the requirement of "regular" and "accurate" statements from the Secretary of the Treasury should be a standing rule of the House. Other members questioned whether one House could bind future Houses by such a standing rule. Abraham Clark (NJ) observed that they had no more right to adopt such a rule, "than they have to say that the Speaker of the next House shall wear a tie-wig." The resolution nonetheless passed:

> *Resolved*, That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to lay before the House of Representatives . . . an accurate statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public moneys . . . .[14]

A second resolution, unrecorded in the *House Journal*, was not adopted. That resolution would have required the appointment of one or more committees to examine the Treasury reports.

Ways and Means in the Third Congress, 1794

In 1793, the congressional opposition to Hamilton, led by Jefferson's Virginia colleagues Madison and William Branch Giles, set in motion a series of events that revived the idea of a ways and means committee. Giles introduced resolutions in 1793 to censure Hamilton for violations of the loan procedures authorized by Congress. Although the House defeated this attack upon the Secretary of the Treasury, Giles renewed the effort in the first session of the Third Congress (December 2, 1793–June 9, 1794) by asserting that Hamilton had exceeded his instructions from the President. In Hamilton's terse response to the select committee appointed to examine the Treasury Department, he objected "to being required to produce any other authorities." [15] The same day, March 24, 1794, the Secretary wrote to Washington to request confirmation that the President, either verbally or in writing, had authorized his actions.

Two days after Hamilton's response to the select committee, James Madison wrote to inform Jefferson of the "enquiry into the Treasury." On a related issue, Madison observed, "The old question of referring the origination of Taxes comes on to-day, and will, in some degree, test the present character of the House." [16] Madison's prediction proved correct. On March 26, 1794, the House revived a ways and means committee:

> *Resolved*, That a committee, consisting of fifteen members, be appointed to inquire whether any, or what, further or other revenues are necessary for the support of public credit; and if further revenues are necessary, to report the ways and means.[17]

John Page (VA) made the only recorded speech on the resolution. He objected to creating such a committee, even more than the "unconstitutional" practice of calling for a report from the Secretary of the Treasury. The whole House should consider ways and means, Page argued, rather than a committee of 15.

Madison's account to Jefferson, dated March 31, 1794, was as follows:

> I forgot to mention in my last that the question whether the ways and means should be referred to the Secretary of the Treasury, as heretofore, or to a Committee, lately came on, and decided the sense of the House to be regenerated on that point. The fiscal [Federalist] party, perceiving their danger, offered a sort of compromise, which took in Mercer [John Francis Mercer (MD)], and, with him, sundry others in principle against them. Notwithstanding the success of the stratagem, the point was carried by 49 against 46. If the question had divided the House fairly, there would have been a majority of ten or a dozen at least.[18]

Madison saw the creation of the committee as both a procedural and a political issue. Procedurally, the appointment of a ways and means committee reiterated the House's right to originate revenue bills. Politically, the reestablishment of such a committee was a direct attack upon the Federalist administration of the Treasury and upon Hamilton personally. David Cobb, a Federalist from Massachusetts, corrobo-

Federalist William L. Smith of South Carolina chaired the select committee of ways and means formed in 1794 at the urging of Madison and others. Federalists made up the majority of the 15-man committee, which seated one representative from each state. Over objections from minority members, the majority reported increased import and tonnage duties and legislation for excise, stamp, and license taxes. Smith also led a second select panel which met in the Third Congress to prepare bills recommended by the previous committee.

rated Madison's account of the political motives involved in the committee's appointment, noting that it accomplished "the favorite object which our Southern friends have long been wishing to obtain, that of excluding the Secretary of the Treasury from reporting systems of Finance." The members of the committee, he continued, "are too good to do any hurt, & we expect but little good from them unless assisted."[19]

The nature of the Federalist stratagem mention by Madison remains unknown. Furthermore, Madison evidently overestimated the strength of his own party in several respects. The resolution created a select committee, not a standing or permanent committee. In fact, this ways and means committee did not differ in its appointment from other select committees named to examine the Treasury. Moreover, the committee was chaired by a Federalist with a strong majority favorable to Hamilton.

The 15-member committee appointed on March 26, 1794, was chaired by William Loughton Smith (SC) and consisted of one member from each state. The size of the committee most likely reflected three considerations: 1) the example of the Confederation Congress, 2) the politically expedient desire to allow every state to have a voice in public finance, and 3) the example of Pennsylvania's ways and means committee, which consisted of one member from each county and the city of Philadelphia. Nine of the 15 members were Federalists, including Chairman Smith; Thomas Fitzsimons (PA), the chairman of the 1789 Committee of Ways and Means; Benjamin Bourn (RI); and Fisher Ames (MA). Six members have been identified as Jeffersonian Republicans, led by Madison, William Barry Grove (NC), Abraham Baldwin (GA), and Gabriel Christie (MD). Chairman William Loughton Smith, on the other hand, was one of Hamilton's strongest supporters. The Secretary of the Treasury had endorsed his South Carolina colleague in a bitter reelection campaign, and Smith had returned the favor when he helped to defeat the Giles resolutions to censure Hamilton in 1793. Smith, according to his biographer, had the resolutions thrown out through an adroit parliamentary maneuver.[20] Some Federalists, nonetheless, disagreed with Smith's leadership of Ways and Means. One Massachusetts Federalist noted that although he was "a good fellow," Smith "has no policy." This colleague feared that the chairman's penchant for uniting several controversial tax measures in one resolution risked defeat when the items might pass individually.[21]

At first, the committee was referred to in typical select committee fashion by its long title, "the committee appointed to inquire whether any, or what, further revenues are necessary for the support of the public credit, and, if further revenues are necessary, to report ways and means." The committee soon was referred to as the Committee of (or "on") Ways and Means, in part out of convenience, but also in part because it was understood that this committee performed the function of a ways and means committee. In April, Madison referred to the committee as "The Committee on Ways and Means" in a letter to Jefferson. A petitition from snuff manufacturers in May requested exemption from taxes to be reported from "the Committee of Ways and Means." The *House Journal* itself began to use the phrase "Committee of Ways and Means." Finally, when the reports of the permanent Committee of Ways and Means were compiled several years later, a House clerk included the March 26, 1794, resolution and the committee's April 17, 1794, report as its first two documents.[22] Thereafter, the committee was referred to as the Committee of Ways and Means until 1880, when its title became the Committee on Ways and Means.

The committee met throughout the first session of the Third Congress. Some evidence exists that there were spirited debates over which taxes could be increased, or what new taxes could be levied. Hamilton was called to appear before the committee on at least one occasion. According to one member, "he appeared cursedly mortifyed," but "those on the Committee who had been always opposed to references to him on this subject made no great show." [23] The committee reported recommendations to the House on April 17 for increased import and tonnage duties, and legislation for a variety of excise, stamp, and license taxes, as well as a direct tax on land. The latter tax was the only one Madison and his followers supported. Madison observed that the report "was the work of a sub-committee in understanding with the Fiscal Department." Although there is some circumstantial evidence of the use of a subcommittee, there is no doubt that Madison's party agreed with their congressional leader that the committee was "composed of a majority infected by the fiscal errors which threaten so ignominious and vexatious a system to our Country." [24]

The Federalists capitalized upon the fact that they had a system, no matter how ignominious it might seem to their foes, by taunting Madison to produce an alternative, which he proved incapable of doing. One influential Federalist observed that Madison "owed it to himself and to the respect of his friends to have come forward with his own system that it might be compared with that of his hated rival [Hamilton]." But Madison, "strange to tell" did nothing. "He was a silent & inefficient member," whose single proposal was for a direct tax.[25]

After the committee's April 17 report, the House appointed a second committee of 15 to prepare bills based upon the report's recommendations. This second committee's membership was identical to the Committee of Ways and Means even to the order in which the names were listed in the *House Journal*.[26] Legislative procedure in this early period in the history of the House evidently required the creation of a second and distinct select committee to draft bills, but in practice the two committees were identical in terms of membership.

There was no effort to reestablish the Committee of Ways and Means in the second session of the Third Congress (November 3, 1794–March 3, 1795), possibly because the Federalists had frustrated Hamilton's congressional critics. Political parties, like legislative procedure, evolved slowly. The procedural and political motivations in the history of the committee in the Third Congress perhaps appear clearer in retrospect than they were at the time.

Ways and Means in the Fourth Congress

The evidence concerning the establishment of a standing Committee of Ways and Means in the first session of the Fourth Congress (December 7, 1795–June 1, 1796), is slight but intriguing. Hamilton retired in February 1795, and was succeeded by Oliver Wolcott, his former assistant and one of the first men to make a career of government service. Wolcott was a capable, but not brilliant, Secretary of the Treasury who closely adhered to Hamiltonian fiscal policies.[27] His report to Congress at the outset of the Fourth Congress set the stage for the creation of a standing Committee of Ways and Means.

PARTY RATIOS IN THE COMMITTEE AND THE HOUSE
1789–1801

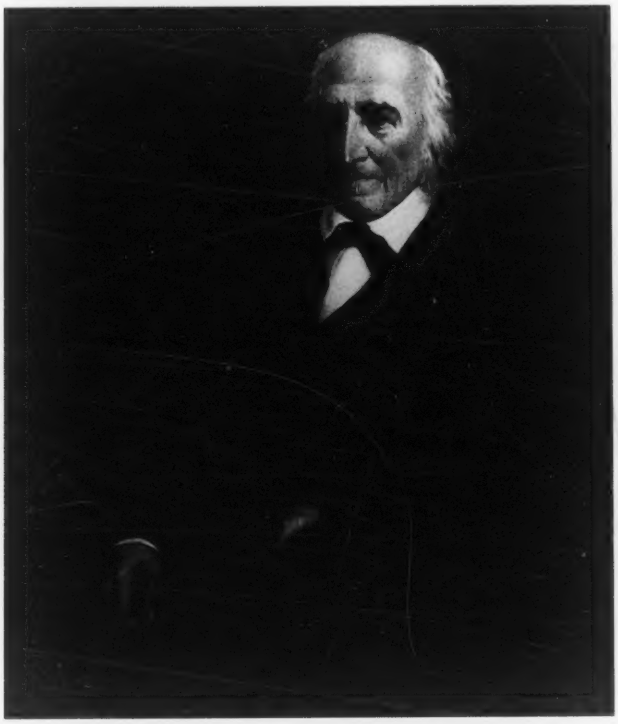
CONGRESS	COMMITTEE	HOUSE	PRESIDENT
First (1789–91)	7 P–4 AA	38 P–26 AA	Washington (F)
Third (1793–95)	9 F–6 JR	57 JR–48 F	
Fourth (1795–97)			
First Session	9 F–6 JR	54 F–52 JR	
Second Session	8 F–8 JR		
Fifth (1797–99)			
First Session	7 unnamed members	58 F–48 JR	Adams (F)
Second Session	10 F–6 JR		
Third Session	6 F–3 JR		
Sixth (1799–1801)			
First Session	7 F–2 JR	64 F–42 JR	
Second Session	6 F–3 JR		

F—Federalist JR—Jeffersonian Republican
AF—Antifederalist P—Proadministration
AA—Antiadministration

Sources: This chart is based upon Appendix A of John F. Hoadley, Origins of American Political Parties, 1789–1803 *(Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986), pp. 192–219; and* Members of Congress Since 1789, *3d ed., (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1985). See also note 12.*

When the House convened in December, it established four standing committees: Elections, Claims, Commerce and Manufactures, and Revisal and Unfinished Business.[28] On Thursday, December 17, Albert Gallatin raised the issue of establishing a standing ways and means committee. The debates and proceedings on this issue were poorly reported, making it necessary to give careful attention to the chronology of events and the persons involved.

William Loughton Smith, the Federalist chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means in the Third Congress, had introduced a set of resolutions on December 10 in response to the President's annual message. One of those resolutions recommended "that inquiry ought to be made whether further means should be provided to reinforce the provisions heretofore made for the extinction of the Public Debt," which of course comprehended only a part of Secretary Wolcott's report. It was during consideration of Smith's resolution in Committee of the Whole House on December 17 that Gallatin first suggested



Albert Gallatin learned the realities of committee work in the Pennsylvania Legislature. "I was put on thirty-five committees, prepared all their reports, and drew all their bills," he noted. His labor taught him the wisdom of having legislators control the public purse. Thus as a member of the Fourth U.S. Congress he joined the struggle against Hamiltonian finance and made the first call for a standing finance committee. Strong partisan leadership from Madison and Gallatin, a movement to simplify House procedure, and a desire for the House to assert its constitutional role in public finance culminated in the creation of a permanent Committee of Ways and Means in 1795. Gallatin served on the committee almost continually until his appointment as Secretary of the Treasury in 1801.

reestablishing a ways and means committee. The incident was only briefly reported in the *Annals of Congress:*

> Mr. Gallatin gave in a long amendment. Its object was to appoint a committee to superintend the general operations of finance. No subject, Mr. G. said, more required a system, and great advantages would be derived from it. The motion was seconded by Mr. Findley [William Findley (PA)].
>
> Mr. W. Smith did not object to the amendment in itself, but as embracing a quite distinct object from the original resolution, he apprehended that, in the shape of an amendment, it would be out place. The resolution was withdrawn.[29]

After a resolution was read "as to a committee inquiring about the existing operations on the Public Debt," John Nicholas (VA) moved to substitute Gallatin's amendment. Gallatin, "on further consideration, thought his resolution not sufficiently digested for acting upon." He requested that consideration of the resolution be postponed until Monday, December 21, which the House so ordered. The *Annals* reported that on Friday, December 18, Gallatin "laid on the table his resolution respecting the establishment of a Committee of Finance, which is to be taken up on Monday next." [30]

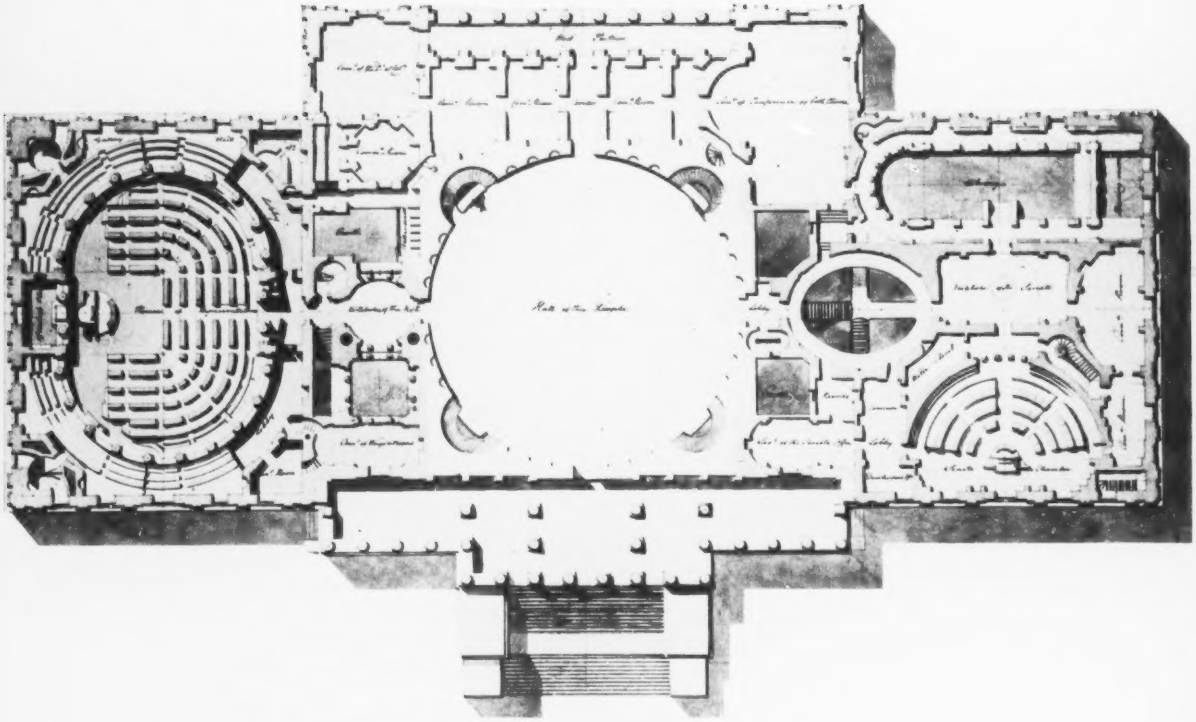
The brief mention of Gallatin's action on the 18th was doubly meaningful. It identified Gallatin as the author, or at least the source, of the resolution. Secondly, the phrase, "a Committee of Finance," confirmed that the proposed committee exceeded the limited intent of Smith's resolution. Its proponent, Albert Gallatin, was a first-term member who had extensive experience in fiscal legislation gained from his service on a ways and means committee in the Pennsylvania Legislature. He was also the leading economic thinker in the emerging Jeffersonian Republican Party. Although his motives for recommending the creation of a House standing ways and means committee are not revealed in the record, he is known to have favored legislative autonomy from the executive branch in matters of fiscal policy. His action may well have been both an attack upon the Federalist Treasury and the policies of Hamilton, as well as an attempt to assert the right of the House to determine public finance policy.[31]

The *Annals* reported that on the 21st, "Mr. Gallatin called up his resolution for the appointment of a standing Committee of Ways and Means. This motion was agreed to *nem. con.* [without dissent]." [32] No debate was reported on the resolution, nor was any mention made of the votes for or against. Moreover, this was the first reference by name of "a *standing* Committee of Ways and Means," unless Gallatin's tabled resolution of the 18th to create a "Committee of Finance" comprehended the same purpose. The *House Journal* cited the adopted resolution in full:

> *Resolved*, That a Standing Committee of Ways and Means be appointed, whose duty it shall be to take into consideration all such reports of the Treasury Department, and all such propositions relative to the revenue, as may be referred to them by the House; to inquire into the state of the public debt; of the revenue; and of the expenditures; and to report, from time to time, their opinion thereupon.[33]

There could be little doubt that this committee was to be a full-fledged finance committee whose jurisdiction encompassed every aspect of the financial policy of the federal government.

The only debate recorded in the *Annals* came on the question of the committee's size. The membership of the four standing committees established by the rules of the Fourth Congress varied in size. Elections, Commerce and Manufactures, and Claims were set at seven members each, and Revisal and Unfinished Business at three members. An unidentified member moved that Ways and Means also consist of seven members, but another member recommended 14. The debate revealed both the pros and cons of a large committee. Some members argued that large committees wasted time; they were difficult to convene, with the result that a subcommittee generally per-



formed most of the work. Proponents of a large committee suggested that general principles would be "more satisfactorily determined . . . while the details and examination of accounts might be attended to by a subcommittee." It is significant that both sides recognized that a large committee would use a subcommittee, considering Madison's allegation that the 1794 committee had done so.

The House voted to accept the larger figure and proceeded to appoint 14 members to the committee, one from each state (the Kentucky delegation had not yet arrived). This suggests that the Committee of Ways and Means was to be both similar to the four standing committees in the House rules and yet unique, not only in its manner of appointment, but also in its composition. A select group within the committee, most probably the chairman and the members of his party, would constitute a subcommittee that would determine policy, yet the importance of fiscal matters still seemingly dictated a large committee in which every state was represented.

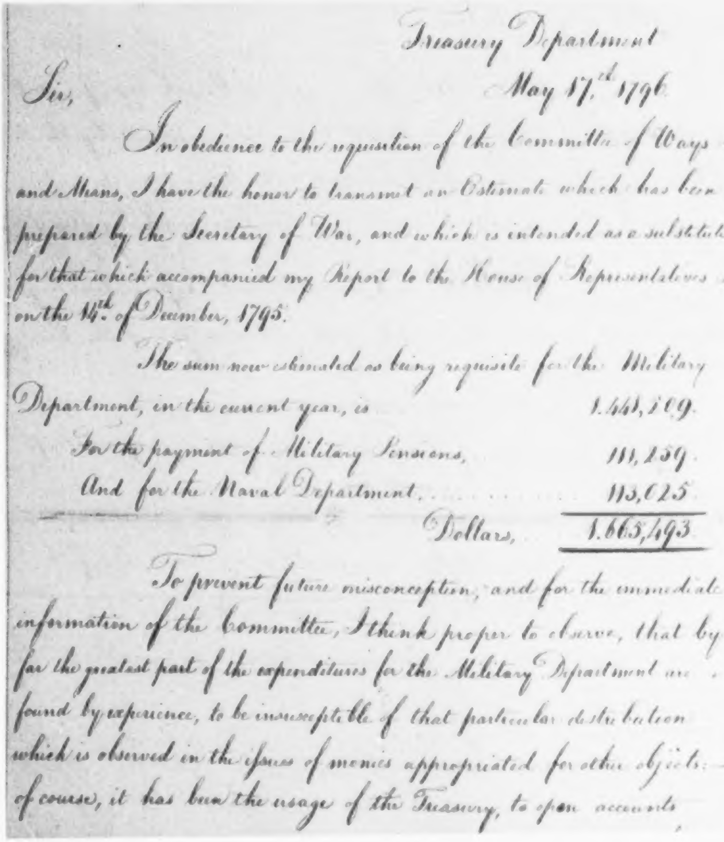
When Christopher Greenup of Kentucky took his seat on the 24th, he was added as the committee's 15th member. The committee list included five veterans of the 1794 committee: William L. Smith, Madison, Baldwin, Bourn, and Nicholas Gilman. The membership included nine Federalists and six Jeffersonian Republicans. Moreover, the Committee of Ways and Means again was chaired by William Loughton Smith, the chairman of the 1794 committee and an ardent

A plan for the completion of the U.S. Capitol in 1806, by renowned architect Benjamin Latrobe, reserved space for a Ways and Means meeting room (area in color) adjacent to the lobby of the House Chamber. The sketch constitutes an early indication that the panel had a room for its exclusive use in the early 1800s.

advocate of Hamiltonian finance. Smith's appointment raises new questions. Normally a select committee was chaired by the member moving its appointment. Granted that this particular committee was referred to as a standing committee, but if Gallatin had moved the resolution, why was he not appointed chairman? He was appointed to the committee, but his name appeared as the fifth on the list.

Historians have disagreed over the origins of this committee. The prevailing interpretation dates back to the views of Hamilton's son, John Church Hamilton, who wrote in the mid-19th century that the committee was a Jeffersonian creation to curb the Federalist executive branch. Henry Adams, one of America's first professional historians as well as a descendant of Federalist John Adams, similarly interpreted the committee's creation as a partisan action.[34] A strong case can be made for the partisan interpretation of the origins of Ways and Means. Madison in 1794 and Gallatin in 1795 were certainly the strongest advocates of the committee. Madison's letters in 1794 clearly indicated the partisan nature of such an initiative. The fact that both committees were dominated by Federalists seemingly downgrades the partisan interpretation, yet Gallatin, who had extensive experience with legislative finance committees, and Madison, the constitutional scholar, undoubtedly were aware of the historical antagonism between ways and means committees and the executive in England and in the American colonial and state governments. The establishment of a finance committee, whether their party could dominate it or not, created the possibility that the House could gain control over the power of the purse from the executive, and that eventually Jeffersonian Republicans in the House could use the committee as a vehicle to wrest that power from the Federalists. For their part, the Federalists did not object to using the Ways and Means Committee to facilitate their own fiscal program.

It has been suggested more recently that the real significance of the committee's creation was administrative.[35] The committee, in this interpretation, permitted the House to perform its work more efficiently. Yet, the House had handled public finance quite efficiently when it left the details to Hamilton. Wolcott was perhaps a less capable Secretary of the Treasury, but he had been in office less than ten months when Gallatin recommended creation of the Ways and Means Committee. The establishment of standing committees in the Fourth Congress was indeed a mark of the institutional maturation of the House. Committees did permit the arduous detail work of the legislative process to be performed more efficiently. The partisan motivation, however, cannot be dismissed. Therefore, it is most reasonable to conclude that partisanship, the desire for the House to assert its constitutional role in public finance, and the movement to make House procedure more efficient all contributed to the establishment of the standing Committee of Ways and Means in 1795.



Treasury Department
May 17th 1796

Sir,

In obedience to the requisition of the Committee of Ways and Means, I have the honor to transmit an Estimate which has been prepared by the Secretary of War, and which is intended as a substitute for that which accompanied my Report to the House of Representatives on the 14th of December, 1795.

The sum now estimated as being requisite for the Military Department, in the current year, is	1.441,209.
For the payment of Military Pensions,	111,259.
And for the Naval Department.	113,025.
Dollars,	1.665,493

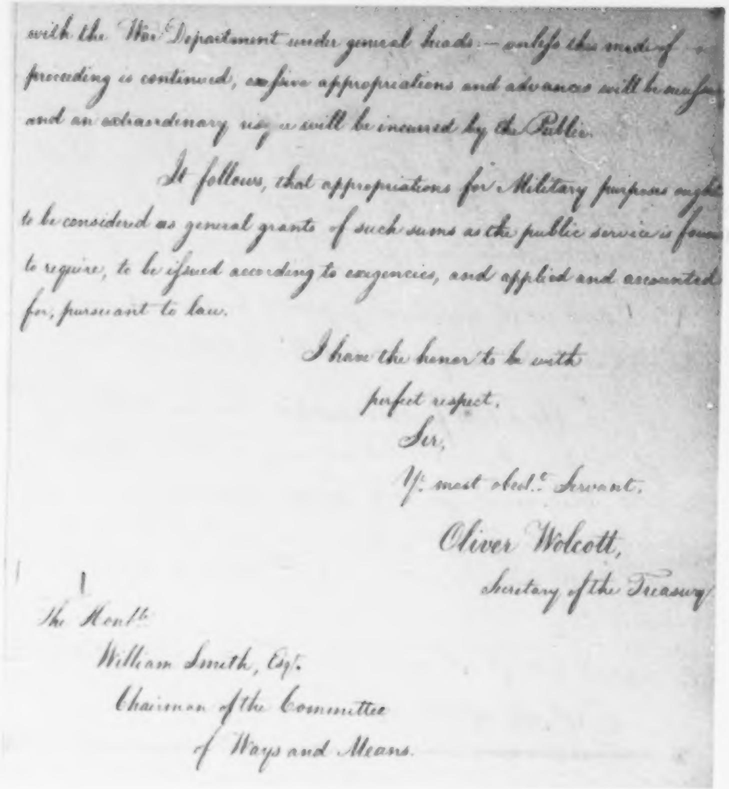
To prevent future misconception, and for the immediate information of the Committee, I think proper to observe, that by far the greatest part of the expenditures for the Military Department are found by experience, to be insusceptible of that particular distribution which is observed in the iſsues of monies appropriated for other objects:— of course, it has been the usage of the Treasury, to open accounts

Requests for executive branch appropriations, such as this estimate of expenses from the War Department in 1806, were referred to the Committee of Ways and Means for review. The committee recommended action to the House on each revenue matter. After the legislators considered the measure, they would direct Ways and Means to bring in an appropriations bill.

The Committee and the House: Legislative Procedure

The existence of the standing Committee of Ways and Means altered House procedure for finance and revenue issues. While Hamilton had reported directly to the House, Secretary Wolcott had to work through the committee. Less than a week after the committee's creation, the Treasury Secretary addressed a lengthy letter to the chairman of the committee that outlined the public debt and the "Sums Which Will Annually Be Requisite for Discharging Them." [36] The Secretary of the Treasury continued the controversial practice Hamilton had initiated of drafting bills, but the committee exercised its own judgment. The committee met with Wolcott on several occasions to obtain more information. Of one such meeting, Chairman Smith reported to the House, "With a view to obtain more perfect information, they [the committee] had a conference with the Secretary of the Treasury. . . ." In this particular case, the Federalist committee, unconvinced by the Federalist Secretary of the Treasury, recommended to the Federalist House against renewing the excise tax in question.[37]

After the committee had reported to the House upon a subject



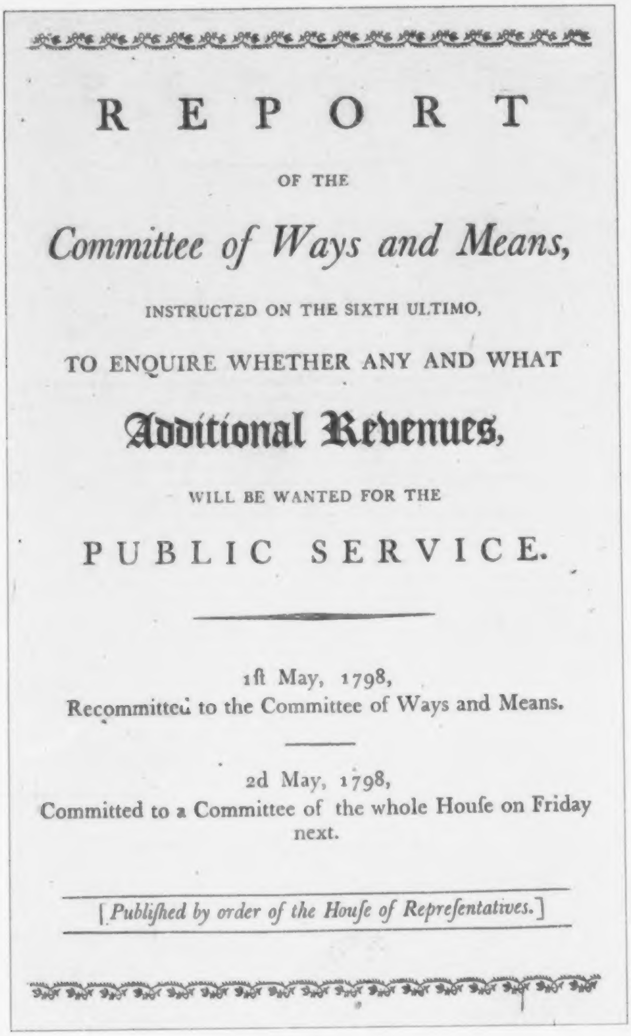
with the War Department under general heads:— unleſs this mode of proceeding is continued, exceſsive appropriations and advances will be neceſ and an extraordinary expense will be incurred by the Public.

It follows, that appropriations for Military purposes ough to be considered as general grants of such sums as the public service is foun to require, to be iſsued according to exigencies, and applied and accounted for, pursuant to law.

I have the honor to be with
perfect respect,
Sir,
Yr most obedt Servant,
Oliver Wolcott,
Secretary of the Treasury

The Honble
William Smith, Esqr
Chairman of the Committee
of Ways and Means.

within its jurisdiction, the House would consider the report and then direct the committee to bring in a bill. The Committee of Ways and Means was kept busy reviewing Treasury Department estimates and schemes for new revenues. On January 15, 1796, for example, the House considered the committee's report on estimates "of the appropriations for the support of Government in the year 1796." After the report had been read "without alteration or debate," the House directed Ways and Means "to bring in a bill or bills accordingly." Chairman Smith reported the committee's bill just three days later. During House debate on the bill, one member moved to strike out the sum for the Mint. John Nicholas (JR-VA) observed that the Mint's deficit for the past year alone amounted to $18,300, and "He wished to know the meaning of it." Smith answered that the Committee of Ways and Means had given careful consideration to the Mint. "The committee, consisting of fifteen members," the chairman explained, "were too numerous to enter into a detail of every article." A subcommittee had examined the Mint's request and lowered by half the amount of copper to be purchased. Federalist Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey, the Speaker of the House, complained that Smith seemed reluctant to



R E P O R T

OF THE

Committee of Ways and Means,

INSTRUCTED ON THE SIXTH ULTIMO,

TO ENQUIRE WHETHER ANY AND WHAT

Additional Revenues,

WILL BE WANTED FOR THE

PUBLIC SERVICE.

1ſt May, 1798,
Recommitted to the Committee of Ways and Means.

2d May, 1798,
Committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe on Friday next.

[*Publiſhed by order of the Houſe of Repreſentatives.*]

Printed reports on revenues such as this example were a rarity in the 1790s, when most Ways and Means submissions were handwritten. During the closing years of the 18th century, the committee wrestled with the question of raising new taxes to fund the infant republic. The Federalist majority on Ways and Means pushed for added revenues through indirect taxes, such as excise taxes on tobacco and distilled spirits. Jeffersonians loudly disagreed, preferring direct taxes on land and houses. Federalist views prevailed, but the tax quarrel filled the Fourth through the Sixth Congresses with tension.

give information. The chairman then "explained the steps taken by the Committee to convince themselves that there was nothing wrong in the Mint statement."[38] Smith's statements revealed both that they continued to use subcommittees for the sake of efficiency and that Ways and Means did not hesitate to reduce Wolcott's estimates.

The Committee of Ways and Means consistently demanded detailed estimates from the executive departments. The committee was evidently displeased when Wolcott was unable to provide detailed estimates for military appropriations. The Treasury Secretary simply submitted estimates under three broad headings: the naval department, military pensions, and the "military department." Wolcott's response to Ways and Means' request for clarification was classic bureaucratic evasion: "Military expenses," Wolcott argued, had been "found by experience, to be insusceptible of that particular distribution which is observed in the issue of monies appropriated for other objects."[39] Chairman Smith's report to the House, in the form of a resolution, left the sums blank for each of the three categories:

> *Resolved*, That there be appropriated, for the year 1796, for the Military Establishment, including the sum already appropriated, ____ dollars; for the Naval Department, ____ dollars; and for military pensions, ____ dollars, pursuant to the estimate herewith reported.[40]

The resolution was followed in the *Annals* by the specific sums Wolcott had requested for each category. By reporting blank sums, the committee in this case expressed its displeasure with the Treasury Secretary's inability to provide detailed information.

Evaluations of the committee's contributions during the Fourth Congress varied. Fisher Ames, a Federalist from Massachusetts who had served on the Committee of Ways and Means in the Third Congress, thought that they had done nothing "to enlighten the house or to guide the public opinion." The Committee of Ways and Means, Ames wrote to Hamilton in 1797, "collects the scraps & fritters of facts at the Treasury, draws crude hasty results." Ames was no friend to the "silly reliance" upon committees. He believed that the Democrats had usurped the rightful role of the Federalist executive. "Committees already are the Ministers," he complained, "& while the house indulges a jealousy of encroachment on its functions, which are properly deliberative, it does not perceive that these are impaired & nullified by the monopoly as well as the perversion of information by these very Committees."[41]

The letters of James Madison, on the other hand, gave a much different picture of the committee. As a member of the committee, Madison was undoubtedly more familiar with the facts than Ames. The committee that he described was one that diligently investigated the state of the infant republic's finances and wrestled to find new sources of revenue:

> A committee of ways and means are employed in investigating our revenues and our wants. It is found that there are between six and seven millions of anticipations due to the Banks, and that our ordinary income is barely at par with our ordinary expenditures, and that new taxes must be ready to meet near one and a half millions, which will accrue in 1801 . . . loans, at least, in some form or other, will be indispensable . . . until new taxes can be brought into action. With respect to this, the Committee are now in deliberation and embarrassment.[42]

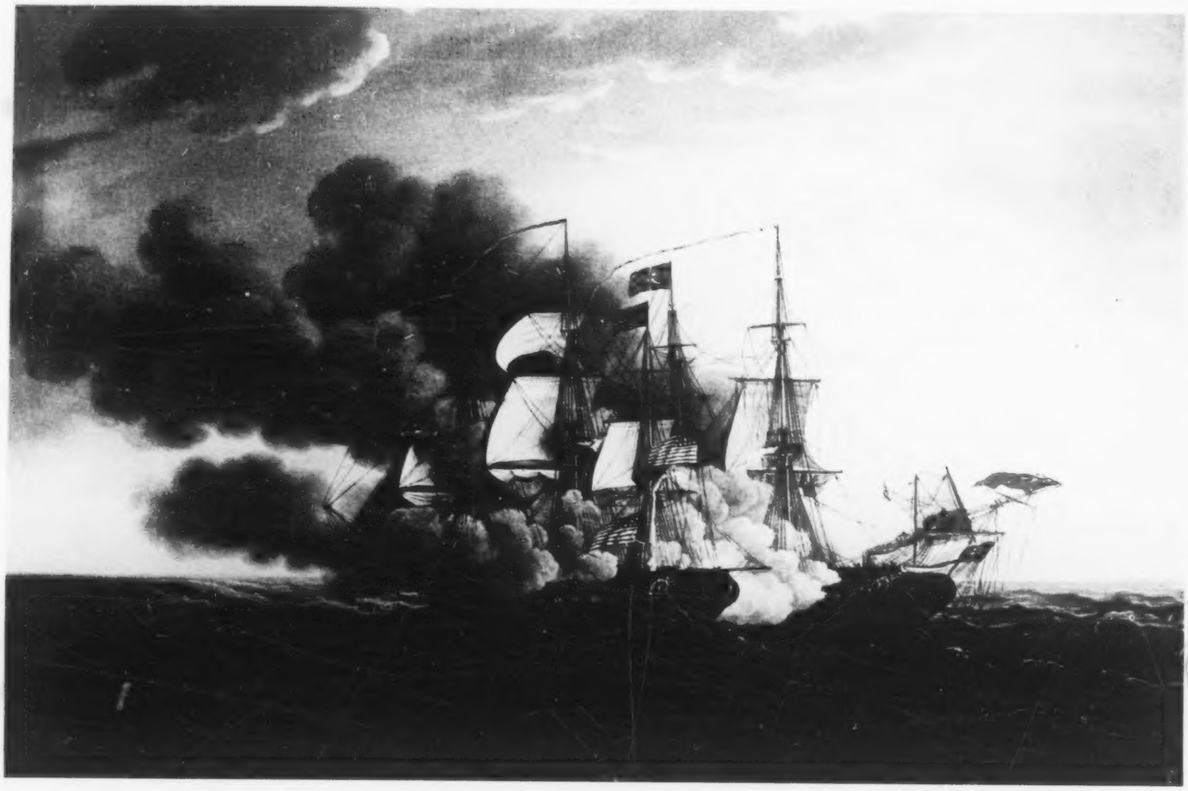
It was the question of new taxes that caused the committee the greatest concern—or embarrassment, as Madison put it. Theodore Sedgwick, a Federalist from Massachusetts and a future Speaker of the House, served with Madison and Gallatin on a subcommittee to consider direct taxes. He was also appointed to the ultimate subcommittee—a subcommittee of one—to report on indirect taxes, a task he found perplexing. "I have thought of many taxes, they are all practicable, but the truth is no tax is very palatable," he wrote.[43]

The Jeffersonians on the committee, led by Madison and Gallatin, found excise and indirect taxes the least palatable. Excise taxes are those placed upon the manufacture, transportation, sale, or consumption of certain goods, such as an excise upon tobacco or distilled spirits. Indirect taxes include excise taxes, sales taxes, and all taxes paid to private business persons who then remit the funds to the government. According to Madison the committee considered a duty on salt, a stamp tax, an inheritance tax, a tax on leather and hats, and a tax on carriages. The committee proposed the stamp tax, inheritance tax, and carriage tax, all of which Madison opposed. The Federalist committee even reported direct taxes that the party had previously opposed. Madison saw some humor in the Federalists' predicament.[44] The existing excise system had proven inadequate, but the Federalists had so denounced direct taxes that they had to resort to arguing that taxes on land and houses were indirect taxes.

The debates within the committee must have been interesting to say the least, especially now that Gallatin was at Madison's side. Madison wrote of his Pennsylvania colleague's contributions to the committee's discussions on revenue: "Gallatin is a real treasure in this department of Legislation. He is sound in his principles, accurate in his calculations, and indefatigable in his researches."[45] The Federalist majority prevailed on revenue issues, but the experience motivated Gallatin to prepare a 200-page analysis of American finance. *A Sketch of the Finances of the United States*, printed in November 1796, presented the fully developed version of Jeffersonian Republican financial policy that Madison had been unable to provide two years earlier. Gallatin's service on Ways and Means proved additionally valuable when he later became President Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury in 1801.[46]

The Committee of Ways and Means was reappointed in the second session of the Fourth Congress on December 16, 1796. Speaker Dayton laid before the House the Secretary of the Treasury's estimates for the coming year, following which Albert Gallatin once again moved the appointment of "a Standing Committee of Ways and Means." This motion was a verbatim restatement of the resolution that created the committee in the first session. No debate or vote was recorded on the motion; the *Annals* simply recorded that a committee of 16 was appointed, with William Loughton Smith once more named

"Old Ironsides," a 44-gun frigate, earns her nickname in this victory over the British frigate Guerrière *during the War of 1812. Years earlier, Ways and Means Chairman William L. Smith had rallied legislative support to authorize the building of three warships, the* United States, *the* Constellation, *and the* Constitution *(Old Ironsides). In 1797, in the wake of French violations of American neutrality on the high seas, construction of the warships was funded.*

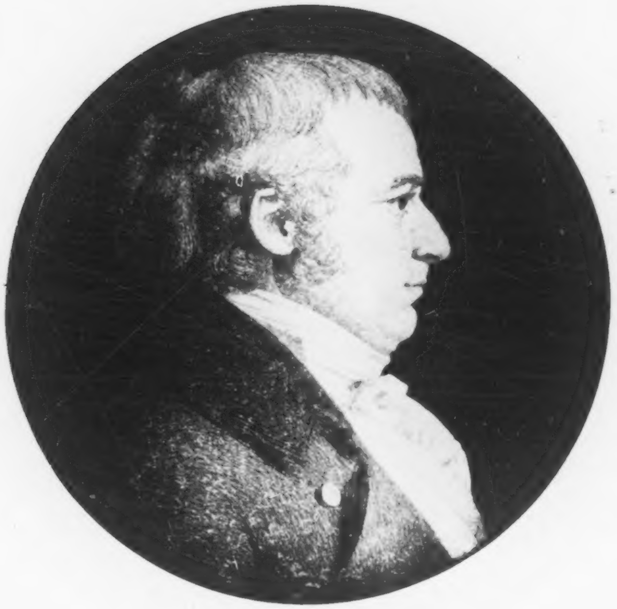


chairman. Each state again was represented by one member, with Andrew Jackson joining the committee to represent Tennessee. Ten of the 16 members had served on the committee in the first session, including Gallatin and Madison. The committee was evenly split between eight Federalists and eight Jeffersonian Republicans.[47]

The Committee of Ways and Means in the Fifth and Sixth Congresses

President John Adams called the Fifth Congress into special session in May 1797 to deal with a crisis in foreign policy. The French government, angered by the pro-British Jay's Treaty and by the failure of the U.S. to pay its Revolutionary War debt to France, had begun to violate American neutrality on the high seas. The Federalist Party responded by funding the construction of three warships, the *United States*, the *Constitution*, and the *Constellation*, whose principal legislative sponsor was Chairman Smith of the Committee of Ways and Means.[48]

During consideration of a Senate defense measure to create an additional corps of artillery and engineers, Thomas Blount (JR-NC)



Federalist Robert Goodloe Harper of South Carolina advanced to the chair of Ways and Means in 1797 on the endorsement of Treasury Secretary Oliver Wolcott. Though considered by many colleagues to be a pompous dandy, Harper was a strong debater and successful lawyer. In the Fifth Congress, he moved to reduce the number of Ways and Means members to nine. The change overturned the panel's precedent of seating one representative from every state and introduced the modern notion of balanced sectional representation.

suggested that the subject should be referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, which he moved be appointed. Smith argued that the committee was not needed until the measures necessary for defense had been determined. William Branch Giles (JR-VA), on the other hand, recommended delaying consideration of military increases until after the subject of revenue had been considered. The House opted to appoint a Ways and Means Committee of seven members after debating the numbers of 15 and 13. The names of the members were not recorded, nor was the wording of the resolution given.[49]

Smith continued to chair the reduced committee during the special session in which he reported to the House a stamp tax, a duty on salt, and changes in the system of internal revenue collection. The stamp tax and the internal revenue collection both proved controversial. Smith reported a committee bill on June 19, 1797, "to provide more effectually for the collection of certain internal revenue." Gallatin immediately objected. The bill was not germane to the reason the special session had been called. Furthermore, he noted, the subject had been considered by Ways and Means for two years. Smith's reply, in the refined and genteel language of 18th century discourse, nonetheless indicated the tension that must have pervaded committee meetings. The chairman reminded Gallatin that he had agreed that the bill had many valuable provisions. Moreover, the Secretary of the Treasury had explained the necessity for changes in the revenue collection system. It was preferable to secure additional revenue through technical modifications than by imposing new taxes. Gallatin, "who was never ready to lay a new tax," could not object to this. It was not surprising, therefore that the committee's proposed stamp tax on legal documents and bank notes proved even more controversial. The debate on the bill occupied some 35 pages in the *Annals*. The House passed the measure, only to have it rejected by the Senate.[50]

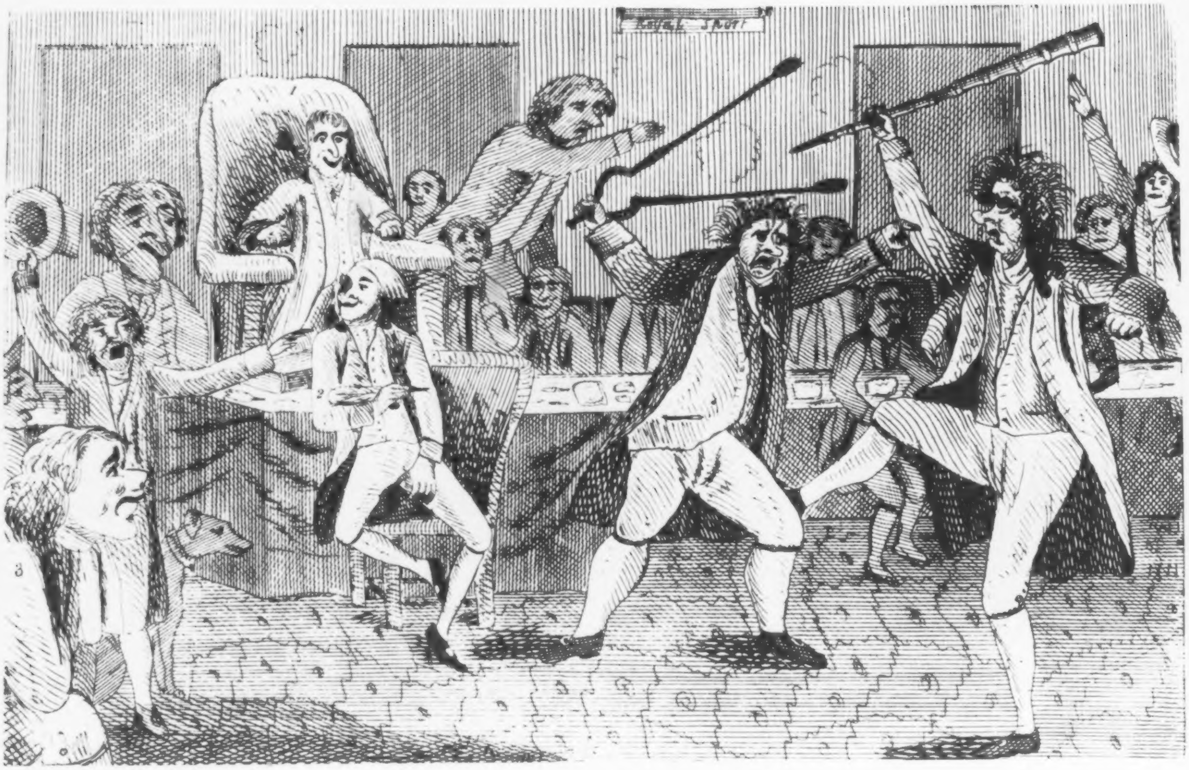
The Committee of Ways and Means was reappointed early in the regular (second) session of the Fifth Congress on December 4, 1797. A member suggested that a petition on the duty on stills be referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, only to learn that no committee had been appointed. John Nicholas (JR-VA) moved the appointment, and the House ordered that a committee of 16, one member from each state, be named. Only Gallatin and Thomas Blount were carried over from the committee of the second session of the Fourth Congress. William Loughton Smith had been given a diplomatic appointment; Robert Goodloe Harper (F-SC) was named chairman. The Federalists, moreover, held a comfortable ten to six majority over the Jeffersonian Republicans.[51]

The new chairman was personally vain and insolent, but he was also a vocal Federalist for which he was rewarded with the post on the Committee of Ways and Means. Harper was reappointed chairman in the third session of the Fifth Congress and the first session of the Sixth Congress. Theodore Sedgwick, the Federalist Speaker of the Sixth Congress, had serious reservations about Harper, whom he considered lazy and pompous. "I appointed [Harper] at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury," the Speaker wrote to a friend, "because it was apprehended that otherwise the public service might be embarrassed. I am sorry I was influenced to do it." Sedgwick's letter was significant, not only for revealing his opinion of Harper, but also because it indicated that the Speaker based his appointment upon the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury.[52]

Harper continued to pursue Smith's plan for additional revenue through a direct tax on land, houses, and slaves. On May 1, 1798, he presented a committee report that read in part:

> That, in their opinion, it will be necessary to raise the sum of two millions of dollars by a tax on lands, houses, and slaves, to be appropriated among the several States, according to the Constitutional rule, and on the basis of the last census; the mode of assessment and collection to be uniform throughout the United States.[53]

Two members of the committee, James A. Bayard (DE) and Christopher G. Champlin (RI), immediately objected to the report "on the grounds of its not having been laid before the Committee of Ways and Means since it was drawn by the chairman." The House evidently agreed that Harper had acted on his own initiative because it recommitted the report to the Committee of Ways and Means.



When the committee was reappointed early in the third session of the Fifth Congress in December 1798, the question of size once again was raised. Harper moved the appointment of the committee following a motion to create a select committee on the census. Since his committee had considered a similar bill in the previous session, Harper, according to the *Annals* "moved for the appointment of a Committee of Ways and Means, agreeably to the standing rules and orders of the House. The motion was agreed to." The phrasing of the motion and the lack of debate over it suggested that the Committee of Ways and Means had become nearly synonymous with those standing committees created by the House rules. Harper's motion to limit membership to nine elicited opposition from Nicholas, who "hoped, as this is a very important committee, it would consist of sixteen, which is a member from every State of the Union." With the delegations from Delaware and Kentucky absent, the House voted on a motion to appoint a committee of 14. The vote was tied at 34-34 when the Speaker voted against the motion. A motion to create a nine-member committee then passed 35-30. Harper once more was named chairman, with Gallatin and Blount again reappointed to the committee. Regional balance was maintained even though every state was not represented. Four members were from the South (South

Cane-wielding Roger Griswold of Connecticut, a future chairman of Ways and Means, attacks Matthew Lyon of Vermont on the House floor. In January 1798, tempers grew raw in debate over the best way to deal with French naval belligerency. An insulting remark from Griswold drew retaliation from Lyon: He spit a stream of tobacco juice in Griswold's face. In February, denied legal redress, a frustrated Griswold walked up behind Lyon and began beating him with a cane. Lyon grabbed fire tongs and flailed back. The brawl threw the House into an uproar, vividly exposing the emotional pitch of partisan feelings in Congress in the 1790s.

Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland), two were from New England (Connecticut, Massachusetts), and three represented Middle Atlantic states (Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey). The Federalists maintained a strong two-to-one margin over their political opposition.[54]

The committee's size remained constant at nine during both sessions of the Sixth Congress (December 2, 1799–March 3, 1801). By this time, the appointment of the committee had become routine. In the first session, the House resolutions on the President's annual message referred that portion of the speech relating to "the expenditure of public moneys" to the Committee of Ways and Means before the committee had even been appointed. Gallatin made the motion to name the committee, and an unnamed member moved to appoint one member from each state. Harper argued that nine had been a sufficient number in the previous session "and [they] were able to obtain every information, and would be more expeditious." A nine-member committee was appointed, with Harper as chairman, but with only Gallatin retained from the previous committee. Roger Griswold (F-CT), who had served on the Committee of Ways and Means in the second session of the Fifth Congress, was named second to Harper. Sectional balance was once more maintained with four Southern members (two from South Carolina, one each from North Carolina and Virginia), three from New England (Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island), and two from the Middle Atlantic (Pennsylvania, New York). The committee contained a party balance of seven Federalists and but two Jeffersonian Republicans (Gallatin and Levin Powell of Virginia). Speaker Sedgwick's disgust with the chairman mounted as the session continued. He considered Harper's delay in reporting Wolcott's estimates "wholly inexcusable." [55]

The Committee of Ways and Means was reappointed without debate for the second session of the Sixth Congress on November 20, 1800. Griswold of Connecticut was named chairman because Harper had not yet arrived and also possibly because of Speaker Sedgwick's low opinion of the South Carolinian. Gallatin, who also was not yet present, was likewise omitted from the committee list. Regional balance was again maintained with two members from Virginia (Powell and John Nicholas) matched by two from Pennsylvania (Henry Woods and John Smilie). The Federalists continued to hold a safe majority even though the Jeffersonian Republicans picked up an additional seat. Chairman Griswold was an active Federalist leader who was both eloquent and dogmatic. He is perhaps best remembered for a brawl on the floor of the House with Jeffersonian Matthew Lyon in February 1798, which was widely publicized to the embarrassment of both parties and Congress.[56]

The period of Federalist control over the federal government drew to a close in 1801. Thomas Jefferson was elected President when the tied Electoral College vote was decided by the House of Representatives. His party would have a majority in the Seventh Congress, set to convene in December. As the Federalists relinquished control over the Treasury Department, as well as the House of Representatives, the status of the Committee of Ways and Means remained unclear. It had been referred to as a standing committee ever since Gallatin's resolution in 1795, yet the Committee of Ways and Means was not included in the standing rules of the House, making it necessary for the adoption of a special resolution in each legislative session to reappoint the panel. The House apparently adhered to the 18th-century notion of a standing committee to be one that existed throughout a session to consider matters within its jurisdiction. By the Sixth Congress the committee's reappointment had become a routine matter. Although its exact parliamentary status might be uncertain, the House Committee of Ways and Means had functioned from 1795 to 1801 as a standing committee.[57]

Conclusion

The House of Representatives resolved the dilemma concerning the administration of public finance by creating both the Department of the Treasury and the Committee of Ways and Means. Between 1789 and 1794, the House experimented with executive direction of fiscal policy. Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton reported directly to the House in a system reminiscent of the procedure utilized by Congress during the Confederation period. Following Hamilton's departure from office, the House reestablished the Committee of Ways and Means. Although the executive branch continued not only to administer public finance, but also to recommend policy and legislation through the Secretary of the Treasury, the focal point of the House's legislative oversight role concerning public finance now became the Committee of Ways and Means.

The committee's activities between 1795 and 1801 followed a routine pattern. During the Fourth through Sixth Congresses, the committee considered a wide variety of financial issues, including redemption of the federal debt, the modification of existing excise taxes, and the feasibility of soliciting foreign loans and of imposing a direct tax on land. The committee also appointed subcommittees to consider specific questions, such as appropriations for the national Mint. Several of the committee's tax proposals were controversial, especially a 1798 plan proposing a direct tax on land, houses, and slaves that was rejected by the House.

Two committee activities during this period established a precedent for the evolution of a more active committee role in legislation during the 19th century. During the Fifth and subsequent Congresses,

MILESTONES IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMMITTEE
1789–1801

July 24, 1789	The first House of Representatives created "a committee of ways and means"
September 17, 1789	The House discharged the committee from further action
March 26, 1794	The House reestablished a committee "to report the ways and means" for the first session of the Third Congress
December 21, 1795	The House resolved to create "a Standing Committee of Ways and Means"
December 4, 1797	The Committee of Ways and Means was reappointed with 16 members, one from each state
December 14, 1798	The committee's size was reduced to nine members
November 20, 1800	The House reappointed the committee without debate

the Committee of Ways and Means began to draft bills, a task previously reserved to Committees of the Whole House and select committees. While the committee was not instructed to draft comprehensive legislation, it did on occasion draft portions of bills, such as the bill to levy a stamp tax. In addition, the committee also began in a tentative manner to perform oversight functions relative to the executive branch. On two occasions in the Sixth Congress the committee found errors in executive department estimates and requested supplementary information from the officer in question to prove that the estimates were not inflated.

The committee's membership during this period was dominated by the Federalist Party. Its first two chairmen, William Loughton Smith and Robert Goodloe Harper, were both Federalists from South Carolina, and its third chairman was Roger Griswold, a Federalist from Connecticut. Jeffersonian Republicans always formed a distinct, and at times sizable, minority. Albert Gallatin, James Madison, and Thomas Blount each served on the committee in several sessions.

One of the few controversial issues considered during the committee's reappointments in this period was the question of its size. Originally created as a committee with one member from each state represented in Congress, the membership of Ways and Means was reduced to seven for the special session of the Fifth Congress (May–July 1797) and then standardized at nine for the third session of the Fifth Congress (December 1798–March 1799) and both sessions of the Sixth Congress (1799–1801). This seemingly unimportant development takes on a fascinating dimension in light of traditional notions concerning the nature of ways and means committees in the Anglo-American world. By settling on a size roughly the same as other standing committees, the House retreated from the "grand" committee ideal and accepted the more modern notion that a smaller committee could digest information and prepare legislation more efficiently than a larger one. Balanced sectional representation replaced the concern for representing the interests of all of the states.

The Federalist Committee of Ways and Means developed a close relationship with the Federalist Secretary of the Treasury in this period. Rather than reporting directly to Congress, as his predecessor had, Secretary Oliver Wolcott submitted plans and estimates to the committee, which would prepare reports and forward them together with supplemental correspondence to the House. The committee also conferred with the Secretary in a hearing-like setting to obtain additional information. The committee thus served as a "middleman" between the executive and Congress. Rather than assuming an adversarial relationship with Treasury, the committee collaborated closely with all executive departments to save the House from the task of reviewing the time-consuming details of financial administration.

No single factor can explain why the House established the Committee of Ways and Means as a standing committee during the Fourth Congress, nor why it continued to reappoint the committee in every session thereafter. The committee's formation has traditionally been interpreted as a Jeffersonian Republican innovation to wrest control of public finance from the Federalist executive branch. But it is more likely that a climate conducive to the appointment of a standing finance committee was created by a combination of partisanship and the desire to streamline House procedure, conditioned by a widely shared belief in legislative oversight of public finance. The Federalists and the Jeffersonian Republicans achieved a balance between their political ideals and the dictates of necessity with the establishment of an in-house mechanism to act as an informational liaison between the legislature and the executive branch on fiscal matters. In doing so, they made a contribution not only to the legislative procedure of the House of Representatives, but also to the constitutional doctrine of the separation of powers that continues to the present day.

* * *

1801 ★ 1829

The Jeffersonian Republican Committee

The Committee of Ways and Means was included as a standing committee in the revised House Rules of 1802, when its jurisdiction expanded to include appropriations as well as revenue. Under the leadership of John Randolph (1801–1807), the committee became the preeminent standing committee in the House. Randolph and his successors in this period served as de facto majority floor leaders by virtue of their position as chairmen of the committee. The Jeffersonian Republican committee succeeded in repealing the Federalist excise taxes of the 1790s, and also played a prominent role in financing the Louisiana Purchase, the suppression of the Barbary pirates, and the War of 1812. In 1816, the committee drafted the first protective tariff in American history, but afterwards briefly surrendered its tariff jurisdiction to the Committee on Manufactures.

"*. . .to examine into the state of the several public departments; and particularly into the laws making appropriations of moneys, and to report whether the moneys have been disbursed conformably with such laws. . . .*" (Annals of Congress, *7 January 1802*)[1]

The development of the Committee of Ways and Means accelerated during the period of Jeffersonian Republican ascendancy as issues, events, and personalities thrust the committee to the forefront of legislative procedure in the House. Although this period has been named after the President and leader of the majority party, Congress became more independent of presidential leadership, especially after Jefferson left office in 1809. The development of legislative procedure in the House also strengthened both the committee system in general and the Committee of Ways and Means in particular because of its jurisdiction over revenue and appropriations. The Republican-dominated committee was chaired throughout this era by influential party leaders including John Randolph of Virginia, William Lowndes and Langdon Cheves of South Carolina, and Samuel Smith of Maryland.

Historians have characterized this period as one that witnessed the rapid decline of the Federalist Party, culminating in an era from 1816 to 1828 of virtual one-party rule, marked by intense intraparty divisions and personal political rivalries. Under Republican rule, the size of the national domain doubled with the purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803. Another European conflict drew the United States into a second war with Great Britain from 1812 to 1815. The ensuing peace and postwar expansion increased the importance of economic issues, including a tariff to protect American businesses, a national bank to provide fiscal stability, and government-assisted internal improvements such as turnpikes, canals, and railroads to promote economic growth.

Although the national domain doubled, the federal government remained small. In 1802 the entire governmental establishment consisted of 9,237 employees, 6,479 of whom were military. Only 291 federal officials were located in Washington, DC, including 138 congressmen and a support staff of but 12 clerks, officers, and a librarian. By 1829 the Washington establishment had only increased to 625, of whom 273 were members of Congress with a staff of 25. By far the largest department other than the military was the Treasury, which included revenue collectors and post office personnel. The capital city reflected the isolation of the federal government. Few roads linked Washington to the outside world. Shortly after the government had moved to the District of Columbia in 1800, First Lady Abigail Adams wandered lost in the woods for two hours while returning from Baltimore. One congressman aptly described the capital as "neither town nor village," a city which "so many are willing to come to and all [are] so anxious to leave." Congressmen clustered in boarding houses around the unfinished Capitol, separated from the President's House and the executive departments by a swamp-like bog—a literal representation of the doctrine of separation of powers.[2]

As the 19th century began, Congress reevaluated its relationship to the executive branch. Jeffersonian Republicans, no longer the party in opposition, stressed legislative autonomy from the President and the executive department heads, which had been one of the principal motives behind the establishment of the Committee of Ways and Means in 1795. For several years the committee endeavored to check the policies of the Federalist Treasury Department. After 1801 the Republicans found themselves in control of both Congress and the executive. Republicans now began to argue that the executive's greater knowledge and expertise justified deference to the recommendations of the executive departments.[3]

Yet, the older notion of legislative autonomy was never completely abandoned. Thus John Randolph, the first Republican chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, could say, "This House is independent of the Executive Branch of Government," and yet urge his colleagues to accept the recommendations of the War Department as being "best acquainted with the subject."[4] But Congress was not content to surrender its autonomy through an uncritical acceptance of executive measures, even when those measures were submitted by Republicans. Party members in Congress demanded an independent

A brilliant orator, John Randolph of Virginia became the first Jeffersonian Republican chairman of Ways and Means in 1801. He championed President Jefferson's retrenchment policy by urging economy in public expenditures and reduction of taxation and the Revolutionary War debt. The renowned parliamentarian rallied key congressional support for the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. In 1805, as a result of his opposition to a plan to acquire Florida from Spain and to a two-million-dollar appropriation, he fell out of favor with Jefferson. Nevertheless, Randolph stands as one of the major congressional leaders during the nation's early years.

evaluation by the legislative branch, which increased rather than diminished the need for regularly appointed committees to consider matters within their jurisdiction.

The Committee of Ways and Means' recognition as a standing committee in the House Rules, which was granted in 1802, eliminated the need to adopt a resolution establishing the committee in each Congress, thereby assuring regular appointment. Recognition in the rules during this period did not mean a grant of exclusive jurisdiction or of automatic referrals. Subjects within the jurisdiction of the Committee of Ways and Means, for example, were occasionally referred to another standing committee or to a select committee upon the majority vote of the whole House. Moreover, parts of very similar subjects, such as tariff and commerce measures, were referred to either of two different committees, sparking longstanding jurisdictional rivalries. Finally, a committee could be discharged from consideration of any particular measure by a House resolution.[5]

An additional amendment to the rules by the 1820s permitted standing committees to report bills at their own discretion. Previously, most subjects were referred first to the Committee of the Whole House, then to a select or standing committee that prepared a report back to the House. The House then either prepared a bill or granted permission to the committee to do so. By allowing standing committees the right to report by bill, the House acknowledged the special *expertise*, as well as the independent judgment, of those bodies. The amended House rules that granted this privilege, however, did not represent an innovation. Between 1815 and 1820, some committees had been given the power to report by bill when subjects were first referred. The rules change codified in 1822 merely provided official recognition to what had become a common practice.[6]

Both Jeffersonian Republican policy and the incremental development of the House benefited the power and prestige of the Committee of Ways and Means. Fiscal issues were central to the clash between Jeffersonians and Federalists, and the Committee of Ways and Means played a major role in resolving those issues in Jefferson's first term through the repeal of Federalist excise taxes. The committee also reviewed the executive department's estimates of revenue needs and prepared reports on most revenue and appropriations bills. Legislative autonomy was compromised to the extent that the committee and its chairman worked closely with the Treasury Department. In fact, throughout this period the committee maintained a close working relationship with the Republican Secretaries of the Treasury: Albert Gallatin, Alexander J. Dallas, and William Henry Crawford. The committee furthermore exercised an oversight function by examining the operations of the Departments of War and the Navy. Certain matters relating to foreign affairs were also referred to the committee. In only one jurisdictional area, the tariff, did they lose ground, clashing with the Committee on Commerce and Manufactures as early as 1801. By 1819, when that committee split into two separate committees, the primary responsibility for tariff legislation had been assumed by the Committee on Manufactures.

Because the Committee of Ways and Means considered the crucial revenue and appropriations bills of the period, its chairman was one of the most visible and active members in the House of Representatives. The chairman not only reported for the committee, he also led the floor debate on most measures. The committee's overall preeminent position in the Jeffersonian Republican committee structure was best illustrated by Chairman John Randolph's function as the party's majority leader in Congress. The respect congressmen accorded the committee was expressed by one member who felt obligated to defend the reluctance with which he dared to offer an amendment to a committee bill. "I propose the amendment with diffidence," he explained, "because I am also sensible of that deference which is always due, and generally paid, to the Committee of Ways and Means." Echoing arguments given in the Fourth Congress to support a small committee, this member maintained that the committee "have free and familiar access to facts and opinion, which the House, from its very nature and its numbers, could not have . . . they perform their business with a facility and a dispatch, which would be impractical to a large legislative assembly."[7]

John Randolph's Committee, 1801–1807

When the Seventh Congress convened on December 7, 1801, the Jeffersonian Republican Party had a comfortable 68–38 margin in the House of Representatives.[8] The first official act of the House was to elect Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina as Speaker. The following day, immediately after the appointment of the standing committees in the rules, the House adopted a resolution appointing a nine-member "standing" Committee of Ways and Means. Under the revised standing rules adopted on January 7, 1802, five standing committees were listed. Included for the first time under official House rules was a standing Committee of Ways and Means:

> . . . to take into consideration all such reports of the Treasury Department, and all such propositions relative to the revenue, as may be referred to them by the House; to inquire into the state of the public debt, of the revenue, and of the expenditures; and to report, from time to time, their opinion thereon. . . .

The punctuation may have changed slightly, but to this point the committee's mandate was a verbatim restatement of the 1795 resolution. The standing rule, however, went further and specified the committee's additional jurisdiction over appropriations and oversight of executive departments:

> . . . to examine into the state of the several public departments; and particularly into the laws making appropriations of moneys, and to report whether the moneys have been disbursed conformably with such laws; and, also, to report, from time to time, such provisions and arrangements, as may be necessary to add to the economy of the departments, and the accountability of their officers.

This language conferred official recognition upon the committee's unique dual jurisdiction over both revenue and appropriations.[9] Moreover, the committee's size was set at seven, the same as four of the five other standing committees in the rules. No indication was given that two members were removed from the nine-member committee appointed earlier. The House may well have understood this rule to apply only to future sessions since the committee appointed in the second session of the Seventh Congress consisted of seven members.

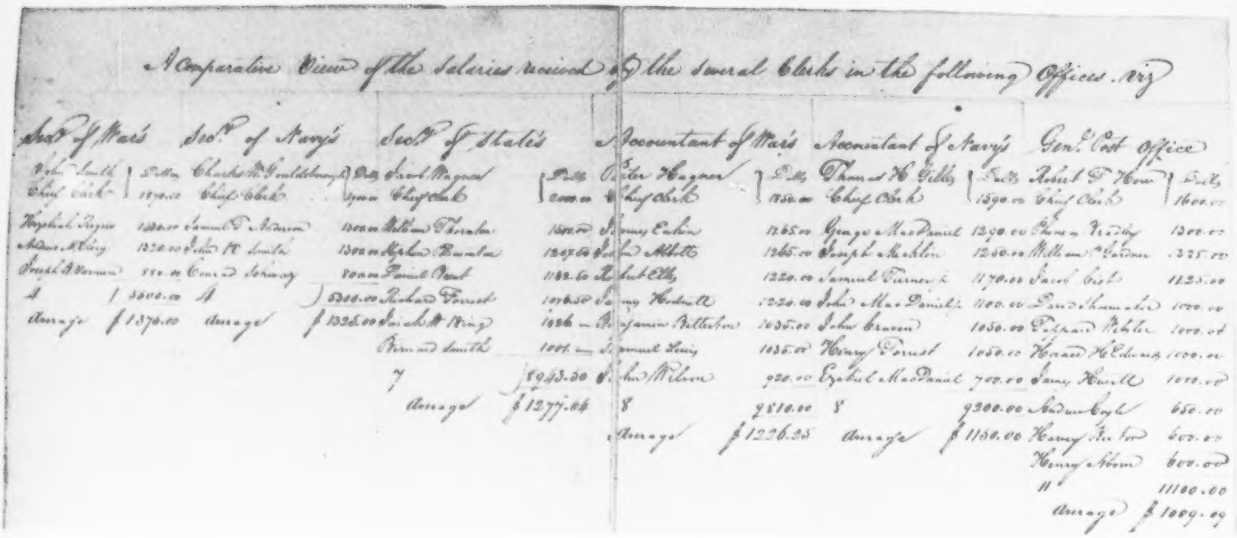
The immediate reasons for the elevation of the Committee of Ways and Means to standing committee status were never specified in the House records. One explanation may be found in the incremental growth of Congress as a legislative body. The steady increase in routine work carried over from session to session was one reason that led the House to adopt standing rather than select committees for certain recurring subjects. The standing committee system was a logical solution to the accumulating workload of the House. The Committee of Ways and Means, for example, had been consistently reappointed since 1795, thereby providing continuity to its transaction of routine business. Granting standing committee status in the rules was a simple recognition of this fact. Indeed the Committee of Ways and Means formed a precedent for the pattern that scholars have discerned in the origins of other standing committees. Select committees that were regularly reappointed in effect became standing committees, subsequently recognized in the standing rules of the House.[10]

A chart of salaries for federal clerks in 1807 reveals the tentative beginning of the Ways and Means role in supervising appropriations of public monies. In 1802, the committee's powers were expanded beyond revenue to include appropriations and oversight of government spending. This short list indicates how small the congressional bureaucracy was in the early 1800s. The last tally on the document showed legislators the average yearly cost of government clerks—$1,009.09.

Another reason often cited for the development of the standing committee system—the efforts of congressional leaders to transfer power from the President to Congress—is only partially applicable. Speaker Nathaniel Macon was by all accounts a loyal, if somewhat unexceptional, follower of President Jefferson. Moreover, Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin worked just as closely with the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, who also served as the majority party's floor leader in the House.

A more plausible explanation for the committee's increased importance may be found in the men who planned and implemented the party's fiscal policy and the ideological perspective they brought to the task. These men, particularly Gallatin and the new committee chairman, John Randolph, were predisposed not only to dismantling the Hamiltonian system, but also to allocating an increased role to the legislature in financial matters. Just as Alexander Hamilton had been the preeminent Federalist financial thinker, so too was Albert Gallatin the dominant Republican theorist and administrator. Jefferson, recognizing his own inadequacies in finance, relied almost wholly upon his Treasury Secretary both to set policy and to administer it with little interference. Gallatin, in fact, wrote the sections on finance for the President's annual messages to Congress.[11] While in Congress, Gallatin had attacked the Federalists, especially Hamilton, for exercising executive control over finance at the expense of the legislature, and therefore of the people. Like Jefferson, he believed that democratic rule could best be exercised through elected representatives of the people, not through a government in which appointed executive departments initiated and directed legislation.

The four major goals Gallatin brought with him to office in 1801 encompased Jeffersonian Republican fiscal policy: 1) a reduction in the national debt, 2) a reduction in taxes, 3) the institution of economy in government, and 4) the adoption of specific appropriations by the legislature. The last item was especially pertinent to the committee's new jurisdiction over appropriations bills. Gallatin had urged the



A Comparative View of the Salaries received by the several Clerks in the following Offices. viz

Sec'y of War's	Dolls	Sec'y of Navy's	Dolls	Sec'y of State's	Dolls	Accountant of War's	Dolls	Accountant of Navy's	Dolls	Gen'l Post Office	Dolls
John Smith Chief Clerk	1870.00	Charles W. Goldsborough Chief Clerk	1900.00	Jacob Wagner Chief Clerk	2000.00	Peter Hagner Chief Clerk	1850.00	Thomas H. Gillis Chief Clerk	1590.00	Robert T. Howe Chief Clerk	1600.00
Hezekiah Rogers	1400.00	Samuel P. Anderson	1300.00	William Thornton	1400.00	James Eakin	1265.00	George MacDaniel	1290.00	Thomas Neasley	1300.00
Adam W. King	1350.00	John W. Smith	1300.00	Stephen Pleasonton	1247.50	John Abbott	1265.00	Joseph Mechlin	1250.00	William McGardner	1225.00
Joseph A. Vernon	880.00	Conrad Schwarz	800.00	Daniel Brent	1182.50	Robert Ellis	1220.00	Samuel Turner Jr	1170.00	Jacob Bist	1125.00
4	5500.00	4	5300.00	Richard Forrest	1076.50	Tobias Hartwell	1220.00	John MacDaniel Jr	1100.00	David Shoemaker	1000.00
Average	$1375.00	Average	$1325.00	Josiah W. King	1036.—	Benjamin Bittenbender	1035.00	John Craven	1050.00	Richard Wahler	1000.00
				Bernard Smith	1001.—	Samuel Lewis	1035.00	Henry Forrest	1050.00	Howard H. Edwards	1000.00
				7	8943.50	John Wilson	920.00	Ezekiel MacDaniel	700.00	James Hewitt	1000.00
				Average	$1277.64	8	9810.00	8	9200.00	Andrew Coyle	650.00
						Average	$1226.25	Average	$1150.00	Henry Rector	600.00
										Henry Moore	600.00
										11	11100.00
										Average	$1009.09

adoption of specific appropriations while he was in Congress as a means to force the Federalists to observe economy in government. Prior appropriations bills had begun with the phrase "there [shall] be appropriated a sum not exceeding. . . ." Gallatin proposed that the language *specify* "the following sums [shall] be respectively appropriated." As he explained to the President in 1801, he wanted "such measures as will effectually guard against misapplication of public monies by making specific appropriations wherever applicable." [12]

The congressional leader with whom Gallatin worked most closely, John Randolph, was no less committed to an increased role for Congress in financial matters, which he greatly influenced not only as chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, but also as floor leader of the majority party. Randolph was a 28-year-old Virginia aristocrat when he assumed the committee chair in 1801. A few years later he ennobled his own name with the addition of the high-sounding suffix "of Roanoke." Even his political foes acknowledged his leadership abilities. Federalist Senator William Plumer observed: "Mr. Randolph goes to the House booted and spurred, with his whip in his hand, in imitation, it is said, of members of the British Parliament. . . . As a popular speaker, he is not inferior to any man in the House. I admire his ingenuity and address," Plumer concluded, though he quickly explained, "but I dislike his politics," since Randolph was just as opposed to the Federalist Party as Gallatin and Jefferson.[13]

Randolph's aggressive, aristocratic intellect helps to explain his rapid rise in Congress and in the Republican Party, but he also had a darker side. Overbearing, impatient, intolerant, and wickedly sarcastic, he was most comfortable in opposition. As one historian concluded, "God did not mold John Randolph to be in any majority." Randolph seemed compelled to ridicule his political foes. He is reputed to have said of an opponent, "He is a man of splendid abilities but utterly corrupt. He shines and stinks like a rotten mackerel by moonlight." Biographers have attributed Randolph's compulsive and combative personality to his impotence, a condition that was the source of some gossip while he lived and that was confirmed by a postmortem examination. Biographers and historians have suggested that he overcompensated for his physical disability in vigorous displays of masculinity such as horse racing and duelling. His most bizarre behavior occurred during the last decade of his life when he drank heavily.[14]

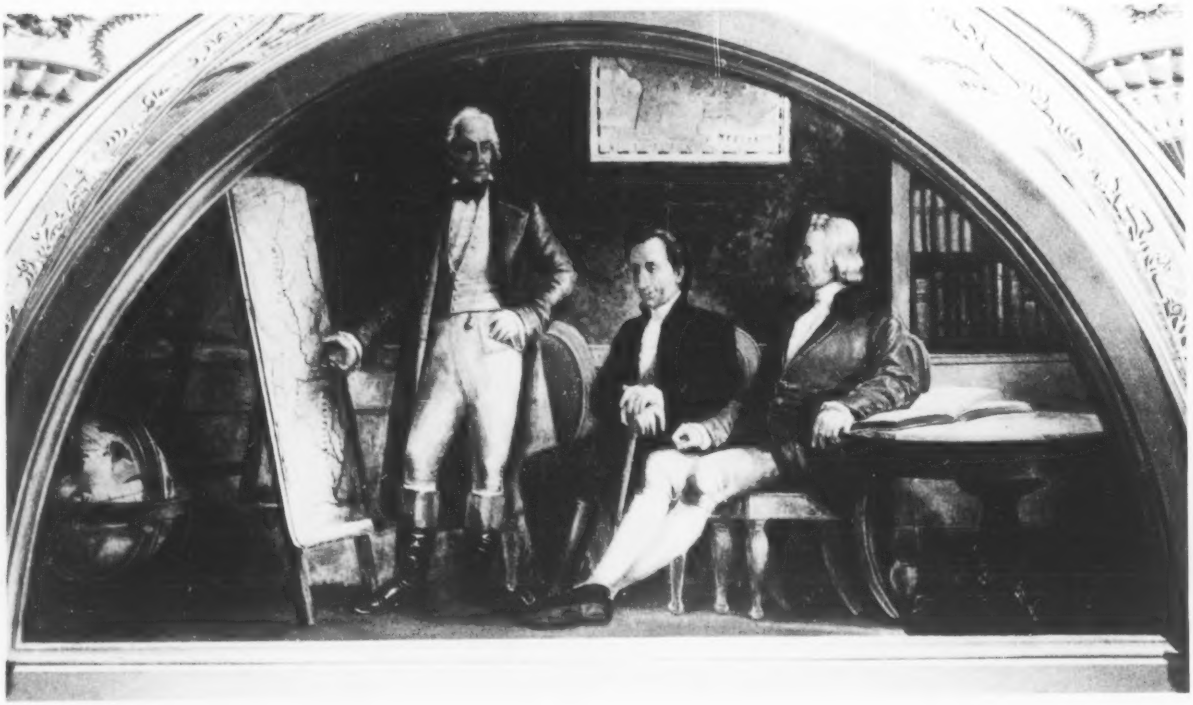
Even with an antagonistic personality, Randolph emerged as the acknowledged Jeffersonian Republican floor leader in the Seventh through Ninth Congresses, largely because of his important position as chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means and his oratorical ability. Speaker Macon, whose duty it was to appoint all standing committees, named Randolph to the first place on the committee. The committees possessed the right to select their own chairmen, but as a matter of course the first-named member usually became the chair. Macon and Randolph were close friends in spite of, or perhaps because of, their opposite temperaments. There is no evidence that Jefferson played any role in the Speaker's decision. Although some scholars have argued that the majority leadership in this period was "distinctly the gift of the President," the evidence conclusively demonstrates that circumstances forced Randolph upon a reluctant Jefferson. For his part, the new chairman professed humility. "I feel myself pre-eminently embarrassed by the station which the partiality of the Speaker has assigned me," Randolph wrote to a friend, one suspects more in keeping with the code of a gentleman than out of conviction.[15]

As chairman, Randolph occupied a prominent position from which to exercise majority party leadership. He introduced and led floor debate on the most important issues the House considered. Given such a disagreeable temperament, his influence can only be understood within the context of late 18th-century politics. As a member of one of Virginia's most important families, he was related to many of the state's most influential leaders, including Jefferson. It probably didn't harm, and may well have helped, that he also claimed descent from Pocahontas. He also was capable of close friendships, though they were few. But Randolph's most salient attribute for political advancement was his speaking ability in an era that placed a great emphasis upon both the content and the presentation of speeches to affect the decision-making process. Tall, thin, and pale, he must have made quite a figure when speaking. His voice according to observers was high-pitched, either flute-like or shrill depending upon the desired effect. He used wit, sarcasm, and classical allusions to build arguments that even his enemies could respect.[16]

Randolph's career as House leader was a tempestuous one. Jefferson tried to make the best of the situation but Randolph remained haughty and independent. Moreover, there is ample evidence that he was unpopular with most congressmen, including the members of his own party. "This Randolph," one congressman wrote, "is a thorough going Democrat, but despising the feebleness of his partisans, he attempts to manage them with so much aristocratic hauteur, that they sometimes grow unmanageable and rebel, but they have no body else who really possess the talents requisite for a leader." [17] Randolph finally broke with the President in 1806, and he was removed as chairman of the committee in 1807.

From the outset Randolph was temperamentally incompatible with the role of party leader. He respected Jefferson but he would not defer to the President. Late in 1800 he had written to a colleague, "I need not say how much I would prefer J. [Jefferson for President] . . . but I am not like some of our party who are as much devoted to him as the Fed[eralist]s were to General Washington. I am not a monarchist in any sense. If our salvation depends on a *single* man, 'tis not worth our attention." [18] Jefferson, on the other hand, tolerated Randolph while he was useful to his purposes, but the two were never close. It would be inaccurate to say, as some have, that Randolph was the President's "legislative lieutenant." Jefferson understood the chairman's independence. Late in 1803 Randolph had written the President to refute charges of his lack of loyalty. Jefferson's reply indicated the differences between the two men. "I see too many proofs of the imperfection of human reason, to entertain wonder or intolerance at any difference of opinion on any subject," the philosopher President wrote, ". . . experience having long taught me the reasonableness of mutual sacrifices of opinion among those who are to act together for any common object." [19]

Randolph's relations with Gallatin were closer and more cordial. The Secretary of the Treasury provided the chairman's chief contact with the executive. The arrogant, aristocratic Virginian greatly admired the brilliance of the dour, frugal, Geneva-born Pennsylvanian. Gallatin and Randolph had been friends since they first met as members of the Sixth Congress. They formed a circle of colleagues together with Speaker Macon and Representative Joseph H. Nicholson of Maryland, also a member of the Committee of Ways and Means and the cousin of Gallatin's wife. The group often met at Gallatin's home near the Capitol to discuss legislation. The Secretary even attended committee meetings to present plans and suggestions, just as the despised Hamilton had done. On at least one occasion he submitted an itemized appropriations bill for the committee's approval. He had even included the sums to be appropriated, a task usually reserved for congressional determination. Gallatin evidently made no effort to hide his connection with Chairman Randolph, nor did he seem to worry



that his actions violated the Jeffersonian Republican theory of legislative autonomy, not to mention his own prior congressional service. For his part, Randolph remained a loyal supporter of the Secretary. When the chairman denounced a compromise Gallatin had arranged to resolve a particularly controversial issue, Randolph conspicuously refrained from publicly criticizing his colleague, while privately writing to a mutual friend, "for God's sake, try and find what is the matter with [Gallatin]." [20]

Randolph was a distinct asset to Secretary Gallatin's programs, although by some accounts his fiscal knowledge was suspect. An opposition newspaper, the *Washington Federalist*, editorialized that Randolph "has been found altogether inadequate to the discharge of his financial functions." The paper went on to state that a bill the chairman had introduced to repeal internal taxes required a clarifying amendment twice the length of the original bill. Randolph's "knowledge of parliamentary proceedings," the article concluded, "is not less defective, than his skill in fiscal concerns." None denied the Virginian's preeminence in the legislative process, however. Federalists referred to Randolph with mocking respect as "the Chancellor of the Exchequer," while even the President applied that title to the chairman as well as adding to it "First Lord of the Treasury." [21]

During Jefferson's first administration, Randolph and the Committee of Ways and Means greatly facilitated three of the four cornerstones of Secretary Gallatin's fiscal policy: 1) reduction of the public debt, 2) reduction in taxation, and 3) the institution of economy in government expenditures.

The reduction of the national debt was Gallatin's highest priority. He felt contempt for Hamilton's sinking fund but he could not advocate its abolition since it was seen as a salutary check upon the fiscal operations of the government. Therefore, he developed a plan to retire the permanent debt within 16 years through the surplus of revenues over expenditures. The 82-million-dollar debt would be eliminated if the government could set aside 7.3 million dollars each year to pay the interest and principal. To accomplish this, the Secretary planned to drastically cut government spending while only partially reducing excise taxes. Tariff duties alone would provide 9.5 million dollars annually; internal taxes and other fees would raise the total revenues to 10.6 million dollars, which left the government with 3.3 million dollars above the annual amount needed to retire the debt. Since Federalist military appropriations for 1801 alone stood at 3.8 million dollars, Gallatin understood the necessity to cut government spending.[22]

With the cooperation of Randolph's committee, virtually all of Gallatin's plan was enacted. The only difference of opinion concerned excise taxes, whose immediate abolition was proposed in the President's annual message to Congress in 1801. Gallatin, on the other hand, recommended that excise taxes be retained for the time being. Randolph compromised the impasse by persuading the Secretaries of War and the Navy to cut expenditures by an amount sufficient to offset the repeal of excise taxes. With those promises secured, the Committee of Ways and Means reported two pieces of legislation, one repealing the hated excise tax and the other appropriating 7.3 million dollars annually towards the payment of the principal and interest on the public debt. The bills were enacted with little opposition in the form that Randolph and the committee requested. As a result, the debt declined from 82 million dollars in 1801 to 57 million dollars in 1808, even with the assumption of an additional debt of 11 million dollars for the purchase of the Louisiana Territory. Treasury reserves increased in the same period from three million to nearly four million dollars.[23]

Randolph's compromise simultaneously attacked the national debt, repealed internal taxes, and further stimulated economy in government administration. By virtue of his importance as committee chairman and floor leader, he was also able to influence foreign policy during Jefferson's first administration. Randolph was the key congressional leader in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. He supported Jefferson and Secretary of State James Madison in their desire to purchase the territory from Napoleon to preserve peace and to remove a potential political issue from the grasp of the Federalists. Gallatin may have

Negotiating the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, special envoy James Monroe (seated at center next to U.S. minister to France Robert R. Livingston) studies a plat of the area presented by François de Barbé-Marbois, French minister of the public treasury. Ways and Means recommended the creation of 11 million dollars in certificates of stock to cover the purchase price of the Louisiana tract. The acquisition averted war between the United States and France, removed a potential political issue from the hands of Jefferson's Federalist opponents, and expanded the nation by 827,987 square miles—westward from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains and northward from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada's border.

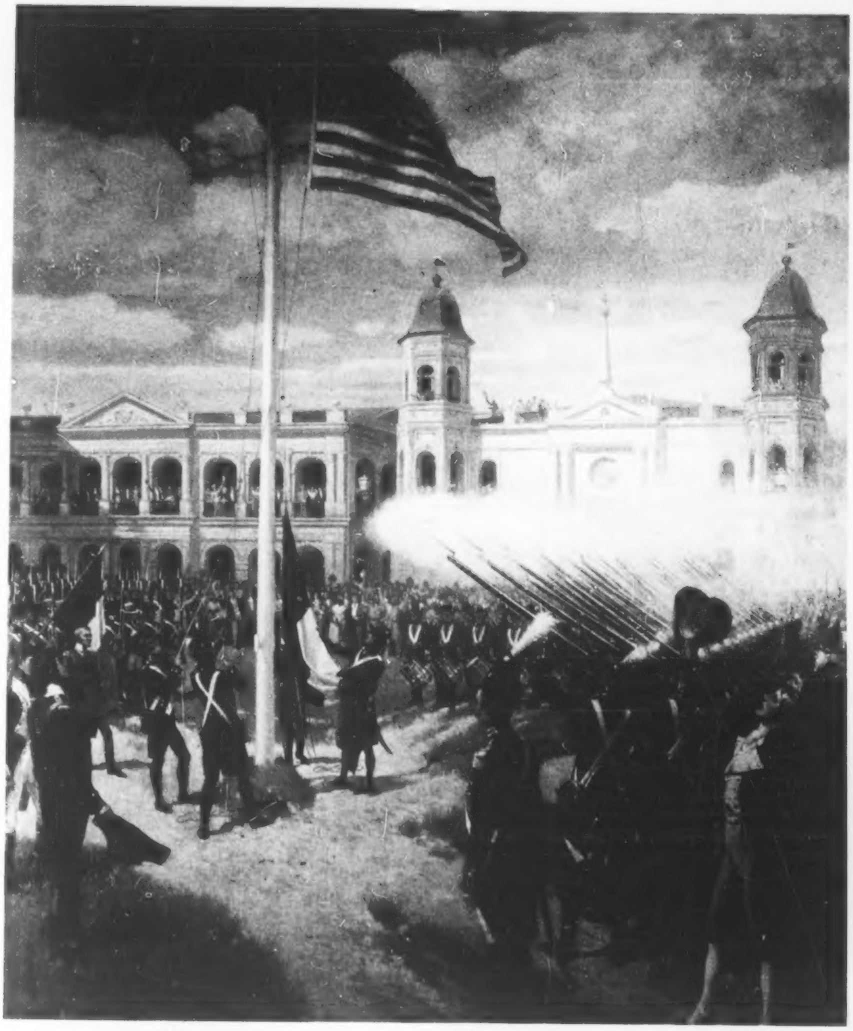
arranged for Randolph's introduction in January 1803 of a resolution authorizing two million dollars for expenses incurred in foreign affairs. Following the negotiations, that portion of the treaty relating to the purchase price was referred to the Committee of Way and Means. According to one of his biographers, "Few men did more than [Randolph] to secure the purchase of Louisiana." His committee's bill creating certificates of stock in favor of the French Republic for the 11-million-dollar purchase price was passed by Congress on November 10, 1803.[24]

The Committee of Ways and Means also played a key role in defeating the Barbary pirates. Jefferson was unwilling to continue the payment of tribute to the four North African pirate states, but he had found himself without enough funds to support naval operations. The frigate *Philadelphia* and its crew were captured, forcing the President to ask Congress to raise naval appropriations to $750,000 a year. Secretary Gallatin, in consultation with Randolph's committee, devised a scheme to finance the campaign against the pirates. Import duties were raised 2.5 percent by the committee's plan, with the increase forming a separate Treasury account known as the Mediterranean Fund. The chairman was absent when the emergency arose. His friend and colleague, Joseph Nicholson, introduced the committee measure on March 21, 1804. Federalist Roger Griswold, a former chairman and still a minority member of the committee, opposed the measure, arguing that the existing duties were high enough. Randolph returned in time to vigorously support the committee bill. Although he claimed not to be prepared to defend the bill in detail, he proceeded to do just that, concluding with a spirited assault upon Griswold's patriotism. "I shall ever prefer the fair adversary who meets me in the field of open enmity," Randolph boasted, "to the skulking assassin who declines the public combat only that he may spring upon me in an unguarded moment."[25] With the chairman's support, the legislation creating the Mediterranean Fund passed the House 98–0. The Navy financed by the fund was able to blockade the North African coast and bring the conflict to an end.

At the conclusion of Jefferson's first term, Randolph's committee had reason to rejoice over its achievements. Even years later the chairman could recall with pride: "Never was there an administration more brilliant than that of Mr. Jefferson. . . . Taxes repealed; the public debt amply provided for, both principal and interest; sinecures abolished; Louisiana acquired; public confidence unbounded."[26]

Characteristically, Randolph had overestimated the accomplishments of the first term, just as characteristically he could not remain the Jeffersonian Republican legislative leader much longer. He had already clashed with the administration over the Yazoo issue—a politically controversial land fraud—and as the House manager of the impeachment of Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase he further alien-

The rattle of musketry in New Orleans' Place d'Armes salutes the raising of the American flag and the lowering of the French tri-color. The ceremony on December 20, 1803, marked the official transfer of the Louisiana Territory to the United States. The event prompted days of rejoicing—known as the Louisiana Jubilee—in Washington, DC. Jeffersonian Republicans joyfully proclaimed, "Never have mankind contemplated so vast and important an accession of empire by means so pacific and just."



ated many party members with his overwrought oratory. During Jefferson's second term, the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means became particularly obstructionist.

Macon was reelected Speaker of the House at the outset of the Ninth Congress in December 1805 and promply reappointed Randolph to chair the Committee of Ways and Means. Jefferson, according to many scholars, would have preferred the appointment of Barnabas Bidwell of Massachusetts to solidify the party's strength in the North, but he declined to interfere either in Macon's reelection or in the Speaker's choice of committee chairs. Republican dogma on legislative autonomy, not to mention the constitutional separation of powers, in this instance at least, prevented the President from intervening.[27]

CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE OF WAYS AND MEANS
1801–1829

John Randolph (JR-VA)	Seventh–Ninth Congresses, 1801–1807
Joseph Clay (JR-PA)[1]	Ninth Congress, 1805
George W. Campbell (JR-TN)	Tenth Congress, 1807–1809
John W. Eppes (JR-VA)	Eleventh Congress, 1809–1811
Ezekiel Bacon (JR-MA)	Twelfth Congress, First Session, 1811–1812
Langdon Cheves (JR-SC)	Twelfth Congress, Second Session, 1812–1813
John W. Eppes (JR-VA)	Thirteenth Congress, 1813–1815
William Lowndes (JR-SC)	Fourteenth Congress–Fifteenth Congress, First Session, 1815–1818
Samuel Smith (JR-MD)	Fifteenth Congress, Second Session–Seventeenth Congress, First Session, 1818–1822
Louis McLane (JR-DE)	Seventeenth Congress, Second Session–Nineteenth Congress, First Session, 1822–1827
George McDuffie (JR-SC)[2]	Nineteenth Congress, Second Session–Twentieth Congress, 1827–1829

[1] *Clay was appointed chairman, but he stepped down to allow Randolph to regain the chair.*

[2] *McDuffie also chaired the committee in the Twenty-first and Twenty-second (First Session) Congresses (1829–32). Randolph was briefly chairman at the outset of the Twentieth Congress from Dec. 6-14, 1827.*

Randolph clashed with the President over Jefferson's request in December 1805 for a general appropriation to purchase Florida from Spain. Randolph chaired both the select committee to which the matter was referred as well as the Committee of Ways and Means, which considered that part of the President's annual message that related to American neutrality. Randolph delayed the actions of both committees. He left town while the committees recessed. Upon his return, the chairman was met by Gallatin at the door of the committee room, but he could not be swayed by the Treasury Secretary's arguments. Gallatin then presented the administration's resolution for a two-million-dollar appropriation for the Florida negotiations to second-ranking committee member Joseph Nicholson. Randolph immediately sought a conference with Jefferson, after which he announced his complete opposition to the policy. In part his reaction was due to an enormous dislike for his rival, James Madison, the Secretary of State. In floor debate Randolph alluded to a remark Madison reportedly made that France would have to be bribed to allow Spain to sell Florida to the United States. "I considered it a base prostration of the national character, to excite one nation by money to bully another out of its property," the chairman moralized.[28]

The House eventually voted the appropriation, but only over Randolph's strong opposition. Many Republican members agreed with Jacob Crowninshield of Massachusetts, who stated that the chairman's leadership had left the committee "deranged, disorganized." Randolph's actions even alienated his good friend Albert Gallatin, who was caught between the chairman's constant sniping at Jefferson and Madison. The Treasury Secretary was forced to sever his personal ties with Randolph, although official contact continued as a matter of course with the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means.[29]

Both as chairman of the committee and as nominal floor leader of the House, Randolph obstructed the passage of administration bills following the Florida affair. He failed to convene the committee, he delayed action on appropriations bills, and, it was later charged, he then sneered at his colleagues for their inability to act. Jefferson responded by isolating Randolph from his support, ultimately engineering his removal from the chairmanship. Randolph's principal ally on the committee, Nicholson, was eliminated by an appointment to the federal judiciary, after which the President tried to persuade Speaker Macon to abandon Randolph.

At the beginning of the second session of the Ninth Congress in December 1806, the revolt against Randolph was in full swing. At the conclusion of the previous session James Sloan of New Jersey had listed several devastating complaints against the chairman, including allegations that he tied up committee business, kept the estimates "in his pocket, or locked up in his desk," and held bills until the end of the session "when many members are gone home." Are these the actions of a "champion of liberty," he asked, or "a petted, vindictive school-boy, in the absence of his master . . . a maniac in his strait-jacket, accidentally broke out of his cell?" Sloan's motion to appoint all standing committees by ballot failed, but Speaker Macon feared that a motion would be made to expel Randolph. Since the Virginian was not present in the House when the Speaker named the committees for the second session, Macon with great personal anguish omitted his friend's name from the list of members for the Committee of Ways and Means.[30]

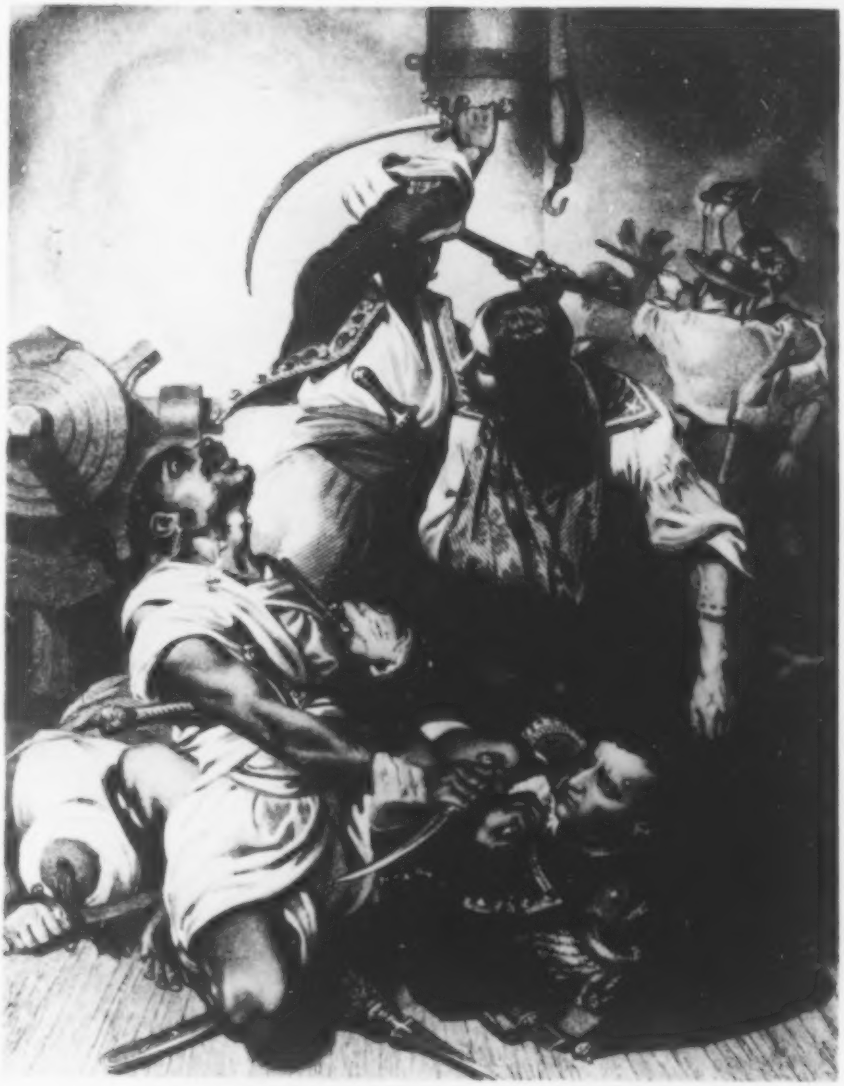
Randolph regained the chairmanship soon thereafter through a set of unusual circumstances. One of his close friends on the committee, James M. Garnett of Virginia, asked to be excused from service, whereupon Macon appointed Randolph to the vacancy. The first-named member of the committee, Joseph Clay of Pennsylvania, then stepped aside and informed the House that the committee had selected Randolph as its chair. His influence, however, was greatly diminished. When the Tenth Congress convened in October 1807, he was finally ousted from the committee following the replacement of Speaker Macon. The new Speaker, Joseph Varnum of Massachusetts, named George W. Campbell of Tennessee—whom Randolph once called "that Prince of Prigs and Puppies"—to chair the Committee of Ways and Means, bringing an end to the first of the committee's great chairmanships.[31]

In his diary, Randolph attributed his removal to President Jefferson, claiming that this information came "from the most direct and authentic sources." The reaction of the one man who may have been that source, Albert Gallatin, provided a better measure of Randolph's chairmanship. "Varnum has, much against my wishes, removed Randolph from the Ways and Means," the Secretary of Treasury wrote. "It was improper as related to the public business, and will give me additional labor." [32]

Committee Operations Under Randolph

The Committee of Ways and Means under Randolph's leadership was in some ways representative of all Jeffersonian standing committees, but in other ways it was unique and preeminent. At the outset of this period there were five standing committees: Ways and Means, Elections, Claims, Commerce and Manufactures, and Revisal and Unfinished Business. The Committee of Ways and Means was reduced from nine members in 1801 to seven members under the revised rules of January 7, 1802. With the exception of Revisal and Unfinished Business with only three members, all standing committees were standardized at seven members. Between 1803 and 1808 four new standing committees were added: Accounts, Public Lands, District of Columbia, and Post Office and Post Roads. Of the nine standing committees, scholars have concluded that the Committee of Ways and Means was the most important to the House's legislative role, especially since the revised rules recognized the committee's dual jurisdiction over revenue and appropriations.

The Committee of Ways and Means considered a large proportion of the major legislation of Jefferson's tenure. The committee's broad responsibilities over revenue and appropriations, as well as its oversight function, necessitated arduous work. The committee continued its earlier function of compiling the annual budget. Estimates of government expenditures were itemized under three broad categories: the civil list and general administrative costs, military expenditures, *With pistol fire, Stephen Decatur fights off a Barbary pirate aboard the frigate* **Mashuda**. *Commodore Decatur captured the Algerian flagship in June 1815. Three months earlier the United States had declared war on Algiers for past hostile acts committed against U.S. merchant seamen during the War of 1812. In 1803, Ways and Means had created the Mediterranean Fund to finance a naval blockade of four pirate states on Africa's Barbary Coast. The fund financed the naval force Decatur led to North Africa in the summer of 1815. After taking the* **Mashuda**, *the commodore extracted a treaty from the dey of Algiers. Years of extortion on the high seas came to an end, and American commercial vessels once again sailed the Mediterranean in safety.*



and foreign affairs. The committee normally presented a comprehensive annual report in January for consideration by the House. The committee also followed Gallatin's wishes for specific appropriations. The act appropriating funds for the Navy for the year 1804, for example, specified exact sums. The act stated that "the following sums be, and the same hereby are, respectively appropriated." Specific amounts were listed ranging from $234,328 for "the pay and subsistence" of officers and seamen to $12,852.76 for clothing and $452 for "military stores" for the Marine Corps.[33]

The committee, though controlled by Republicans, did not simply accept the estimates prepared by the Republican administration. It made its own evaluation of the needs of government and acted accordingly. The committee naturally worked most closely with the Secretary of the Treasury, but it also inquired into the operations of the other executive departments. Randolph recorded one incident that gave a vivid insight into the operation of the oversight function. "I called some time since, at the Navy office," the chairman wrote to Nicholson in 1807, "to ask an explanation of certain items of the estimate for this year." Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith called in his chief clerk, but neither could provide the necessary information. "I propounded a question to the head of the Department—he turned to the Clerk, like a boy who cannot say his lesson, and with imploring countenance beseeches aid. The Clerk with much assurance gabbled out some common place jargon, which I could not take for sterling," Randolph recalled. ". . . There was not a single question, relating to the department, that the Secretary could answer." [34] Considering the source, the letter cannot be accepted as an authentic depiction of the operation of the Navy Department, but it does provide a revealing glimpse of the lengths to which Randolph went to obtain needed information.

The committee's role in foreign affairs during the Jeffersonian period also reinforced its unique importance. A standing committee on foreign affairs was not established until 1822. Several matters relating to foreign affairs were referred to the committee, including the appropriation for the Louisiana Purchase and the President's message on neutrality in 1805. Other matters were referred to select committees or to the Committee on Commerce and Manufactures. There does not appear to have been a clear, consistent rationale governing these referrals. Two years after the committee had been referred the issue of neutrality, for example, the issue of maritime rights raised by the *Chesapeake* incident was referred to the Committee on Commerce and Manufactures.[35]

Like the members of all standing and select committees, those of the Committee of Ways and Means were appointed by the Speaker. The House rules of November 1804 stated that "The first named member of any committee appointed by the Speaker, or the House, shall be the Chairman, and in case of his absence, or being excused by the House, the next named member, and so on as often as the case shall happen, unless the committee shall, by a majority of their number, elect a Chairman." Randolph's election by his colleagues in December 1806 was the most noteworthy instance in which this rule was invoked. There was no clear pattern of tenure for chairmen in this period. Randolph, in fact, was the only powerful chairman to keep his position for six years.[36]

In the absence of a seniority system, the criteria for appointment to the committee were party affiliation, previous experience, and geographical balance. Of the 34 appointments to the Committee of Ways

PARTY RATIOS IN THE COMMITTEE AND THE HOUSE
1801–1829

CONGRESS	COMMITTEE	HOUSE	PRESIDENT
Seventh (1801–1803)	5 JR–4 F	68 JR–38 F	Jefferson (JR)
Eighth (1803–1805)	4 JR–3 F	103 JR–39 F	
Ninth (1805–1807)	5 JR–2 F	114 JR–28 F	
Tenth (1807–1809)	6 JR–1 F	118 JR–26 F	
Eleventh (1809–1811)	5 JR–2 F	92 JR–50 F	Madison (JR)
Twelfth (1811–1813)	6 JR–1 F	107 JR–36 F	
Thirteenth (1813–1815)	6 JR–1 F	114 JR–68 F	
Fourteenth (1815–1817)	5 JR–2 F	119 JR–64 F	
Fifteenth (1817–1819)	5 JR–2 F	146 JR–39 F	Monroe (JR)
Sixteenth (1819–1821)	5 JR–2 F	160 JR–26 F	
Seventeenth (1821–1823)	7 JR	156 JR–32 F	
Eighteenth (1823–1825)	6 JR–1 F	187 JR–26 F	
Nineteenth (1825–1827)	4 AD–3 J	109 AD–104 J	Adams, J.Q. (AD)
Twentieth (1827–1829)	4 JR– 3 AD	113 J–100 AD	

F—Federalist
J—Jacksonian
JR—Jeffersonian Republican
AD—Administration (Adams) Republican

(Figures are for the beginning of the first session of each Congress.)

and Means in the Seventh through Ninth Congresses (1801–1807), 24 went to Republicans and only ten to Federalists. Though turnover on the committee was high, as it was on all standing committees, a core of three to four experienced members (Randolph, Nicholson, Joseph Clay, and Federalist Roger Griswold) carried over from one to another or more Congresses. Virginia, Connecticut, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Georgia were represented on the committee in each of three Congresses; New York, Delaware, and Tennessee were represented in two, all of which corresponds closely to other findings that in general the states with the largest delegations were given the key committee assignments.[37]

The importance of the Committee of Ways and Means to the Jeffersonian committee structure was exemplified by Randolph's role as party leader in the House. The urgency of Gallatin's fiscal reforms thrust Randolph's committee to the forefront of the legislative process. Randolph's drive, intellect, and oratorical ability then propelled him through a stormy career as House leader. When he was ousted in 1807, the upheaval rippled through the entire committee structure. A completely new Committee of Ways and Means was named, and not only was a new Speaker elected, but the turnover in all committee assignments was nearly as great as when the Republicans took control in 1801. The Committee of Ways and Means remained a key committee, but it would be some time before it again reached the level of importance it had achieved under Randolph.

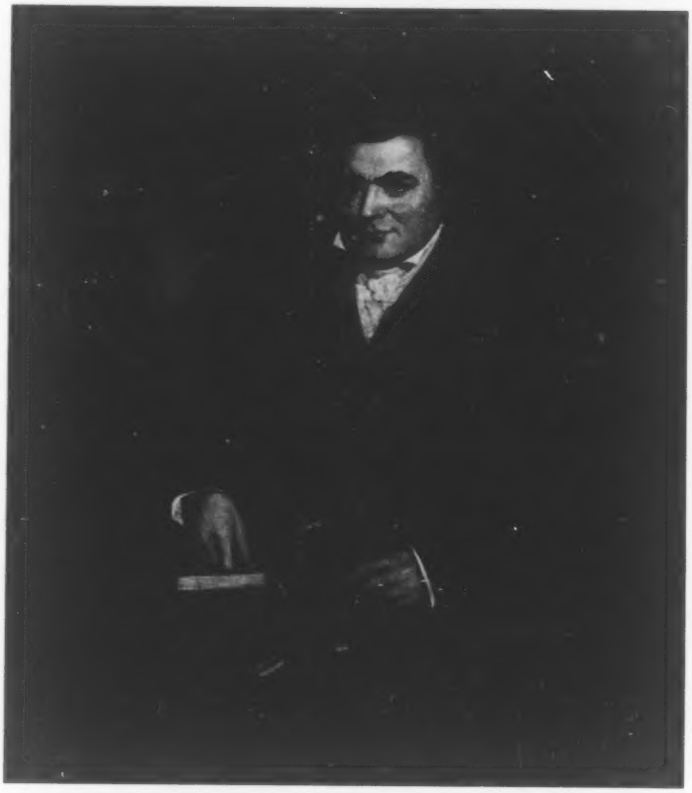
The Committee of Ways and Means and the War of 1812

The committee continued to review budget estimates and to oversee the expenditures of the executive departments after Randolph was removed. Numerous petitions also provided the committee with a heavy workload, but the greatest challenge came from events abroad. The European conflict between France and Great Britain inevitably affected the United States. As a nation heavily involved in shipping and foreign trade, the United States was drawn into a war that the Committee of Ways and Means was to help finance.

Randolph's successor as chairman was George Washington Campbell, a Scottish-born lawyer from Tennessee. Although Campbell was later to serve as Secretary of the Treasury, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and as a director of the Nashville branch of the Bank of the United States, he was a rather ineffective chairman during the Tenth Congress (1807–1809). Gallatin's prediction that Randolph's departure would mean more work for the Secretary of the Treasury proved all too prophetic, although by some accounts Campbell was both a loyal and effective floor leader.[38]

The major issue confronting Congress when it reconvened in November 1808 was the fate of American overseas commerce. Jefferson had hastily pushed through the Embargo Act in 1807 in an effort to disengage the United States from the economic warfare on the high seas between Britain and France. The embargo prohibited American ships from disembarking for any foreign port. The impact upon shipping in New England was disastrous. Many Republicans, including

A Scotland-born lawyer from Tennessee, George Washington Campbell succeeded John Randolph as chairman of Ways and Means in 1807. Although a lackluster leader, he caught the attention of Congress with a position paper known as "Campbell's Report." The treatise expressed the dismay shared by many lawmakers over the failure of Jefferson's Embargo Act of 1807.



Gallatin, feared a backlash against their party. With an election looming in 1808, congressional leaders looked to the White House for guidance, but Jefferson made no mention of the embargo in his annual message to Congress. Campbell, according to Gallatin's biographer, most likely expressed the mood of Congress to the Secretary of the Treasury. The result of Campbell's collaboration with Gallatin was a reformulation of the terms of the embargo that amounted to a confession of failure for the President's policy of peaceful coercion.[39]

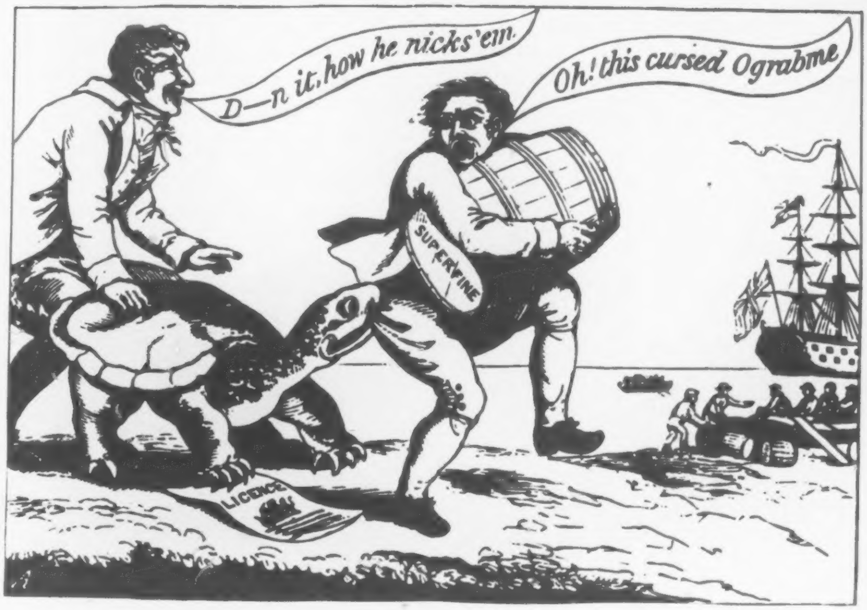
On November 22, 1808, Campbell submitted a report to Congress from the select committee he chaired to consider the President's message. Although known as "Campbell's Report," it was actually written by Gallatin.[40] In the report Gallatin argued that the nation had but three choices: enforce the embargo, submit to foreign domination, or go to war. Not surprisingly the Secretary opted for a renewed enforcement of the embargo. Yet, at the same time, he believed that the United States should prepare for war. Loans, Gallatin argued, could easily finance war preparations, his earlier horror of a public debt having evaporated after years of experience managing one. Campbell's Report was adopted by the House on December 17. A similar measure introduced in the Senate by William Branch Giles of Virginia became law on January 9, 1809. The embargo proved disastrous. It did not prevent the nation from being drawn into the European war, and it was financially distressing as well. Customs revenues fell from 16 million dollars in 1808 to just over seven million dollars in 1809, while military expenditures for preparedness increased.[41]

When the Twelfth Congress convened in 1811, a new generation of political leaders appeared on the scene. Dubbed the "War Hawks" by John Randolph, they included Henry Clay of Kentucky, and John C. Calhoun and Langdon Cheves of South Carolina. Clay was elected Speaker, and he used his influence to appoint fellow War Hawks to key committee assignments. Calhoun, for example, was named to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and Cheves was appointed to the second position on the Committee of Ways and Means, chaired by Ezekiel Bacon, a relatively obscure Republican from Massachusetts. Bacon was evidently incapacitated at times, for Cheves acted as chairman during certain crucial periods in the committee's consideration of measures to finance the War of 1812.[42]

Cheves, who as chairman of the Select Committee on Naval Affairs also helped to strengthen the Navy, steered Gallatin's finance measures through the committee and the House. In a letter of January 10, 1812, to Chairman Bacon, the Treasury Secretary had proposed levying taxes and raising loans. Gallatin accepted the committee's estimate that an annual loan of ten million dollars would be necessary in the event of war. He also proposed increasing customs duties some six million dollars and imposing excise taxes, including a reimposed salt tax, to raise another five million dollars. Gallatin's report made it clear that he blamed Congress for the sad state of the government's finances. Congress had refused to impose the taxes he had requested, and it had failed to recharter the national bank that could have obtained the necessary loans. Cheves led the floor debate on the committee's bill. He spoke in favor of the salt tax, and along with Calhoun, he stymied Randolph's effort to delay consideration of the bill. The tax bill finally passed on March 4 with the provision that it would not go into effect until after a declaration of war.[43]

On May 18, 1812, Cheves, on behalf of the committee, informed Congress that only slightly more than half of the annual loan amount had been subscribed. The Secretary of the Treasury had asked the committee for the authority to issue five million dollars in 5.4 percent interest-bearing Treasury notes that would be acceptable for payment of all duties, taxes, and debts of the United States. This unprecedented proposal was debated for several days, finally passing on June 17, one day before President Madison signed the declaration of war.[44]

The committee's bill to impose war taxes was less successful. Gallatin requested Chairman Bacon, who had resumed his place, to act on the fiscal program that had been approved in March. Even though war had been declared, the House refused to impose new taxes. On



A cartoon snapping turtle Ograbme, "embargo" spelled backwards, clamps down on a smuggler whose attempt to deliver American tobacco to a British merchant ship violates the Embargo Act of 1807. In reprisal against trade restrictions placed on U.S. ships by England and France during the Napoleonic wars, Jefferson called for an embargo. It prohibited shipment of American raw materials and finished products to the European belligerents. A drain on American shipping profits, the controversial trade measure was repealed in 1809, three days before Jefferson left office.

June 26, the House voted by a wide margin, 72–46, to postpone action until the following session. Yet once again the House adjourned in March 1813 without passing the tax bill. Gallatin had once more appeared before the committee to plead for internal taxes. The House refused, but it did approve the Committee of Ways and Means' recommendation to issue another five million dollars in Treasury notes and to raise an additional 16-million-dollar loan. Cheves, upset nonetheless at the inaction on taxes, warned his colleagues that "the imposition of taxes must (eventually) be adopted."[45] They were adopted in 1814, after Cheves had been removed from the committee the previous year.

Cheves was removed from Ways and Means because he differed with Clay and many Republicans over the issue of raising revenue for the war. Not only did Cheves support the unpopular taxes on items such as salt, spirits, and carriages, but he also supported the claims of seaboard merchants against the government. The latter issue was complicated, volatile, and embroiled the Committee of Ways and Means in controversy.

In November 1812 the committee opened hearings on what was called the "merchants' bond case." The case grew out of the Jeffersonian embargo and nonintercourse policies. The policy of nonintercourse with Great Britain provided that trade would be resumed when the British revoked their blockade of European ports to American shipping. After the blockade was rescinded in June of 1812, huge shipments of previously ordered goods from Britain were deposited in

American ports. Congress and the President, however, had declared war, and the goods were seized. They were released only after American merchants purchased bonds from the Treasury Department equal to the value of the cargoes. By law, the government could keep one-half of the bonds and customs officers the other half. Gallatin proposed that the custom officials' half be returned to the merchants, but that the other half be kept by the Treasury to finance the war.[46]

Although the merchants had made profits due to the inflated prices at which the British goods were sold, they petitioned the Committee of Ways and Means to recover the full amount of the bonds, which were in excess of 40 million dollars. Committees of merchants represented by counsel, such as the noted New York author Washington Irving, presented testimony. This was one of the few instances in which the committee held hearings in the early 19th century. The members were understandably unfamiliar with hearing procedure. Jonathan Roberts of Pennsylvania complained that members went into the hearings unbriefed, and were therefore unable to ask intelligent questions. Moreover, since the merchants who testified were "gentlemen of high respectability," even the chairman was restrained in asking questions. "The Committee had no authority to examine them," Roberts protested, "and it pressed no question where any delicacy was felt to answer." As a result, Roberts considered the testimony vague, erroneous, and self-serving. In his opinion at least, the hearings had been of little value.[47]

Chairman Cheves, on the other hand, was enthusiastically supportive of the merchants' position. "I would rather see the objects of the war fail; I would rather see the seamen of the country impressed on the ocean and our commerce swept away from its bosom," Cheves said, "than see the long arm of the Treasury indirectly thrust into the pocket of the citizen through the medium of a penal law." [48]

The full committee overrode the chairman, siding with Gallatin by recommending that the House take no legislative action other than referring the petitions to the Secretary of the Treasury. The committee report led to a spirited debate in the Committee of the Whole House in which Cheves vigorously opposed his own committee's position. The chairman, who represented mercantile Charleston, took the opportunity to attack the entire restrictive system of the embargo and nonintercourse policies. "No cause has contributed so much to the civilization of man . . . as commerce," he argued, adding that "without commerce we would be simple shepherds or barbarian hordes," a statement that no doubt thrilled his agrarian colleagues in the Republican Party. Outraged members threatened to denounce Cheves, and Speaker Clay openly criticized his friend. In the end, Cheves, with the support of fellow Carolinians Calhoun and William Lowndes, was successful. The committee's report was defeated 52 to 49. A few days later the House passed a Senate bill to repay American merchants for

Massive and striking in appearance, Langdon Cheves of South Carolina sat at the head of Ways and Means during the early phase of the War of 1812. His stewardship successfully guided war finance plans through heavy opposition in the House of Representatives. His unpopular and courageous stand for raising military revenue and his sympathy for businessmen in the merchants' bond case cost him the committee's chairmanship in 1813. Cheves served as Speaker for the second session of the Thirteenth Congress. From 1819 to 1822, he served as president of the Bank of the United States.

the bonds on all American-owned goods shipped to the United States before news of the war had reached Britain.[49]

The vehemence with which he pled the merchants' case cost Cheves his seat on the Committee of Ways and Means. When the Thirteenth Congress convened in special session on May 24, 1813, Speaker Clay named John W. Eppes of Virginia to chair the committee. With more than a touch of self-pity, Cheves wrote: "I have no influence in this House. What little I might once have claimed is gone—I have dared to dissent from the course laid down for the Government of the majority, and, consequently have bartered for the privilege of thinking for myself, all right and share in prescribing the policy to be pushed." [50] Events were to vindicate him, both in his own eyes and in those of Congress. Clay was named to the peace commission to negotiate with Britain, and a coalition of Federalists and dissident Republicans elected Cheves to the speakership in January 1814. He later served as a president of the Second Bank of the United States and as chief commissioner of claims under the Treaty of Ghent.

Eppes, the new chairman, was a more orthodox Republican as befitted a man who was both the nephew and the son-in-law of Thomas Jefferson. His major actions as chairman concerned the attempt to recharter the Bank of the United States and the continuing problems of war finance. The Bank had been allowed to expire in 1811 over the objections of Secretary Gallatin, who favored its recharter. The question resurfaced in 1814 following a petition from citizens of New York City that requested a charter for a national bank "from the sincere belief that the establishment of a National Bank will be no less beneficial to the public than to the individuals who may be concerned in it." [51] The House referred the petition to Eppes' committee. The chairman reported on January 10, 1814, that it was the committee's opinion that a bank was unconstitutional. The report was concise:

> That the power to create corporations within the Territorial limits of the States, without the consent of the States, is neither one of the powers delegated by the Constitution of the United States, or essentially necessary for carrying into effect any delegated power.[52]

The report was mainly the work of the chairman, for when the bank came to a vote in October, only Eppes and one other committee member voted against it.

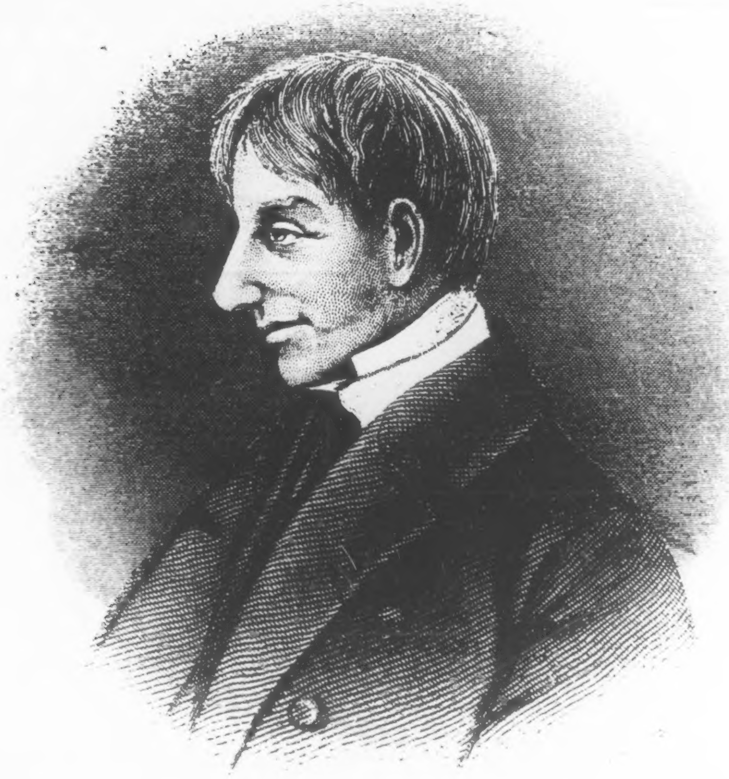
The committee's division on the bank question was clearly evident when the second-ranking member, John W. Taylor of New York, reported a bill in February to charter a national bank in the District of Columbia. In debate, Eppes argued that the committee still considered a bank unconstitutional, but that they had reported the bill in order that the House could decide the issue. The chairman's pique was obvious when he suggested that if the matter were to be recommitted, "the bill should be referred to a select committee, and not the Committee of Ways and Means, who had already expressed their opinion on the subject." [53] No action was taken on the bill, possibly because chartering a bank in the District of Columbia did not resolve the constitutional issue of establishing branch banks in the states.

In January of 1814, the Committee of Ways and Means was also referred the annual report of the Treasury Department, which outlined an anticipated deficit of 29 million dollars for 1814. In February, Eppes proposed a loan of 25 million dollars and another five million dollars in Treasury notes to meet the deficit. The bill passed with only slight opposition among Republicans. As the war continued to go badly, agitation for the creation of a bank intensified, even including an attempt to amend the Constitution to permit the incorporation of a national bank. The nation's finances continued to deteriorate under the new Secretary of the Treasury, former Chairman George W. Campbell, who resigned in late September leaving a nearly destitute Treasury. The loans authorized by Congress had not been subscribed; banks had suspended specie payments, i.e., the redemption in gold and silver of bank notes, and the Treasury was forced to suspend payments on the interest of the national debt in November.[54]

Protected by the breastworks below New Orleans, militia sharpshooters commanded by Gen. Andrew Jackson turn back the British and save the Mississippi Valley at the end of the War of 1812. The Ways and Means Committee's reliance on loans and war taxes to fund the American army set a money-raising precedent used to finance wartime needs. Claims by American merchants against the U.S. government for goods confiscated during the War of 1812 prompted the committee to hold hearings. The "merchants' bond case" became one of the few occasions that Ways and Means held hearings during the early 19th century.

Under Eppes, the Committee of Ways and Means reported a program to restore health to the nation's finances on October 10, before Alexander J. Dallas had assumed office as the new Secretary of the Treasury. The committee report, while admitting that taxes should be doubled, recommended the issuance of Treasury notes in small enough denominations that they could supply a circulating medium in the absence of specie. The notes would be receivable at any time for United States stock, purchases of public lands, or payments of taxes. Four days after reporting to the House, the chairman informed Dallas that no action would be taken on their recommendations until the Secretary had had an opportunity to respond. Dallas answered with a sweeping program almost completely at odds with the committee's wishes. The Secretary's report of October 17 requested an annual revenue of 21 million dollars to be raised by doubling excise taxes, but the most controversial provision was his recommendation to charter a national bank as "the only efficient remedy for the disordered condition of our circulating medium." [55]

Dallas lobbied the Committee of Ways and Means to accept his program, writing to Chairman Eppes: "In these times the establishment of a national bank will not only be useful in promoting the general welfare, but is necessary and proper for carrying into execution



"I think the wisest man I ever knew was William Lowndes," said Henry Clay of this Ways and Means chairman from South Carolina. During Lowndes' leadership of the committee from 1815 to 1818, Ways and Means wrote the bill that repealed taxes imposed during the War of 1812 and called for the first protectionist tariff in American history. The 1816 measure put high import duties on inexpensive foreign goods to enable American firms to compete domestically on a favorable basis. A proponent of a sound national banking system, Lowndes supported the chartering of the Second Bank of the United States in 1816.

some of the important powers constitutionally vested in the government."[56] The Secretary requested and was granted a receptive hearing before the committee. On October 24 the committee reported to the House that it was "expedient to establish a National Bank, with branches in the several States." The resolution was accepted without debate, and four days later a motion to delete the reference to branch banks in the states was defeated. James Fisk of Vermont reported the committee bill on November 7, perhaps an indication that the chairman had not yielded his constitutional objections. The bill was drafted along the lines suggested by Dallas, with capital of 50 million dollars of which 20 million dollars would be subscribed by the government and the remainder by private corporations and individuals. The committee's proposal was attacked from all sides. Federalists, and Republicans such as Calhoun, Cheves, and Daniel Webster, so altered the details that the bill eventually bore little resemblance to Dallas' outline. President Madison consequently vetoed the bill on January 30, 1815.[57]

The bill that finally established the Second Bank of the United States in 1816 was the result of Calhoun's change of heart. As chairman of the House Committee on Currency, he reported the bill that became law on April 10, 1816, with only minor modifications to the proposal originally submitted by Secretary Dallas.[58] The Committee of Ways and Means in the meantime had reported a loan bill that became law on March 3, 1815. The Treasury was authorized under the terms of the bill to issue 18.5 million dollars in 6 percent government stock, an amount equal to the outstanding Treasury notes. Since the notes could be redeemed for the new interest-bearing stock, it was hoped that most of the notes could be withdrawn from circulation.[59]

One last unresolved issue of war finance was also settled by the Committee of Ways and Means. In December of 1817 the committee, now chaired by Cheves' South Carolina colleague, William Lowndes, reported a bill to abolish wartime excise taxes. This followed the report of the new Treasury Secretary, William H. Crawford, predicting a surplus of three million dollars even without the taxes. That the House quickly passed the repeal, on December 11, by a vote of 161–5 came as little surprise.[60]

The Committee of Ways and Means under the chairmanships of Cheves and Eppes played a key legislative role in financing the War of 1812. Both chairmen favored loans and the creation of Treasury notes; somewhat more reluctantly they accepted increased excise taxes that the committee helped repeal once the war had ended. The committee, however, refused to support the incorporation of a national bank. Cheves, and Eppes especially, were major roadblocks to Secretaries of the Treasury Gallatin and Dallas in their efforts to charter a mechanism to bring some order and soundness to the nation's banking and currency problems. When the Second Bank of the United States was chartered, it was reported through another committee, the Committee on Currency. Committee rivalries were inevitable, created in part by overlapping jurisdictions, such as that with regard to banking. Political issue-oriented differences and personal rivalries also played a role. All of these factors were notably evident in the intense rivalry between the Committee of Ways and Means and the Committees on Commerce and Manufactures over tariff policy in the Jeffersonian period.

The Committee of Ways and Means and the Tariff, 1816–1828

Twenty-four acts modifying import duties were passed between the tariff of 1794 and the general revision enacted in 1816. With minor exceptions these acts were drafted for the purpose of raising revenue only. The tariff was not a controversial issue in these years; widespread bipartisan agreement existed on the need and propriety of a federal tariff to supply revenue. However, with the end of the War of

Diversity characterized Samuel Smith of Maryland. He amassed wealth as a Baltimore merchant, then entered Congress in 1793 and served for 40 years in the House and Senate. During the War of 1812, he took up arms and led the land and sea forces that defended Baltimore against the British. At separate times he served as chairman of Ways and Means and of the Committee on Commerce and Manufactures. He paid no heed to protocol if ignoring it advanced the cause of protectionism that he favored. During a particular proceeding in 1820 when Manufactures reported a protective tariff bill—a procedure arguably limited to the revenue jurisdiction of Ways and Means, which Smith then headed—he allowed the referral without protest.

1812, the protection of American manufactured goods by means of the tariff became a hotly contested political issue. The war had stimulated both American nationalism and the development of manufacturing. When Great Britain dumped cheaper goods on the American market after the war, many businessmen and political leaders looked for relief to a protective tariff.

Protectionism postulated that high import duties on cheaper foreign manufactures would permit American industries to compete on an equal if not favorable basis, which would help to promote a stronger national economy. President Madison in his December 1815 message to Congress broached the issue of protectionism. "In adjusting the duties on imports to the object of revenue, the influence of the tariff on manufactures will necessarily present itself for consideration," the President observed.[61]

The House referred the revenue issues raised in Madison's message to the Committee of Ways and Means, chaired by Lowndes. The committee reported a set of resolutions dealing with tariffs and postal rates—another source of federal revenue—on January 9, 1816. After a month of discussion in the House, the resolutions were referred back to the committee with instructions to report bills along these lines. The section relating to the tariff read as follows:

> *Resolved*, That it is expedient so to amend the rates of duties upon imported articles, after the 30th of June next, as that they shall be estimated to produce an amount equal to that which would be produced by an average addition of forty-two per cent. to the permanent rates of duties.[62]

In drafting the Tariff of 1816, Lowndes' committee relied upon a report submitted by Secretary Dallas. The bill recommended a tariff rate 42 percent above the prewar rates. It also included an ingenious proposal to establish a "minimum" on cotton cloth, suggested by New England industrialist Francis C. Lowell to protect American mills from cheaper imports from India. All imported cloth valued at less than 25 cents per yard would be charged with a 25 percent duty at the minimum valuation of 25 cents per yard. The rates reported by the committee on other goods were also protective, but not as high as Dallas had requested. As one tariff historian has cleverly observed, "the Committee of Ways and Means seems to have been made up with a strong majority of protectionists, but not with a majority of strong protectionists." [63]

The committee bill was reported to the House on March 20, passed on April 8, and signed into law by the President on April 27. The bill as reported by the Committee of Ways and Means placed an average duty of 25 percent on those imports that competed with American-made goods. The bill provided for yearly reductions until a uniform 20 percent rate was reached in 1819. Lowndes introduced the bill, but he fell ill and the responsibility for guiding it through the House rested with the second-ranking member, Samuel Smith of Maryland. Smith energetically defended the bill, succeeding in increasing the rates on certain types of manufactured iron, but failing to prevent an amendment limiting the duration of the tariff to four years.[64]

Opinions varied on the first protective tariff in American history. Smith considered the Tariff of 1816 as the best in his long career (he served in Congress from 1793 to 1833) because he believed its rates were high enough to protect manufacturing but low enough not to hurt commercial interests. Others, probably including Secretary Dallas, have considered the tariff as protective in intent, but an act for revenue only in practice. Tariff scholars have concluded that the Tariff of 1816 settled nothing and did little to protect manufactures. But opponents of protectionism such as John C. Calhoun detected the onset of an ominous trend. Any tariff that even in principle went beyond revenue only, Calhoun contended, threatened to become "an immense tax on one portion of the community to put money into the pockets of another." [65] As events were to prove, the agrarian South especially came to resent protective tariffs that seemingly taxed them for the benefit of Northern manufacturers.

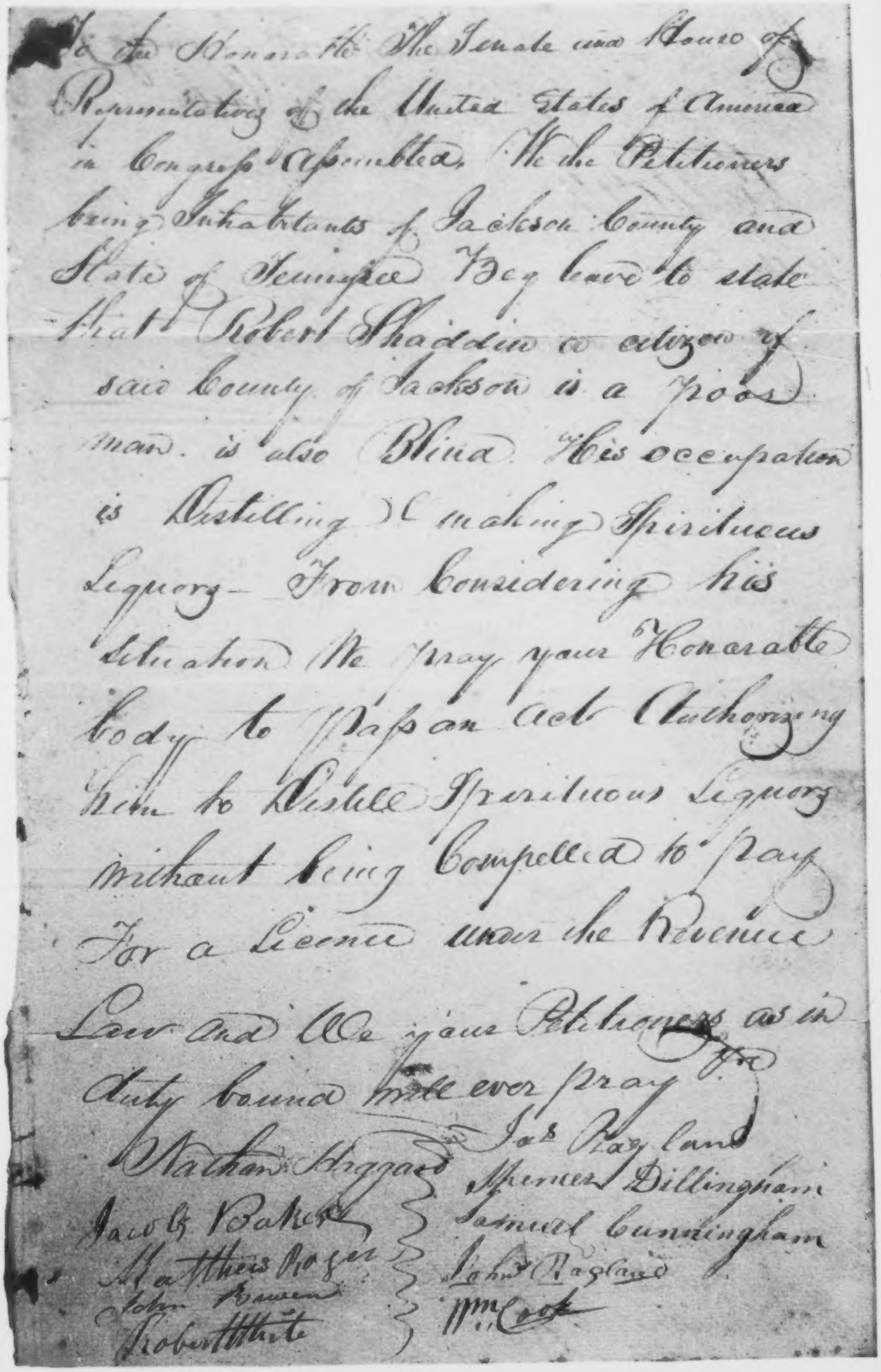
In 1818, Congress passed measures to amend the Tariff of 1816 by extending the duty on cotton and woolen goods to 1826, and by increasing the duties on iron and certain manufactures. These were to be the last major tariff measures initiated by the Committee of Ways and Means for more than a decade. Popular opinion in the meantime had been captured by the tariff issue. Petitions and counterpetitions inundated Congress arguing for and against protective tariffs. It is perhaps difficult to understand how emotional and volatile the tariff issue became in the 19th century. The tariff meant far more than the difference between profit and loss for certain manufacturing or agricultural interests. The tariff involved the very nature of what kind of political economy would prevail: a basically agrarian Jeffersonian republic, or a bustling, commercial Federalist-Whig society.

The function of originating tariff bills was transferred from the Committee of Ways and Means following the creation of separate committees on Commerce and Manufactures by the Sixteenth Congress in 1819. As long as the purpose of the tariff was revenue only, it was clearly a subject for the Committee of Ways and Means, but when the purpose became primarily the protection of American commerce, the tariff fell more properly within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Manufactures. Speaker Clay named protective tariff advocates to the Committee on Manufactures, to which were referred the majority of tariff petitions. The Committee of Ways and Means declined to deal with the tariff issue, simply recommending a loan to cover the five-million-dollar deficit forecast by Secretary of the Treasury Crawford in 1820.[66]

Conflict between the committees was inevitable given their overlapping jurisdictions. The tariff was both a matter of public revenue, and, as such, a proper subject for the Committee of Ways and Means, as well as a matter concerning Commerce and Manufactures. The two committees had tangled over defining jurisdictional boundaries as early as 1801. Samuel Smith, as then chairman of the Committee on Commerce and Manufactures, was a strong champion of protectionism, while John Randolph's committee advocated the agrarian position of the Jeffersonian Republican Party, which the chairman once cogently expressed: "It is not consonant with the principles of a wise policy to lay duties not for the purpose of raising revenue to the government, but to operate as a bounty on any particular species of labor at the expense of the community in general on whom taxes are laid." [67] The two men, who were personal foes, and the two committees continually jostled for position.

In December 1801, Smith had moved that the Committee on Commerce and Manufactures be instructed to inquire into the whole subject of import duties. In Randolph's absence, Federalist Roger Griswold rose to object on behalf of the Committee of Ways and Means, arguing that because import duties were revenue, they more

A handwritten petition from Tennessee citizens requests Congress to exempt distiller Robert Shaddin from payments of duty imposed on the making of "spirituous liquors." Mr. Shaddin should be exempt, they argued, because he "is a poor man [and] is also blind." The document illustrates methods of communication between congressmen and their constituents around 1814. The petition also shows that Ways and Means not only coped with complicated issues of public finance but also, through the committee's jurisdiction over revenues, dealt with ordinary citizens and their everyday concerns about paying taxes.



To the Honorable The Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congreſs Aſsembled. We the Petitioners being Inhabitants of Jackson County and State of Tenniſsee Beg leave to state that Robert Shaddin a citizen of said County of Jackson is a poor man. is also Blind His occupation is Distilling & making Spirituous Liquors— From Considering his situation We pray your Honorable body to Paſs an Act Authorizing him to Distill Spirituous Liquors without being Compelled to pay For a Licence under the Revenue Law and We your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray &c

Nathan Haggard
Jacob Baker
Matthew Rogers
John Bowen
Robert White

Jas Ragland
Spencer Dillingham
Samuel Cunningham
John Ragland
Wm Cook

clearly pertained to his committee's jurisdiction. Smith countered that "it was necessary for the subject to be discussed by commercial men, of whom alone the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures was composed."[68] The House agreed with Smith in this instance and referred the subject to his committee.

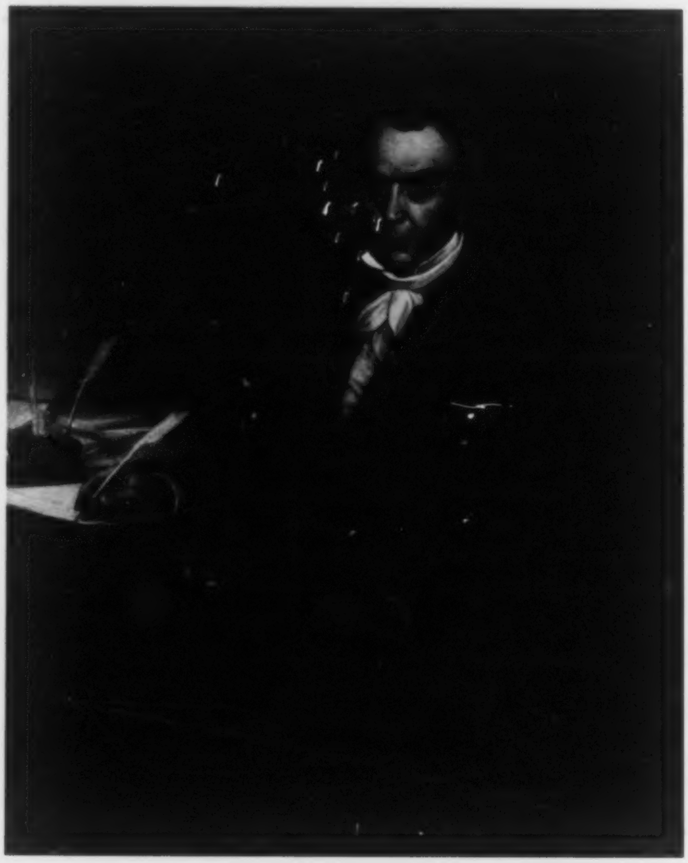
A survey of congressional action on the tariff before 1820 provides no clear rationale to govern the referrals of tariff petitions. In the Fourteenth Congress, for example, petitions involving questions principally of revenue and only incidentally of protection were referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, but no clear and consistent practice was followed in other sessions. In fact, between 1801 and 1820 more tariff work was performed by the Committee on Commerce and Manufactures.[69]

Samuel Smith's previous attitude on the tariff perhaps explains why, as chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means in 1820, he allowed the Committee on Manufactures to report a protective tariff without protest. Smith's committee report of April 24, 1820, made no reference to the tariff whatsoever, and ignored the other committee altogether. Henry Baldwin of Pennsylvania, chairman of Manufactures, reported a tariff bill with some professed embarrassment. His committee, Baldwin argued, had been forced to report a bill that went beyond protecting manufactures to one that would replenish the Treasury because of the inaction of Smith's committee. Baldwin's bill passed the House but failed in the Senate.[70]

Both the Tariffs of 1824 and 1828 (the infamous "tariff of abominations") were also initiated by the Committee on Manufactures. In the course of debate in 1824, Chairman Louis McLane of the Committee of Ways and Means indicated a general acceptance of Manufactures' jurisdiction over protective tariffs. When another member requested that McLane's committee examine the impact of the proposed tariff on revenue, the chairman disagreed, arguing that requests for information should be directed to the committee that had drafted the bill in question. Since the tariff was drafted to protect manufactures, not to raise revenue, it "appertained wholly to the other committee." McLane was, as one might suspect, as ardent a protectionist as Samuel Smith. As chairman in 1823, McLane had postponed action on the committee's major business—appropriations bills—in order that a proposal from Manufactures to raise the tariff might receive preferential consideration.[71]

The apparent acceptance of the Committee on Manufactures' jurisdiction over tariffs ended with the uproar accompanying the Tariff of 1828. Southern opponents of protective tariffs, inspired by John C. Calhoun's *Exposition and Protest*, attacked the tariff as unconstitutional and dangerous to the South's peculiar institution—slavery. Calhoun's fellow South Carolinian, George McDuffie, became chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means in 1827, and in December of 1828 he

As ardent a protectionist as Samuel Smith, Louis McLane of Delaware assumed leadership of Ways and Means in 1822. He echoed Smith's general interpretation that tariffs had more to do with protecting American commerce than with raising revenues; thus he viewed such tariff issues as the province of the Committee on Manufactures, not Ways and Means. His outlook fueled heated debate. McLane became Secretary of the Treasury in 1831 and Secretary of State in 1833 under President Andrew Jackson, exemplifying Ways and Means chairmen who went on to attain high Cabinet posts.



reported a bill to reduce the rates of the tariff of abominations. The House voted 107-79 to table the bill without debate, but McDuffie's committee had served notice that they intended to reassert their claim to jurisdiction over import duties. As the Jeffersonian era merged into the Jacksonian period, the tariff had become a volatile political issue even more than a question of procedural jurisdiction.[72]

The Committee in Transition: The 1820s

The inauguration of Andrew Jackson in 1829 has marked a convenient line of demarcation between the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian periods. Historical processes, of course, are not so abrupt. Change is gradual, often imperceptible, and periodization is at best a useful descriptive tool. The development of the Committee of Ways and Means from 1801 to 1829 reflected the politics of the Jeffersonian period to be sure, but the functions the committee performed owed as much to the growth of Congress as an institution.

The Committee of Ways and Means remained a key participant in legislative affairs in the decades after Randolph left the chairmanship. The committee continued to consider and revise executive department budget estimates, to draft appropriations bills, and to oversee the expenditures of the departments. The workload was correspondingly heavy. Chairman McLane in the 1820s, for example, complained of the burden of committee meetings that were normally held three mornings a week while Congress was in session.[73]

With the evolution of the speakership under Clay as the focus of political and legislative leadership in the House, the chairmanship of the Committee of Ways and Means became less important than it had been under Randolph. None of his successors tried to make a career out of service on the committee. There was little apparent interest in making advancement in Congress the sole goal of a politician's life. Cheves, for example, went on to become Speaker of the House, but the pinnacle of his public life came in his duties as president of the Second Bank of the United States and as chief commissioner of claims under the Treaty of Ghent. McLane likewise capped his career as Secretary of the Treasury (1831–1833) and Secretary of State (1833–1834), having failed to obtain the appointment to the Supreme Court that he most desired. Length of tenure, therefore, was not a priority during this period. McLane, contemplating his resignation from the committee, observed, "A man loses character by remaining too long, without change in one place." [74]

Chairmen continued to be named by the Speaker, in close consultation with the executive, on the basis both of political ability and financial expertise. Samuel Smith was chosen in 1818 because he possessed "unmatched knowledge of commercial and financial affairs," and because he was closer to President Monroe and Secretary Crawford than he was to Madison and Gallatin. Both Smith and McLane were particularly loyal to the Secretary of the Treasury. Part of this was in consequence of the closeness with which the committee worked with the Treasury. Crawford kept in touch with Smith, not only through the 17 reports the Secretary annually made to Congress, but also in private correspondence, even to the point of soliciting Smith's advice to present to the Cabinet. McLane refused to leave the committee in 1823, fearing that it would fall into the hands of Crawford's enemies. McLane's biographer, moreover, claimed that the chairman's loyalty to the Secretary of the Treasury caused his law practice to suffer.[75]

When Crawford's chief rival within the party, John Quincy Adams, assumed the Presidency in 1825, Speaker John W. Taylor decided that the party leadership could not displace the previous chairmen, including McLane, but that they could name new members more amenable to the administration. As a result, only three members of the seven on the Committee of Ways and Means were reappointed;

the four new members gave Adams control of the committee. McLane suffered through two more years, but left the committee in disgust in 1827. "I am giving my talents and wasting my health for my enemies and against my friends," he wrote to his wife.[76]

Membership on the committee, as well as the chairmanship, had become politicized. From the beginning of the period the Republican control of Congress had been reflected in the committee's composition. The most noticeable changes were the disappearance of geographical balance and the dominance of Southern members. Not only was every chairman in this period from the South, with the exception of the ineffectual Bacon of Massachusetts and McLane of Delaware, the committee itself also developed a distinct Southern slant. In the Seventh Congress, the previous concern for geographical balance continued with three members from the South, three from Middle Atlantic states, and three from the North. From the Twelfth through Twentieth Congresses (1811–1829), however, the South reigned supreme with majorities as high as 5–1–1. In part this change represented the decline of the Federalist Party, but it also signified the importance of Southern leadership to the Republican Party.[77]

As the House appointed new standing committees, the Committee of Ways and Means encountered challenges to its traditional areas of jurisdiction. The conflict with Commerce and Manufactures over the tariff and with Calhoun's Currency Committee regarding the Second Bank of the United States were but two examples of overlapping jurisdiction. The Committee of Ways and Means in the Fourteenth Congress, for example, was referred the subject of tonnage duties, that is, the existing tax per ton upon foreign vessels entering American ports. Chairman Lowndes reported a bill to regulate tonnage duties, but he admitted that the Committee on Foreign Affairs shared jurisdiction. Some ships entering American ports engaged in trade with nations that excluded American shipping, which was a question of foreign affairs outside his committee's jurisdiction. The House accepted Lowndes' report and committed the bill to the Committee on Foreign Affairs for consideration.[78]

During this period, the Committee of Ways and Means also considered numerous petitions from private citizens regarding revenue matters, of which the merchants' bond case was but the most controversial. Most petitions were more direct and uncomplicated. In 1814, for example, several citizens of Tennessee asked that one Robert Shaddin "may be exempted from the payment of the duty imposed on spiritous liquors, on the ground that the said Shaddin is poor & blind." The committee recommended that the petition be rejected. The duty on liquor and stills provided several similar petitions, most of which were rejected. Some were imaginative, if not persuasive. Mary Andrews, for example, asked to be relieved of the responsibility for paying a bond her late husband had taken to secure payment of duties on his still. The husband's fatal illness prevented the still from producing sufficient income to pay the bond. The committee did not agree, arguing that Mrs. Andrews would have been able to pay the bond if her agent had conducted her husband's estate with greater diligence.[79]

Chairman Lowndes announced the committee's general policy governing such petitions in 1817. Two distillers had petitioned for remission of duties on the ground that their wares had been destroyed by fire. Lowndes admitted that the petitioners had good reason to ask for relief. Indirect or excise taxes, such as those on distilled spirits, although paid at the time of manufacture or importation, were considered taxes on consumption to be passed on to the purchaser. It was unfair, the petitioners reasoned, not to remit duties on goods destroyed before they were sold. "The committee feel that in many cases such relief cannot be denied with much pain," the chairman reported, "but they think it cannot be granted without imprudence." The payment of duties upon goods, he argued, added to their value, which it was the owner's obligation to insure. The government, in short, could not act as an insurance company for American commerce.[80]

Other examples of the committee's broad jurisdiction included postal rates and Indian affairs. Postal rates, as sources of revenue, fell within the committee's purview. Rates were doubled during the War of 1812, for example, to increase federal income. The committee's control over appropriations included treaty appropriations involving American Indians. During this period, land-hungry Southern whites pressed the federal government to confine to reservations the five great Indian nations of the South—Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Seminole. Treaties such as the one concluded with the Creek Indians in 1817 involved treaty appropriations to purchase lands or to satisfy claims, which were routinely considered by the Committee of Ways and Means.[81]

The committee remained preeminent in the field of appropriations. It raised the revenue to finance military operations to fight the War of 1812, for example. After the war, under Samuel Smith, who had served as a general in the defense of Baltimore, the committee resisted strong sentiment to drastically cut military appropriations. The role of chairmen in steering appropriations bills through the House gave them a leadership position second in importance only to the Speaker. Since revenue and appropriations bills were the most important legislation considered by the House, the chairman arranged the order of business, fixed the hours of adjournment, and determined when the sessions closed.[82]

By 1819, the committee's control over appropriations was such that the chairman, Lowndes, could report an appropriations bill with the blanks filled in. It had been the custom for the committee to

MILESTONES IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMMITTEE 1801–1829

1801	John Randolph appointed chairman
1802	The Committee of Ways and Means was listed for the first time as standing committee in the revised House Rules
1802	Repeal of Federalist excise taxes
1803	Louisiana Purchase Treaty appropriations
1804	Mediterranean Fund to finance naval operations against the Barbary pirates
1807	Randolph ousted from the committee
1812	Measures to finance the War of 1812 include increased excise taxes and issuance of Treasury notes
1812–1813	Merchants' Bond Case
1814	Unsuccessful committee bill to charter Second Bank of the United States
1816	Tariff of 1816, the first protective tariff in American history
1817	Repeal of wartime excise taxes
1823	Separate appropriations bill for fortifications
1826	Separate appropriations bill for pensions
1828	Separate appropriations bill for rivers and harbors

report the various items without stating specific amounts. The amounts would be supplied following debate in the Committee of the Whole House. Lowndes argued that his committee, having examined and revised the executive department estimates, was justified in reporting specific sums. The House, he concluded, could change any figure that they deemed necessary or extravagant. In the 1820s, the appropriations process became even more refined. A single omnibus bill previously had met the needs of all departments, but in 1823 a separate appropriations bill for fortifications was passed. This was followed by similar separate bills for pensions (1826) and for rivers and harbors (1828). In the following period, separate bills were prepared for post offices and post roads (1844), deficiencies (1844), consular and diplomatic service (1856), and for legislative, executive, and judicial expenses (1857).[83]

Conclusion

The continued evolution of the standing committee system significantly altered congressional procedure. The original dilemma confronting the Jeffersonian Republicans had been the role of the executive vis-à-vis the legislature. Their solution was to create a system of shared responsibilities. Although the executive continued to provide information and policy initiatives, it did not dictate to Congress, but rather funneled policy through the standing committees as agents of the legislature. The emphasis of the Jeffersonian Republicans on legislative autonomy and an increasing legislative workload gradually allowed these committees to become more active in the process of drafting bills and creating policy. Standing committees thus became truly legislative bodies. This new role of committees in initiating bills marked the first significant turning point in the development of our legislative system. The practice of according to committees the right to initiate legislation within their jurisdictional boundaries contrasted sharply with the traditional British parliamentary ideal of committees as subordinate to the instructions of the whole House, a notion that had guided Congress since its inception in 1789. The importance of committees as policymakers would be further enhanced as the second party system took shape in the 1830s and '40s.

These changes particularly affected the role of the Committee of Ways and Means. As the House developed a more sophisticated institutional apparatus by appointing new committees, these bodies began to impinge upon the jurisdiction of the Committee of Ways and Means, most notably in the areas of tariffs and banking. In the 1820s the committee shared its authority over tariffs with the Committee on Manufactures and over banking with the Committee on Currency, but it remained preeminent in appropriations, a subject that would consume more of its energies in the ensuing decades. Jurisdictional challenges notwithstanding, the Committee of Ways and Means remained among the most active of the House standing committees. The partisan battles of the Jacksonian period would once again thrust the committee into the forefront of congressional politics and procedure.

* * *

1829 ★ 1861

Appropriations, Banking, and the Tariff

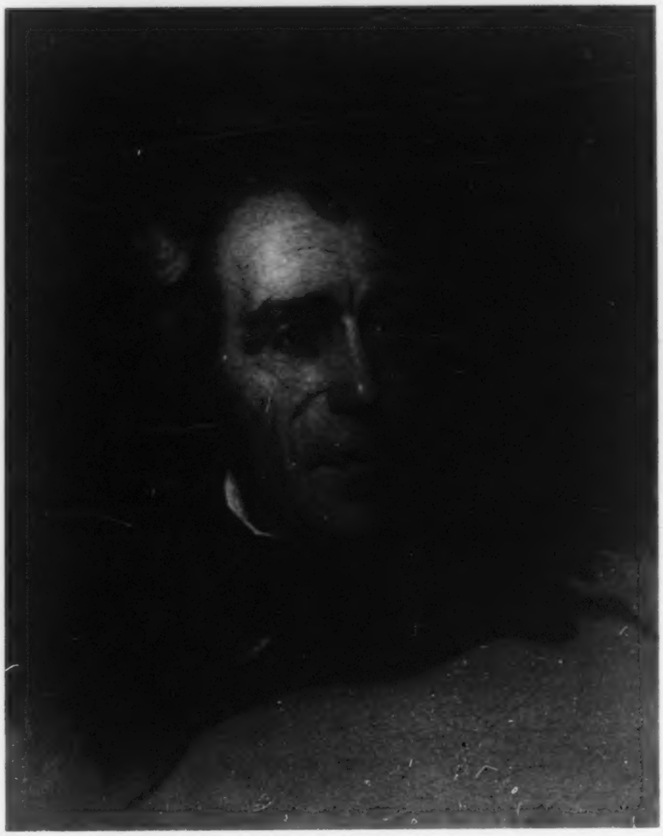
The Committee of Ways and Means gained additional prominence in the decades immediately preceding the Civil War. During the period 1829–1861, the committee's chairman came to be regarded as the second most important leader in the House. By 1832, the committee's jurisdiction once again included the tariff. The committee also participated in congressional battles over the nation's banking system, appropriations, and was even occasionally involved with the subject of slavery. Because of its broad jurisdiction, the committee participated in the creation of policy, probably to a larger extent than any other House committee during the antebellum era.

"The great body of legislation was referred to the committee of ways and means, which then had charge of all appropriations and of all tax laws, and whose chairman was recognized as leader of the House, practically controlling the order of its business." (John Sherman, 1895)[1]

Andrew Jackson's election to the Presidency marked the culmination of a period of social, economic, and political change that began with the American Revolution and intensified after the War of 1812. One of the most significant of these changes was the introduction of democratic reforms in order to broaden the political base, such as the extension of the vote to all adult white males. The Virginia dynasty ended with the presidential election of 1824. From the disaffection surrounding the election and Presidency of John Quincy Adams, a new and vigorous party system began to coalesce at the state level.

The second American party system developed incrementally between 1824 and 1840. The principal stimulants to the development of the new parties were the presidential elections. By 1840, two parties of truly national scope competed for control of offices on the municipal, state, and federal level. The founders of these new parties were not all aristocratic gentlemen. Many were from the middle or lower-middle classes, men who gained prominence in state legislatures and who became the nation's first professional politicians. These men built the state organizations that formed the backbone of the Democratic and Whig Parties.

These developments affected both the composition and the structure of Congress. In the three decades before the Civil War, the House of Representatives evolved from a small body of well-to-do elites to a much larger, more heterogeneous group representing a



A charismatic, forceful leader, former Ways and Means member Andrew Jackson came to office in 1829 as the people's President. Political clashes over the tariff and the Second Bank of the United States during his term prefigured the tumultuous years leading up to the Civil War. When South Carolina tried to nullify the high protective tariff in 1832, Jackson ordered armed forces to Charleston. When Congress passed a bill to recharter the Second Bank of the United States, which Jackson charged with economic privilege, he vetoed it. As national politics polarized around Jackson and his opposition, two political parties began to evolve: the Democratic Republicans, or Democrats, and the National Republicans, or Whigs.

variety of social, political, and ethnocultural concerns. From an institutional standpoint, old procedures were refined both to accommodate changes in the composition and concerns of Congress and to bolster the emerging concept of majority rule. The period was also one of intense partisan conflict. Each of the great political issues of the day—slavery, territorial expansion, the tariff, and the Bank War—prompted sectional tensions while posing internal challenges to a Congress incrementally striving to build and to maintain an effective party apparatus.

The history of the Committee of Ways and Means in this period mirrored the institutional and procedural changes taking place in the House. By virtue of its broad jurisdiction, the committee was inevitably drawn into many of the major political battles in Congress. The committee played important roles in the creation of tariff policy with the Tariffs of 1833, 1842, 1846, 1857, and 1861. It also issued reports and drafted legislation concerning: the failure to recharter the Bank of the United States in 1832; the removal of government deposits from the Bank in 1836; and the creation of the Independent Treasury in 1840, its repeal in 1841, and its resurrection as the Constitutional

Treasury in 1846. Finally, the committee functioned as the keystone of the congressional appropriations procedure. By the outbreak of the Civil War, the committee had consolidated its tripartite jurisdiction over revenue, banking, and appropriations, functioning as an integral element in the legislative operations of the House of Representatives.

The Committee and the House, 1829–1861

The period from the inauguration of Andrew Jackson in 1829 to the beginning of the Civil War in 1861 was a time of growth, change, and conflict for the nation, for the House of Representatives, and for the Committee of Ways and Means. Territorial boundaries were increased by the annexation of Texas and by the acquisition of land in the Southwest as a result of the Mexican War. The population more than doubled, in part as a result of a wave of immigration in the 1840s.

Population growth and western expansion were also reflected in political change. The election of Andrew Jackson, the first President from west of the Appalachians, ushered in an era of increased popular participation in politics. Most states adopted laws providing for universal white male suffrage in the Jacksonian period. The democratization of the electoral process occurred simultaneously with the rise of the vigorous second party system that channeled political conflict in the young republic. Political campaigns became festive and noisy occasions in which the general public was courted to cast its votes, first for the Democratic Party or the Whig Party in the mid-1830s, and later in the 1840s and '50s for a variety of third parties before the Republican Party emerged as the dominant opposition to the Democrats.

Population growth, political change, and western expansion affected the structure and the composition of Congress. Although the House only increased in size from 213 to 236 members, nine new states were represented, altering the previous sectional balance of power between the Northern and Southern states of the Atlantic seaboard. The House Committee of Ways and Means similarly grew—modestly in size—but more dramatically in function. The committee was enlarged from seven to nine members in 1833 before it was further increased to 11 in 1873. During the antebellum period, moreover, the committee solidified its jurisdiction over revenue, banking, and appropriations.

To some critical observers, Congress appeared to be a chaotic debating society that accomplished very little. Alexis de Tocqueville, a French observer of American democracy, thought that political parties were responsible for this congressional paralysis. "Parties are so impatient of control and are never manageable except in moments of great public danger," he wrote. Another foreign observer, Frederick Marryat, noted that congressional oratory was "full of eagles, starspangled banners, sovereign people, claptrap, flattery, and humbug." He concluded: "It is astonishing how little work they get through in a session in Washington." [2]

Beneath the superficial veneer of disorder and inaction, Congress was a viable and evolving institution. Even as the House membership grew more diverse and fractious, congressional procedures necessarily became more specialized, and the standing committee system became even more firmly entrenched. In contrast to the previous period when one group, the Jeffersonian Republicans, had enjoyed power for a 24-year period, between 1829 and 1861, control of the House switched hands three times. In spite of the changes in leadership, the House created workable institutional arrangements through its committee system. Most volatile issues were successfully compromised until the slavery issue in the 1850s proved to be irreconcilable.

Standing committees emerged in the antebellum period as the central legislative agents of both the House and the Senate. The number of standing committees in the House increased from ten in 1810 to 39 by the beginning of the Civil War, while the Senate's standing committee system grew to 22 from the 12 created in 1816. As the two-party system became institutionalized in Congress, committee duties expanded to include routine involvement in the creation of policy and the origination of legislation.

Two procedural developments during the 1820s prefigured a more active role for standing committees in originating legislation. In the early Federalist and Jeffersonian Congresses, committees reported bills only on prior instruction by the House. In 1814, the House adopted a resolution conferring to some standing and select committees the general authority to report by bill. In subsequent years the House passed similar resolutions, and in 1820 and 1822 this practice was codified in the rules. By the end of the decade the House had also dropped the procedure of initially referring all legislation to the Committee of the Whole House, and replaced it with first reference to a standing or select committee. Such changes assured standing committees such as the Committee of Ways and Means a role in the consideration of most legislation. Committees now served as bodies through which the majority party could simultaneously shape policy agenda and oversee important legislation.

Because policy decisions were increasingly made at the committee level, the political composition of committees was crucial. The majority party was able to exercise some control over policy decisions since the Speaker of the House continued to appoint committees. The Speakers were careful, moreover, to permit minority representation while providing for majority rule. The usual majority-minority ratios on the Committee of Ways and Means in this period, for example, were 6-3 and 5-4. Beginning in the early 1830s, the House further recognized minority representation by permitting minority as well as majority reports. Committee members, in spite of high turnover rates, tended to become specialists, digesting the technical information within their jurisdiction and then originating legislation for the House to consider.

As had been the case in the previous period, no clear system governed committee appointments beyond the necessity to reflect the partisan composition of the House. In the absence of the seniority principle, which did not develop until much later in the century, memberships tended to be unstable and reflected shifting political and ideological alliances. Only one member, John S. Phelps (D-MO), served five consecutive terms on the Committee of Ways and Means during this period, for example, and turnover in chairmanships was also frequent. Only three members served for four terms, and six for three terms. Seniority on any given committee was therefore not necessarily a significant consideration in committee appointments.[3]

The balanced sectional representation on the committee that had been evident since its creation continued during this period, although it was expanded by the addition of more representation from the Middle West. New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and either Massachusetts, Connecticut, or New Hampshire were represented on the committee in nearly every Congress. Beginning with the Twenty-third Congress, Ohio represented the interests of the Middle West in all but two Congresses [Thirty-second (1851–1853) and Thirty-third (1853–1855)], when representatives from Indiana and Missouri were present.

In the antebellum period, party loyalty, ideological compatibility, political expediency, or simple competence proved to be the most important criteria for appointments to a given committee. It was not unusual for congressmen who had only served a few terms to obtain chairmanships of prestigious committees such as the Committee of Ways and Means. For instance, fourth-term member J. Glancy Jones (D-PA) was selected chairman in 1857 over his seven-term colleague John S. Phelps, who had served on the committee for three previous terms. Similarly, freshmen congressmen were not infrequently appointed to important committees, such as the 35 freshmen members appointed to the Committee of Ways and Means between 1829 and 1861. The chief motivation guiding the Speaker's selections often was the desire to control certain key legislative measures. In other cases, party loyalty, ideological compatibility, or competence proved to be the most important criterion.

The chairmanship of the Committee of Ways and Means provided a good example of how this "non-system" worked. By the late 1820s, chairmen were regarded as the managers of their committee's bills. Since the Committee of Ways and Means reported so much vital legislation during a given session, it was important for a President with a majority of his own party in Congress to have a chairman who could push his fiscal programs through the House. If the political situation demanded it, a chairman was appointed on the basis of ideological compatibility with the President. This was the case with the appointments of Gulian Verplanck in 1832, James K. Polk in 1833, and Churchill C. Cambreleng in 1835.

In some instances the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means was selected on the basis of a second-place finish in the speakership election, such as was the case with Millard Fillmore in 1841, while at other times the position was awarded simply as a reward for services rendered to the Speaker. The latter was true in the selection of Democrat Thomas Bayly of Virginia in 1849, who had delivered some key votes for Georgia's Howell Cobb during the heated speakership contest.

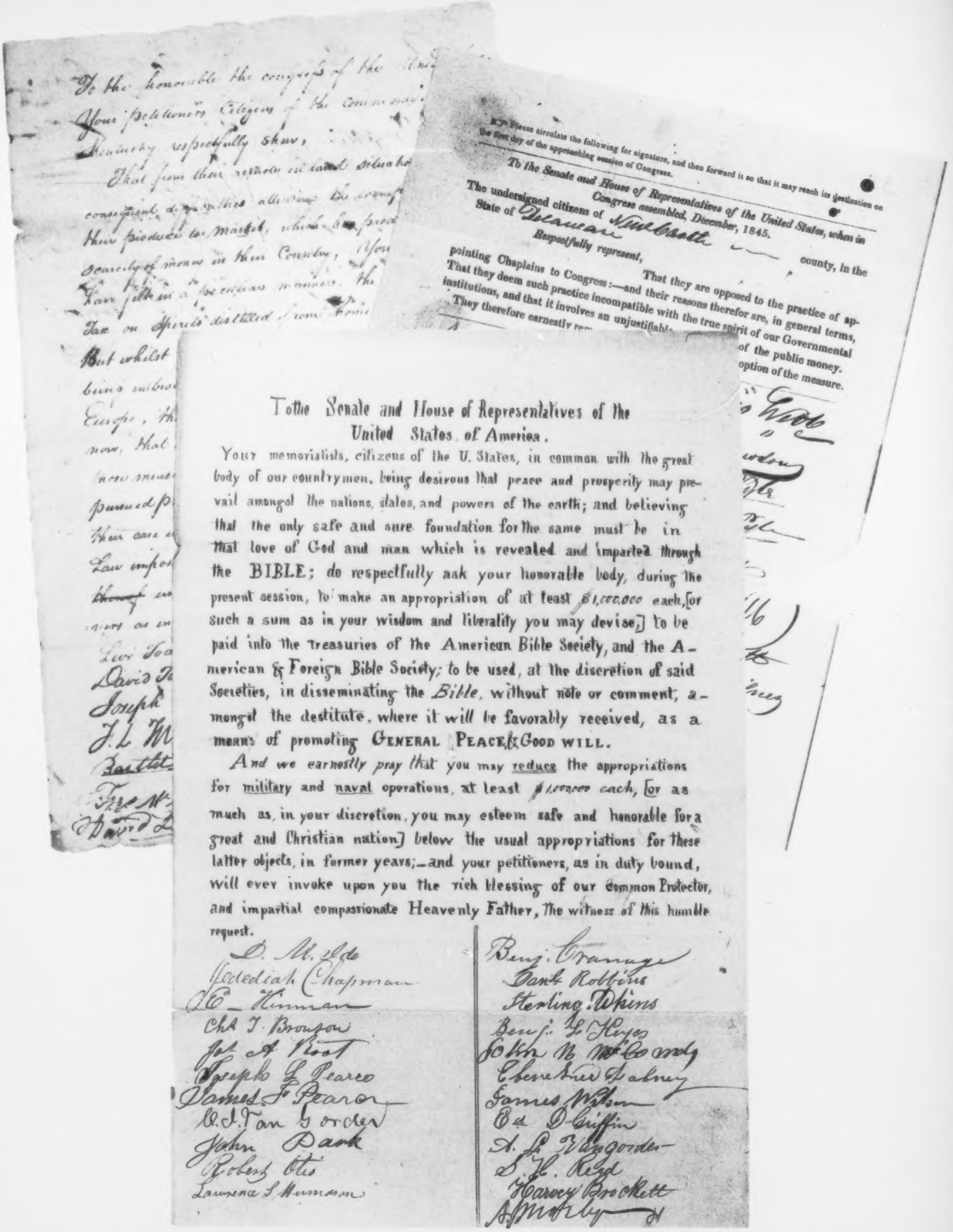
The politicization of the selection process prompted frequent turnover in committee chairs. There were 14 chairmen of the Committee of Ways and Means during the 16 Congresses between 1829 and 1861, for instance. Only three men, Cambreleng, James Iver McKay (D-NC), and George S. Houston (D-AL), chaired the committee for two Congresses each.[4]

The powers of committee chairmen were great. They not only decided when the committee would meet, they also set the agenda and often drafted legislation on their own initiative. By 1861 chairmen also had the benefit of committee clerks, often used as the chairman's personal secretary, and a committee room in the Capitol from which to conduct business. The House adopted a rule in 1838 requiring special approval for a committee to hire a clerk. Although such approval was routinely granted, it was not until the 1850s that the House Committee of Ways and Means and the Senate Committee on Finance became two of the first three committees to obtain regular appointments for full-time clerks. The Committee of Ways and Means was also granted a room strategically located on the principal floor of the Capitol near the House Chamber.

The antebellum period was not only a time of change and flux, it was also characterized by the increasing technical sophistication of the legislative process. Committee rooms and permanent clerks were two manifestations of this development. Floor debate similarly reflected a greater familiarity with parliamentary procedure, and members were further aided in their deliberations by the advent of printed legislative and executive documents. By the 1840s, executive communications, bills and resolutions, and even committee reports were printed and disseminated among the members of the House and the Senate.[5]

It was also during this period that the Committee of Ways and Means solidified its status within the standing committee system. The committee regained jurisdiction over the tariff in the 1830s and continued to exercise its oversight of banking and currency issues. The Nullification Crisis over tariff policy and the extended controversy

Petitions to Congress express the concerns of citizens in the early 1800s. Ranging from a request to repeal duties on stills and distilled spirits to a Bible society's hope that military appropriations would be reduced, these petitions were considered by Ways and Means. The requests underscore the social and political unrest of a nation caught in the turbulent times of the antebellum period. They also indicate that, even as Congress became more diverse and fractious, it was evolving into a viable institution that could attend to the everyday worries of a growing nation.



To the honorable the congress of the Uni
Your Petitioners Citizens of the Commonw
Kentucky respectfully shew,
That from their remote inland situatio
consequent difficulties attending the transp
their produce to Market, which has prod
scarcity of money in their Country, (You
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☞ Please circulate the following for signature, and then forward it so that it may reach its destination on the first day of the approaching session of Congress.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, when in Congress assembled, December, 1845.

The undersigned citizens of Newcastle county, in the State of Delaware

Respectfully represent,

That they are opposed to the practice of appointing Chaplains to Congress:—and their reasons therefor are, in general terms, That they deem such practice incompatible with the true spirit of our Governmental institutions, and that it involves an unjustifiabl of the public money. They therefore earnestly req option of the measure.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America.

Your memorialists, citizens of the U. States, in common with the great body of our countrymen, being desirous that peace and prosperity may prevail amongst the nations, states, and powers of the earth; and believing that the only safe and sure foundation for the same must be in that love of God and man which is revealed and imparted through the **BIBLE**; do respectfully ask your honorable body, during the present session, to make an appropriation of at least $1,000,000 each, [or such a sum as in your wisdom and liberality you may devise,] to be paid into the treasuries of the American Bible Society, and the American & Foreign Bible Society; to be used, at the discretion of said Societies, in disseminating the *Bible*, without note or comment, amongst the destitute, where it will be favorably received, as a means of promoting **GENERAL PEACE & GOOD WILL.**

And we earnestly pray that you may reduce the appropriations for military and naval operations, at least $1,000,000 each, [or as much as, in your discretion, you may esteem safe and honorable for a great and Christian nation] below the usual appropriations for these latter objects, in former years;—and your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever invoke upon you the rich blessing of our common Protector, and impartial compassionate Heavenly Father, the witness of this humble request.

D. M. Ide
Jedediah Chapman
E. Hinman
Chs. J. Bronson
Jos. A. Root
Joseph L. Pearce
James F. Pearce
C. J. Van Gorder
John Dark
Robert Otis
Lawrence S. Munson

Benj. Cranage
Dan'l Robbins
Sterling Atkins
Benj. L. Hayes
John N. McCurdy
Ebenezer Palmer
James Wilson
Ed. D. Griffin
A. L. Vangorder
S. H. Reed
Harvey Brockett
A. J. Morley

concerning the recharter of the Second Bank of the United States were the two central fiscal issues of the period. As such, these issues thrust the Committee of Ways and Means to the forefront of partisan controversy. In terms of its everyday legislative functions, however, jurisdiction over appropriations and the budgetary process provided the most routine business.

Appropriations and the Budget

The congressional appropriations process underwent significant refinement during the Jacksonian period. Some of the new procedures were instituted in response to the rapidly expanding federal bureaucracy. Other procedural changes reflected shifts in the traditional role played by the executive branch, the Senate, and the House of Representatives in the annual appropriations process. In spite of these developments, the Committee of Ways and Means maintained its power and influence over the federal pursestrings.

In 1800 the number of federal employees approached 3,000 (exclusive of military personnel). By 1860, the federal establishment had grown to approximately 50,000. Government expenditures correspondingly increased in dramatic fashion. Between 1830 and 1860 alone, annual federal expenditures more than quadrupled, from 15.1 million dollars to 63.1 million dollars. In the face of such rapid growth, many public officials were determined to maintain efficient operations and strict accountability for public expenditures. In 1839, Secretary of the Navy James K. Paulding wrote that the nation's expansion "produces a corresponding accession to the duties of every public servant. . . . [Rendering] the duties of every officer and every clerk more difficult, complicated and laborious." [6]

Prior to the 1830s, appropriations statutes were characterized by their brevity. The first appropriations bill enacted under the Constitution was only 12 lines long and authorized lump sum expenditures for government operations ("the civil list"), War Department expenses, the collection of debts owed the government, and the payment of veterans' pensions. The Jeffersonian Republicans were reluctant to grant discretionary powers to the executive branch and sought to adopt itemized appropriations for the legislature. As the bureaucracy grew, Congress abandoned a single omnibus appropriations measure in favor of individual bills for the support of the Army and the Navy, as well as for civil and diplomatic expenses. By the 1850s the bulk of congressional appropriations were covered in five or six general bills, which were supplemented by numerous specific authorizations reported by various House and Senate committees.[7]

The increasingly complex nature of the appropriations process altered the relationships between the executive and Congress and

PARTY RATIOS IN THE COMMITTEE AND THE HOUSE
1829–1861

CONGRESS	COMMITTEE	HOUSE	PRESIDENT
Twenty-first (1829–1831)	5 J–2 AJ	136 J–72 AJ	Jackson (J)
Twenty-second (1831–1833)	6 J–1 AJ	126 J–66 AJ [21]	
Twenty-third (1833–1835)	7 J–2 AJ	143 J–63 AJ [34]	
Twenty-fourth (1835–1837)	6 D–3 W	143 D–75 W [24]	
Twenty-fifth (1837–1839)	7 D–2 W	128 D–100 W [14]	Van Buren (D)
Twenty-sixth (1839–1841)	5 D–4 W	125 D–109 W [8]	
Twenty-seventh (1841–1843)	6 W–3 D	142 W–98 D [2]	Harrison, W.H. (W) Tyler (W)
Twenty-eighth (1843–1845)	6 D–3 W	147 D–72 W [4]	
Twenty-ninth (1845–1847)	6 D–3 W	142 D–99 W [6]	Polk (D)
Thirtieth (1847–1849)	6 W–3 D	116 W–110 D [4]	
Thirty-first (1849–1851)	5 D–4 W	113 D–108 W [11]	Taylor (W) Fillmore (W)
Thirty-second (1851–1853)	6 D–3 W	127 D–85 W [21]	
Thirty-third (1853–1855)	7 D–2 W	157 D–71 W [6]	Pierce (D)
Thirty-fourth (1855–1857)	2 R–3 D–2 W–2 AM	100 R–83 D [51]	
Thirty-fifth (1857–1859)	5 D–3 R–1 AM	132 D–90 R [15]	Buchanan (D)
Thirty-sixth (1859–1861)	5 R–3 D–1 AM	116 R–83 D [9]	

D—Democrat
R—Republican
AM—Anti-Masonic
W—Whig

J—Jacksonian Democrat
AP—American Party
AJ—Anti-Jackson

[Numbers in brackets refer to independents or members of third parties.]

between the House and Senate. Legislators came to rely more than ever upon the Cabinet to gather information and to contact subordinate officers for additional information related to the estimates and expenditures. In addition, the role of the Senate in the appropriations process changed in some important respects. During the 1790s and early 1800s, the Senate reported fewer authorizations for appropriations than the House, and did not exhibit a tendency to substantially alter House money bills. In 1816, the Senate Committee on Finance was established as a standing committee, but its jurisdiction over appropriations developed only gradually. By the mid-1830s, jurisdiction over spending rested with the Committee of Ways and Means in the House and the Finance Committee in the Senate. At this time, the Senate committee began to figure more prominently in the appropriations process by drafting a greater number of authorizations and by amending House bills for the benefit of individuals or groups whose requests had been overlooked or denied by the House.[8]

Congressional appropriations in the Jacksonian era did not emanate from one comprehensive executive budget, but rather from a group of estimates prepared by the various departments. The report of the Secretary of the Treasury was submitted to Congress in December of each year along with the President's annual message. In 1842, Congress required that all executive department heads submit annual reports to serve as supplements to the Treasury report.[9] Customarily, the Speaker of the House referred the Treasury report, which consisted of pertinent information on the public debt, receipts, and expenditures, to the Committee of Ways and Means. The committee, after examining the various executive estimates, would conduct the proper inquiries and draft the necessary appropriations bills.

It bears reemphasis that the Committee of Ways and Means was not the only House standing committee to participate in the appropriations process. Other committees were empowered to authorize certain outlays of money and prepared bills for this purpose, but only the Committee of Ways and Means could appropriate. For example, it was not unusual for the Committee on Military Affairs to report bills authorizing the annual expenditures for military fortifications. Other committees were permitted to make inquiries into the appropriation of funds. During the Twenty-third Congress (1833–1835), the House instructed the Committee on Public Lands "to inquire into the expediency of making a further appropriation to satisfy military land warrants," and ordered the Committee on Roads and Canals to consider the feasibility of spending money "to improve the navigation of the Wabash River." [10] The Committee on Commerce also reported on the feasibility of erecting navigational aids such as buoys and lighthouses. In many cases these specific authorizations were incorporated into Ways and Means appropriations bills that were approved later in the session.

From 1789 to 1842, Congress appropriated funds on a calendar-year basis. As the appropriations process became more complex, Congress encountered frequent delays in passing its spending bills on time, and in 1842 changed the beginning of the fiscal year to July 1. Although many expenditures were fixed and maintained with few changes over the years, the committee's responsibilities were quite time-consuming. In addition to its own bills, the committee reviewed item by item the authorizations reported by other committees. The Committee of Ways and Means was empowered to raise or lower the amounts of these bills, subject to the approval of the House. The committee was also entrusted with the responsibility for reviewing Senate-originated money bills or amendments to House appropriations bills. The Committee of Ways and Means also drafted supplementary appropriations (then called "deficiency" bills) to cover operating expenses if a department or agency ran out of funds before the end of the fiscal year on June 30.[11]

Although the Committee on Public Expenditures, originally created by the Jeffersonian Republicans, continued to be appointed, it remained inactive for the most part. The House also created committees on "accounts and public expenditures" for each of the executive departments. These committees were given considerable leeway to conduct inquiries into executive expenditures.[12] The oversight functions of these committees were gradually superseded, first by the Committee of Ways and Means, and later by other standing committees. In other instances the House appointed select committees to investigate the internal operations of various agencies, such as the Second Bank of the United States (1831), and the Post Office (1834–1835). In 1842, Congress launched a full-scale investigation into government operations and professional standards. With the general concern regarding economy, accountability, and the public trust, it was not surprising that the Committee of Ways and Means conducted routine investigations into government estimates and expenditures as part of its jurisdiction.

In general, the committee's members, regardless of party affiliation, proved reluctant to sanction excessive appropriations. Many of the committee's chairmen were extremely effective in this oversight role. Perhaps the best illustration was Millard Fillmore, the Whig chairman during the Twenty-seventh Congress (1841–1843). Although Fillmore has often been dismissed as an ineffective President, he was a thoroughly competent legislator who was extremely conscientious and demanding where public expenditures were concerned.[13]

The committee's review of expenditures at various times extended into all of the departments and agencies of the federal government. By the 1850s this included the Treasury Department and its field service (customs houses, assay offices, and the U.S. Mint), the Bureau of Indian Affairs (established in 1824), the Post Office, the

Navy and War Departments, the State Department, the Attorney General's office, the White House, and the Interior Department (established in 1849). The committee also reviewed expenditures for the territories, the House and the Senate support staffs, government contractors, internal improvements, and even the repair of federal buildings.[14]

The committee's role in the appropriations process revealed the breadth of its involvement in the various functions of the government. Through its appropriations role, for example, the committee was involved in financing the negotiations for the Smithson legacy that formed the basis for the establishment of the Smithsonian Institution. The power of the purse continued to provide the committee with the opportunity to influence foreign affairs. During the Jacksonian period, the House was occasionally reluctant to appropriate funds for minor diplomatic officers and foreign missions.[15] This broad influence over appropriations meant that the Committee of Ways and Means was the single most important standing committee in the Congress, especially in light of its related jurisdictions over the politically visible issues of the tariff and banking.

The Nullification Crisis

The House Committee of Ways and Means played an important role in the two major political battles of Jackson's administrations: the attempt to revise the Tariff of 1828, and the contest over the recharter of the Second Bank of the United States. The committee clashed with the President on both issues, although it was chaired by Jacksonian Democrats and was composed of majorities of Jackson's party. The President was not able to have his policies implemented by the committee until he prevailed upon a compliant Speaker of the House, Andrew Stevenson, to appoint loyal Congressman James K. Polk of Tennessee as chairman.

The relationship between the executive and Congress entered a new phase with Jackson's Presidency. Previous Presidents, including Jefferson, Madison, and Adams, had at times influenced loyal Speakers of the House to name sympathetic chairmen. But Jackson, who was not bothered by any Jeffersonian considerations of legislative autonomy, was determined to have a chairman completely within his confidence. Jackson, in fact, considered himself the only elected representative of all the people. As such, he expected both his department heads and his congressional followers to heed his bidding.

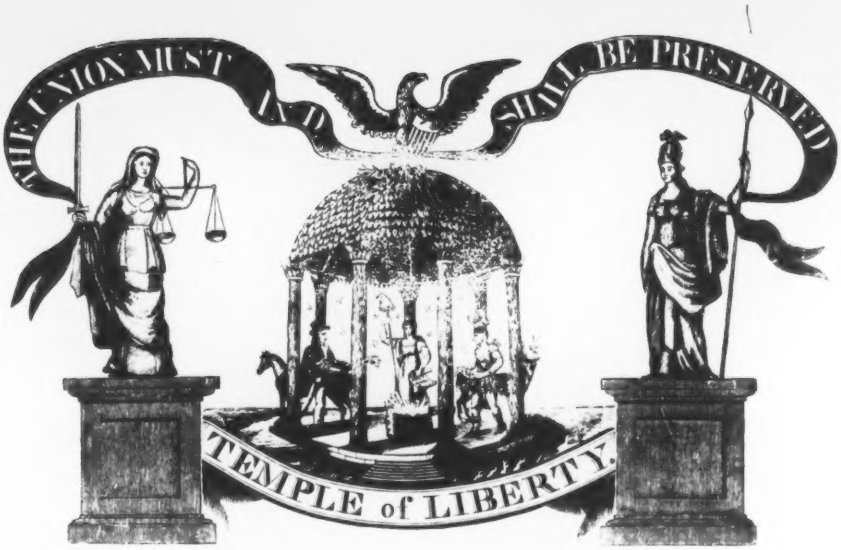
Andrew Jackson entered office with similarly strong convictions about the purposes of government. He believed that the federal government should benefit the ordinary people, not just the privileged elites. His supporters likewise soon referred to themselves simply as

A determined opponent of Jackson's initiatives for a high protective tariff, George McDuffie of South Carolina threw his influence as chairman of Ways and Means behind his state in the Nullification Crisis. This event was precipitated when South Carolina attempted to nullify duties on wool, cotton, hemp, and other goods imposed by the Tariffs of 1828 and 1832. A three-term chairman, McDuffie earned fame with his "forty-bale" theory. It held that under the tariff, 40 out of every 100 bales of Southern cotton went to the enrichment of Northerners. Speaker Andrew Stevenson, Jackson's ally, replaced McDuffie as chairman with Gulian Verplanck.

"Democrats." Although Jackson favored a reduction in government functions to stimulate economic opportunity, he nonetheless supported the preservation of the Union through a vigorous Presidency. This put him at odds with many Democrats in Congress, particularly those who opposed his stances during the Nullification Crisis and the Bank War in the 1830s.

The Nullification Crisis of 1832–1833 stemmed directly from the controversy engendered by the Tariff of 1828, which levied the highest protective duties up to that time. Although the division in Congress over the tariff was not purely sectional, protectionist sentiment was concentrated among the Northern and Western members, with the majority of Southerners opposing what they perceived as a discriminatory tax to hinder the European export market for cotton. The tariff issue also raised the question of whether the Constitution sanctioned the imposition of taxes for purposes other than simply raising revenue.[16]

During Jackson's first administration, jurisdiction over the tariff was shared between the Committee on Manufactures and the Committee of Ways and Means because of the heated debate over whether the purpose of the tariff was only to supply revenue or to provide protection to American manufactures. The former committee had drafted most of the tariff bills in the 1820s, when the principal aim of such


THE UNION MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED
TEMPLE of LIBERTY

This illustration's motto, "The Union Must and Shall Be Preserved," stemmed from words spoken by President Jackson at a Jefferson Day banquet on April 30, 1830. Backers of the nullification theory gave 24 toasts flavored with states' rights sentiment and thoughts of secession. Jackson stood up, raised his glass, and said, "Our Union—it must be preserved." His simple reply rallied public opinion to his position and strengthened the Union.

statutes was the protection of American industries. By the 1830s, however, the Committee of Ways and Means had a powerful justification for reasserting its claim to exclusive jurisdiction. Import duties, along with the proceeds of public land sales, provided the federal government's principal source of income. Land sales boomed in the mid-1830s, with annual proceeds of 15 million dollars in 1835 and 25 million dollars in 1836.[17] The income from land sales, together with import duties, created a surplus of revenues over expenditures. Congressmen who favored tariff reduction could thus argue both that rates could be reduced without harm to the government's finances, and that the surplus could be distributed to the states.

The rationale for protectionism was best articulated in Senator Henry Clay's American System, a series of interrelated economic policies. Clay argued that high tariff schedules would both stimulate domestic manufactures and create a home market for the agricultural goods of the South and the West. The National Bank would be maintained to facilitate credit and exchange, while the federal surplus would be utilized to finance internal improvements to benefit the economy. While the advantages of Clay's system were obvious to the manufacturing interests centered in New England and the Middle Atlantic states, they were less obvious in the West, and they were bitterly opposed in the South and by the shipping interests of both the South and New England.

Southern agrarians argued that high tariffs would inevitably raise domestic price levels, as well as the cost of imported goods. Even if domestic manufacturers became able to produce goods more efficiently, they would not be likely to lower prices that benefited from protective tariffs. Southerners likewise feared that tariff barriers would adversely affect their export of cotton to overseas markets, particularly Great Britain. A policy of free trade, on the other hand, would benefit the South by lowering duties on both sides of the Atlantic. The tariff issue came to symbolize the basic economic differences between the agrarian slave labor system of the South and the Northern free labor system.[18]

The constitutionality of a protective tariff was also disputed in the early 1830s. Essentially, the constitutional issue centered on the dispute over enumerated versus implied powers. The proponents of protectionism argued that Article 1, Section 8, which gave Congress the power to regulate commerce, implied the power to encourage manufacturers through high tariffs. Their opponents argued that the Constitution nowhere specified the right to levy protective rates, but did clearly state that tariffs were to be enacted for revenue only. The constitutional argument over protectionism reached its peak during the Nullification Crisis.

Many of the events in the crisis took place in South Carolina and in the White House, far removed from the purview of the Committee of Ways and Means. In the aftermath of the Tariff of 1828, South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun had devised a theory of nullification. According to Calhoun, the Constitution was an agreement between the peoples of the individual states. The states had the right, he argued, to nullify the enforcement of federal laws within their boundaries. South Carolina waited four years for Jackson's administration, in which Calhoun was Vice President, to revise the hated tariff. By 1832 Calhoun had fallen into disfavor with Jackson, and the Vice President had become an open advocate of nullification. A specially elected convention in South Carolina nullified the Tariffs of 1828 and 1832, forcing Jackson to take two actions. The President asked Congress to reduce the tariff, which it did in 1833, and at the same time he requested the authority to use the military to enforce the collection of duties in South Carolina. These actions ultimately defused the situation, but they also contributed to an incident that some historians have characterized as a rehearsal for the Civil War.

The Committee of Ways and Means was involved in the nullification controversy both in the person of its chairman, George McDuffie of South Carolina, and in its role in the tariffs of 1832 and 1833. McDuffie, who chaired the committee from 1827 to 1832, had opposed the tariff of abominations in 1828. The chairman's report condemning protectionism was considered by Calhoun to be "the best thing he has written or said on the subject." [19] In his speeches during the Twenty-first Congress (1829–1831), McDuffie propounded what became known as his "Forty Bale Theory." A tariff of 40 percent on imported manufactures, he suggested, amounted to taking forty of every one hundred bales of cotton for the enrichment of Northern manufacturers. McDuffie argued that protective tariffs were a perversion of the Constitution that benefited one section of the nation at the expense of another. The purpose of the tariff was to make the South a slave to the North. The chairman recommended that the existing rates on wool, cotton, and hemp, among other items, be reduced. Although tariff reduction was a topic of much discussion, no action was taken during the Twenty-first Congress. Part of the explanation for congressional inaction was the continuing jurisdictional dispute between the Committee of Ways and Means and the Committee on Manufactures.[20]

Jackson's first annual message to Congress in 1829 formed the catalyst for the committee's attempt to regain jurisdiction over tariffs. The President argued that the effects of the Tariff of 1828 were not as harmful as many thought. He generally favored protective tariffs that would enable domestic producers to compete on equal terms with foreign imports. Several days later, the Speaker of the House, Andrew Stevenson of Virginia, appointed a protectionist majority to the Committee on Manufactures and a free trade majority to the Committee of Ways and Means. Subsequently, the portion of the President's annual message dealing with the tariff was referred to the Committee on Manufactures. This committee, as expected, reported a bill in January 1830 without any change in the existing schedules, prompting the Committee of Ways and Means in early February to report a rival bill reducing duties to the level of the rates of 1816. The House, however, indicated that McDuffie's committee lacked jurisdiction over tariffs by rejecting the bill upon its first reading, 107 to 79.[21]

The outlook for tariff revision was brighter for the Twenty-second Congress (1831–1833). Not only were the opponents of protectionism more vocal, but the accumulation of a large surplus in the federal treasury necessitated either a reduction in tariff revenues or some form of distribution to return surplus funds to circulation. The Speaker also improved the odds for change by appointing a Committee on Manufactures with a membership equally divided between protectionists and free traders. The committee was chaired by John Quincy Adams, who had been elected to Congress the previous autumn. Stevenson once more appointed a free trade Committee of Ways and Means under the leadership of McDuffie. Tariff reduction, as Jackson suggested, was to be a major consideration, but "the interests of the merchant as well as the manufacturer requires that material reductions in the import duties be prospective." The House subsequently took the unusual step of referring the President's message on tariffs to both committees. The section that related to "relieving the people from unnecessary taxation" was referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, while the subject of "manufactures and a modification of the tariff" was referred to Adams' committee.[22]

McDuffie's committee beat Manufactures to the punch by submitting a lengthy report on February 8, 1832. The report concluded that

The chairman of Ways and Means from 1831 to 1833, Gulian Verplanck of New York replaced George McDuffie, the committee's antitariff leader. Ironically, Verplanck drew Jackson's ire when he would not follow the President's opposition to the rechartering of the Second Bank of the United States. Verplanck wrote the Ways and Means majority report that declared the Bank sound and stable, findings contrary to those Jackson wanted. Verplanck's defiance cost him favor with the administration, and his career at the federal level ended in 1833.

protective tariffs "ought to be abandoned with all convenient and practicable despatch, upon every principle of justice, patriotism, and sound policy." The Committee of Ways and Means' report was accompanied by a bill lowering rates over a three-year period. Two members of the committee authored a dissenting minority report, which argued that "the protecting system is interwoven with the best interests of the country."[23]

Congress chose to ignore McDuffie's report and bill in favor of a bill submitted from the Committee on Manufactures. Adams maintained that his committee's bill was based upon Secretary of the Treasury Louis McLane's recommendations. The Adams bill formed the basis for the Tariff of 1832 signed by President Jackson on July 14, 1832. It was the final tariff legislation to be reported by the Committee on Manufactures. Although the act reduced rates to the level of those in effect before the tariff of abominations, it was still seen as a protectionist measure. The South Carolina congressional delegation reported to their constituents that "all hope of relief from Congress is irrevocably gone."[24]

The Nullification Crisis ensued as a convention in South Carolina met to nullify the tariffs of 1828 and 1832. Chairman McDuffie attended the convention to lend his support. President Jackson responded by seeking to take the credit for tariff reduction as well as discrediting nullification as treasonous. In order to accomplish tariff reduction, the President turned to the Committee of Ways and Means, still strongly disposed toward free trade. McDuffie had not returned

CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE OF WAYS AND MEANS
1829–1861

George McDuffie (D-SC)[1]	Twenty-first–Twenty-second Congresses, 1829–1832
Gulian C. Verplanck (D-NY)	Twenty-second Congress, 1832–1833
James K. Polk (D-TN)	Twenty-third Congress, 1833–1835
Churchill C. Cambreleng (D-NY)	Twenty-fourth–Twenty-fifth Congresses, 1835–1839
John W. Jones (D-VA)	Twenty-sixth Congress, 1839–1841
Millard Fillmore (W-NY)	Twenty-seventh Congress, 1841–1843
James I. McKay (D-NC)	Twenty-eighth–Twenty-ninth Congresses, 1843–1847
Samuel F. Vinton (W-OH)	Thirtieth Congress, 1847–1849
Thomas H. Bayly (D-VA)	Thirty-first Congress, 1849–1851
George S. Houston (D-AL)	Thirty-second–Thirty-third Congresses, 1851–1855
Lewis D. Campbell (R-OH)	Thirty-fourth Congress, 1855–1857
J. Glancy Jones (D-PA)[2]	Thirty-fifth Congress, 1857–1858
John S. Phelps (D-MO)	Thirty-fifth Congress, 1858–1859
John Sherman (R-OH)	Thirty-sixth Congress, 1859–1861

[1] *McDuffie also chaired the committee during the Twentieth Congress (1827–1829).*

[2] *Jones resigned from Congress on October 30, 1858. He was an unsuccessful candidate for reelection to the Thirty-sixth Congress.*

from South Carolina in time for the opening of the second session of the Twenty-second Congress. In his absence, Speaker Stevenson named Gulian Verplanck (D-NY) to chair the committee. McDuffie's absence also permitted Stevenson to transfer James K. Polk (D-TN) from the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Polk was a loyal confidant of the President, and Jackson counted on both his Tennessee ally and Verplanck to accomplish a reduction in the tariff.[25]

Verplanck, Polk, and the committee worked in close consultation with Secretary of the Treasury McLane to draft a new tariff bill. Verplanck, a representative of commercial New York, was opposed to protective tariffs not only because they erected trade barriers, but also because they were most harmful to farmers, artisans, and laborers. He admitted, on the other hand, that the Constitution granted Congress the authority to levy protective tariffs. The committee prepared a bill and a detailed accompanying analysis of revenues expected from the tariff. Verplanck began debate on the bill in early January 1833 with a brief statement on the necessity for tariff reduction. The chairman clearly indicated that this tariff was an act of conciliation. "The committee," he concluded, "have desired and endeavored to conduct the deliberations of their committee room in the spirit of justice, conciliation, and of peace; and it is in this spirit that they now invite this body to the examination of the bill before them." Opposition from protectionists delayed consideration of the committee's bill. Some congressmen suggested that tariff reduction amounted to surrender to blackmail by South Carolina. Rufus Choate of Massachusetts, for example, sarcastically observed, "South Carolina has nullified your tariffs; and therefore you repeal them." [26]

As consideration of the bill bogged down in the House, the Senate continued to consider a bill popularly known as the Force Bill to authorize President Jackson to use the military to collect import duties in South Carolina. Senator Henry Clay then seized the initiative in tariff reform by proposing on February 12 a reduction in rates to the same levels as those proposed by Verplanck, but over a ten-year period rather than the two years of the House bill. The senator's fellow Kentuckian and spokesman in the House, Robert P. Letcher, then moved to substitute Clay's proposal for the bill the House had been fruitlessly considering. Verplanck and Polk capitulated, and in this fashion the substitute bill became the Compromise Tariff of 1833. Along with the subsequent passage of the Force Bill, the Compromise Tariff helped to defuse the Nullification Crisis, although South Carolina took the symbolic step of nullifying the Force Bill.[27]

The Compromise Tariff of 1833 quieted the tariff issue for nearly a decade. The economy prospered for four years before the Panic of 1837 ushered in several years of depression. The economic disaster of the late 1830s owed less to the effects of the tariff than it did to another of the accomplishments of Jackson's Presidency—the destruction of the Second Bank of the United States.[28]

The Bank War

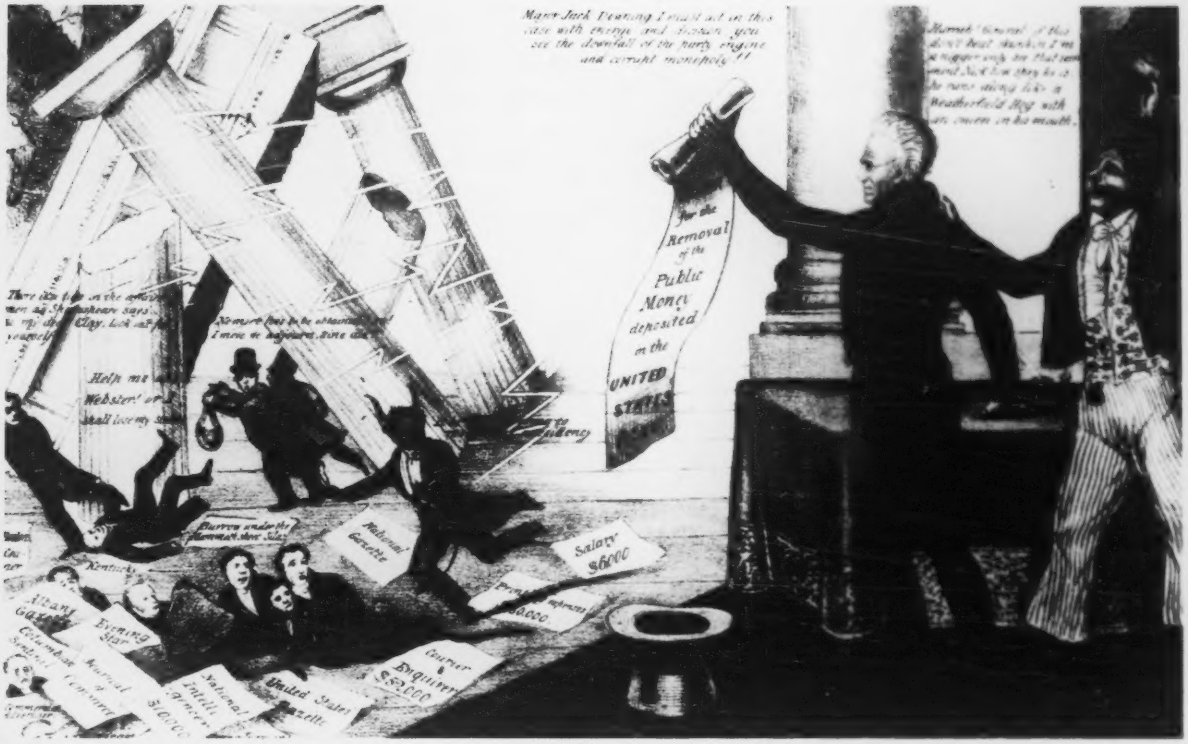
Andrew Jackson bore a personal enmity against all banks as a result of his previous financial speculations. As President, his opposition to banking focused upon the Second Bank of the United States, a private corporation chartered by the federal government, which owned one-fifth of the Bank's stock. Based in Philadelphia with branch banks in 29 cities, the Bank operated as a central banking system. Its credit financed farms, businesses, and internal improvements, and its notes provided a stable currency. Moreover, the Bank restrained the inflationary tendencies of many local banks. Opposition to the Bank came from several sources. New York's Wall Street financiers resented the control of the Bank by those on Philadelphia's State Street. State banks and the friends of "soft money"—paper money not backed by gold or silver deposits—objected to the restraint the Bank placed upon the issuance of inflated bank notes. Some "hard money" advocates, including Jackson, argued just the opposite. The only real measure of value, they believed, was specie—gold or silver coin.

The Bank's 1816 charter was due to expire in 1836 unless renewed. Jackson let it be known that he did not favor the Bank's recharter. As the controversy continued, it took on the character of a personal vendetta. The President considered the Bank a "monster" that he had to destroy. Both Democratic chairmen of the Committee of Ways and Means, McDuffie and Verplanck, on the other hand, favored the recharter. Jackson did not find a legislative leader amenable to the destruction of the Bank until Polk became chairman in 1833.

George McDuffie, although an opponent of protective tariffs, nevertheless supported the National Bank. President Jackson's first annual message to Congress in December 1829 set the stage for the Bank War by announcing that he questioned both the usefulness and the expediency of the Bank. The House referred the issue to the Committee of Ways and Means, which, under McDuffie's leadership, issued an unqualified endorsement of the Bank on April 13, 1830. McDuffie's report argued that the Bank was constitutional and absolutely necessary to the nation's economic well-being. The committee maintained that the Constitution obligated Congress to create a national bank to establish and regulate a uniform currency and to assist the federal government's powers to collect and disburse public revenues, to borrow money, and to pay the public debt. The committee denied the President's allegation that the nation's financial structure had suffered. The Bank, under the leadership of Nicholas Biddle, had created a stable currency, McDuffie asserted. The report concluded that if the Bank were not rechartered, public finance would be destabilized. Former Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin was greatly impressed by the report, which, he wrote to Verplanck, "[was] the ablest paper that has issued from any committee of either House." [29]

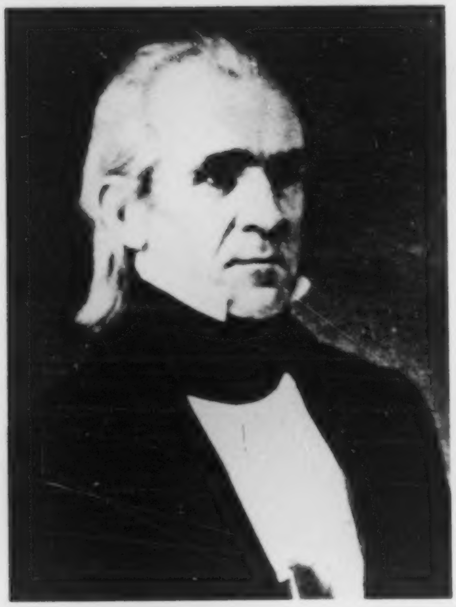
Biddle decided to petition Congress for a recharter of the Bank in 1832. Henry Clay and other opponents of Jackson had urged this step to create an issue for the election year. Biddle's petition was presented by McDuffie on January 9, 1832, and it was referred by the House to the Committee of Ways and Means. One month later the committee reported in favor of the recharter. A similar report emanated from the Senate Committee on Finance. Anti-Bank forces directed by Jackson and led in the Senate by Thomas Hart Benton (D-MO) and in the House by Augustine S. Clayton (D-GA) maneuvered to defeat

Columns of Mother Bank come tumbling down in a cartoon depicting Jackson's goal of destroying the Second Bank of the United States. Jackson considered the government-sponsored bank monopolistic and a "hydra of corruption." Voters suspicious of banks overwhelmingly supported Jackson in his Bank War between 1832 and 1836. His adversaries, on the other hand, found his dictatorial actions cause for pondering an opposition party. From this notion would emerge the Whig Party. With its charter renewal vetoed by Jackson, the Second Bank of the United States continued to function, but not as a federally incorporated institution.


Major Jack Downing I must act in this case with energy and decision you see the downfall of the party engine and corrupt monopoly!!
For the Removal of the Public Money deposited in the United States
Help me Webster! or I shall lose my
Kentucky
Albany Gazette
Evening Star
Columbian Sentinel
Journal of Commerce
National Intelligencer $10000
United States Gazette
Courier & Enquirer $52000
National Gazette
Salary $6000

recharter. Clayton brought several charges against Biddle's Bank and demanded an investigation before the House voted on the recharter bill. The House appointed a special investigating committee chaired by Clayton that made an unfavorable majority report. The House nevertheless passed the recharter bill, but Jackson vetoed it on July 10, 1832.[30]

The House and the Senate could not raise the necessary two-thirds majority required to override the President's veto. However, the Twenty-second Congress adjourned on July 16, 1832, with Jackson's opponents confident that the President's denunciation of the Bank would provide the public with a strong motivation for voting against him in the upcoming general election. If the President hoped for additional help from the Committee of Ways and Means in crushing the Bank in the Twenty-third Congress, he was in error. McDuffie's replacement as chairman, Gulian Verplanck, was also a strong supporter of the Bank. He was one of several congressmen to whom Biddle, the President of the Bank, had advanced loans, although there is no evidence that the chairman's support was anything but genuine. When Jackson recommended that the government sell its stock in the Bank and called for a congressional investigation of the safety of federal funds on deposit, the matter was referred to the Committee of



James K. Polk of Tennessee acquired his nickname, "Young Hickory," after demonstrating fierce loyalty to Jackson, "Old Hickory." The President maneuvered Polk onto the Ways and Means Committee in 1832 to help sway the panel from its pro-Bank stance. Polk became chairman in 1833. Using his position to advocate the sale of Bank stock and the removal of federal deposits, he helped Jackson defeat the Second Bank of the United States. Polk also spearheaded several attempts at currency reform. In 1845, he became the nation's 11th President. Not yet 50 years old, Polk took the oath of office at an earlier age than any of his predecessors.

Ways and Means. Verplanck authored a majority report which found the Bank strong and solvent. The chairman's report concluded: ". . . there can be no doubt of the entire soundness of the whole bank capital. . . . *Resolved,* That the Government deposites may, in the opinion of the House, be safely continued in the Bank of the United States." [31]

The committee also submitted a minority report by James K. Polk. The young Tennessee Democrat served as Jackson's eyes and ears on the committee. Some of the President's staunchest supporters felt that Polk, not Verplanck, should have been named chairman. Jackson evidently had not foreseen Verplanck's stand on the Bank. In a confidential letter to Polk, the President urged him to cooperate with the Secretary of the Treasury in calling for an investigation of the Bank, "this hydra of corruption." The letter ended with an abrupt order, "Attend to this." Although Polk attempted to steer the committee's investigation in the direction Jackson desired, a majority of the members sided with the chairman. Polk then submitted his minority report containing a scathing attack upon Biddle and the Bank. Moreover, Polk maintained that the President was justified in taking whatever steps he deemed necessary without congressional authorization. On the last day of the session, the House voted to accept the majority report in spite of Polk's arguments. Jackson and Polk were vindicated at the polls, where the pro-Bank forces were dealt a crushing defeat. Clay lost his bid to unseat the President, and several pro-Bank Democrats, including Verplanck, were defeated for reelection.[32]

Jackson's opponents controlled the Senate, making it even more necessary for the President to have a cooperative chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. Speaker Stevenson appointed Polk to chair the committee for the Twenty-third Congress (1833–1835) in order to direct the administration's fiscal program through the House. The committee was composed of five other loyal Democrats, including Churchill C. Cambreleng of New York, Isaac McKim of Maryland, and John McKinley of Alabama. Only three pro-Bank congressmen were named, but they were also capable men, led by Horace Binney, a close confidant of Nicholas Biddle.[33]

Jackson's anti-Bank strategy, decided before the outset of the new Congress, was to order his Secretary of the Treasury, former chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means Louis McLane, to cease making deposits of federal revenue in the National Bank. Although the policy was termed "removal," no funds would be withdrawn. If implemented, government deposits would cease, and funds currently on deposit would be exhausted through normal governmental expenditures. McLane refused to carry out the order. Jackson then appointed William Duane, who also declined to execute the policy. Jackson subsequently found an obedient servant in Roger B. Taney. According to the Bank's 1816 charter, the Secretary of the Treasury was required to immediately inform Congress of any alteration in government deposits. The administration planned to have Taney's report referred to Polk's committee, which would promptly recommend congressional approval.[34]

By the Twenty-third Congress, opposition to the Jackson Administration was crystallizing into a group whose members identified themselves as Whigs. The term, first coined in 1833 in response to the President's dismissal of Secretaries McLane and Duane, harked back to the 18th-century English Whigs who had defied executive usurpation of legislative authority. In this Congress, the Whigs were a loose but effective coalition of antiadministration men, who endeavored to thwart "King Andrew" and his fiscal initiatives. Their first success occurred in 1834 when Secretary Taney's report on removal was submitted to Congress. The administration's plan for the government deposits backfired when Jackson's opponents outmaneuvered Chairman Polk. The normal procedure in the House was for the Committee of the Whole to refer the various parts of the President's annual message, as well as the reports of the departments, to the appropriate committees. McDuffie requested that the Treasury Secretary's report be considered by the Committee of the Whole. Polk, according to his biographer, suspected nothing, but McDuffie and the pro-Bank faction took advantage of the unlimited debate in the Committee of the Whole to delay referral of the report to Polk's committee for a period of two months.[35]

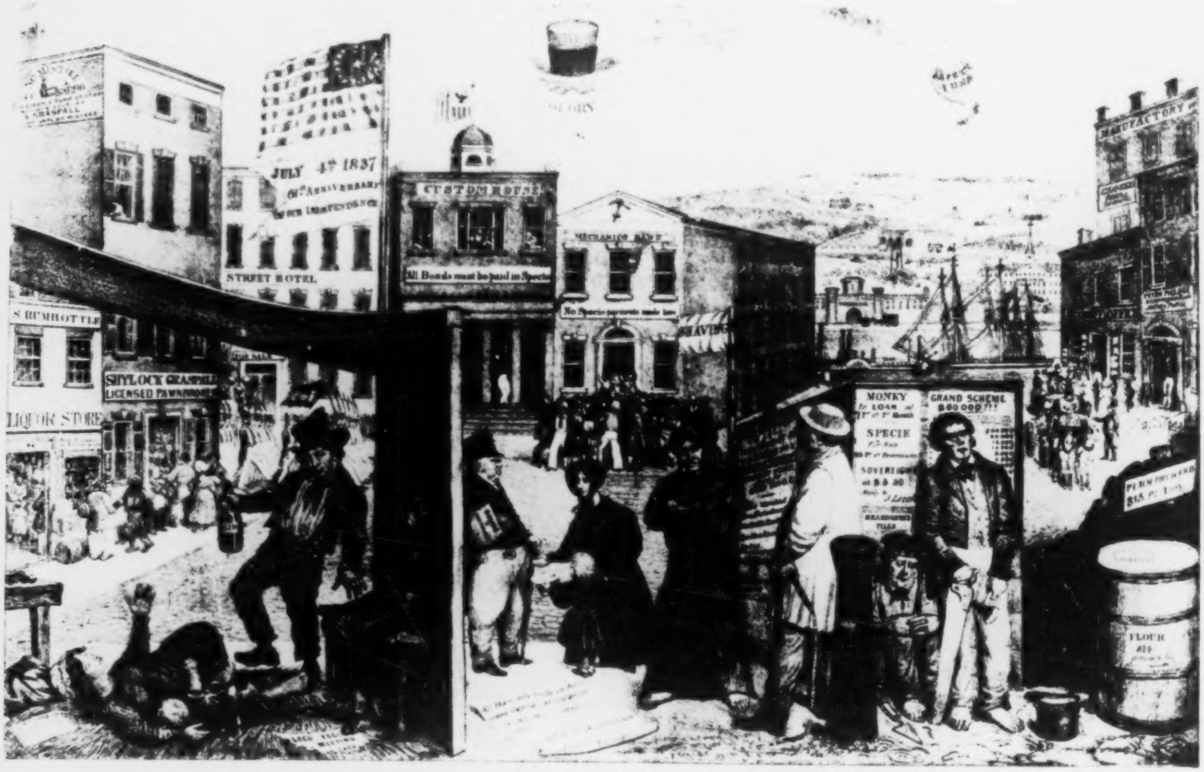
The Committee of Ways and Means had spent that two-month period working on a report in favor of removal, based upon the flood of petitions that they had received. Taney declined Polk's request to write the committee report, but the chairman and the Secretary of the Treasury communicated regularly on the topic. Only two weeks after the report was officially referred to the committee, Polk was able to present a 141-page committee report in favor of removal, to which Binney appended a 34-page minority report. Polk's majority report argued that the Bank under Biddle's leadership was an irresponsible institution that had deliberately tried to exert economic and political pressure to force recharter. Moreover, the chairman maintained that the removal and distribution of deposits would strengthen the currency system by forcing smaller notes from circulation. The majority's report recommended that Congress pass resolutions paving the way for the enactment of legislation to authorize removal. "The main object of legislation should be to enlarge the basis of specie, on which the circulation of State Banks is to depend for support," the report concluded.[36] The real purpose, in other words, was to return to a hard money policy.

Polk's report and its four accompanying resolutions were debated for a month before the House accepted all four on April 4, 1834. The first resolution against the recharter of the Bank passed by a 52-vote margin. The second, against restoring the deposits, passed by a narrower margin, as did the third resolution supporting continued deposits in state banks. The fourth resolution authorized the appointment of an investigating committee to examine Biddle's administration of the Bank.[37]

After the success of Polk's resolutions on removal of the federal deposits, the Committee of Ways and Means turned its attention to creating a new system of currency regulation. The committee, as well as the entire Jackson Administration, were influenced by the theories of William M. Gouge, a prominent Philadelphia editor and economist, who opposed the concept of banks and paper money. In a book published in 1833 entitled *A Short History of Money and Banking in the United States,* he argued that farmers and workingmen were victimized by the overextension of credit by the banks. Gouge also maintained that the only sound currency was gold or silver. He suggested that the government should require all revenues to be paid in specie, and that all public funds should be held in the government's own Independent Treasury, so-named because it would be entirely removed from the private banking system.[38]

Polk asked Secretary of the Treasury Taney to submit his recommendations on the impact of the deposit system upon the currency. Taney suggested that the selection of state banks for deposit of federal funds should be left to the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. This was essentially the Jacksonian "pet bank" policy. Taney also suggested that he be free to remove deposits from any bank provided only that he notify Congress of his reasons. But the heart of the

The Panic of 1837, the subject of this cartoon, unleashed widespread unemployment and bankruptcies, and caused riots in the cities. Jackson's trademark hat sits atop Glory, a satirical slap at the President's economic leadership. Jackson helped touch off the panic when he required payments for public lands to be made in gold or silver coin instead of paper money. State banks, short on specie, could not meet demand. Banks failed; panic and depression followed. Martin Van Buren, Jackson's successor, believed that the separation of federal transactions from banks would help ease the crisis. He asked Ways and Means to draft legislation for an Independent Treasury system. The bill floundered in Congress, and the worst depression in the young nation's history continued for five years.


JULY 4th 1837
CUSTOM HOUSE
All Bonds must be paid in Specie
MECHANICS BANK
No Specie payments made here
STREET HOTEL
S RUMBOTTLE
SHYLOCK GRASPALL
LICENSED PAWNBROKER
LIQUOR STORE
MANUFACTORY
MONKY to LOAN
GRAND SCHEME $60000
SPECIE
SOVEREIGNS
FLOUR
PORK

report concerned currency reform. The Secretary of the Treasury proposed that state banks be prohibited from issuing or receiving paper notes under five dollars, eventually to be extended to notes under 20 dollars. In this way, specie would take the place of paper in most everyday transactions. Polk's committee reported a bill along the lines of Taney's report. The chairman argued that "The general scope and tenor [of the bill] is, to make the public money, wherever deposited, equal to specie," and to "gradually introduce in their stead a metallic circulation."[39] During the debate on the bill, one member recommended that the government adopt Gouge's Independent Treasury scheme and abandon the notion of pet banks. Polk and most other Jacksonians were not prepared to take that step. Polk's bill was passed by the House, but it was rejected by the Senate, which was controlled by the antiadministration faction. The Senate also passed a resolution in 1834 censuring the President for removing the deposits and other actions "not conferred by the Constitution and the laws." The resolution was expunged from the Senate record in 1837 after the Democrats gained control of the Senate.

The Committee of Ways and Means made one more unsuccessful effort at currency reform under Chairman Polk's direction in the second session of the Twenty-third Congress (December 1834–March

1835). The deposit bill reported by the committee once more encountered opposition from the Whigs, who used the Independent Treasury as an effective counter argument. Polk was placed in the uncomfortable position of defending state banks for political reasons. The Democrats were further embarrassed because the states had begun granting scores of new bank charters, and the state deposit banks were using federal funds to back an inflationary expansion of credit. The Senate adopted a deposit bill with far more restrictions than the House bill. Polk's committee drafted amendments to bring the Senate bill closer in substance to the House version, but the differences between the two were too great to compromise in the few days that were remaining in the session. A conference committee was not called, and the Twenty-third Congress adjourned without having passed a deposit bill.

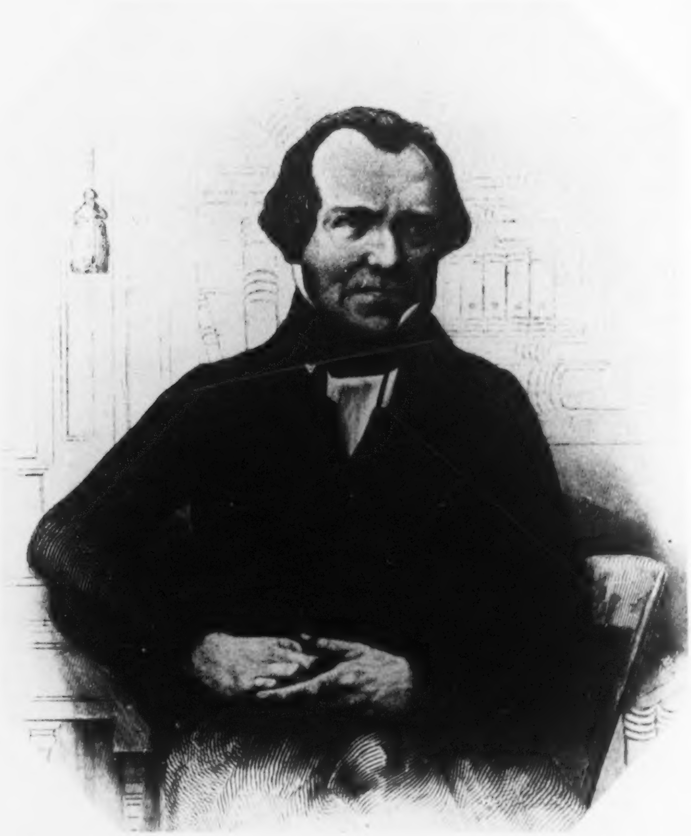
Congress finally passed a Deposit Act on June 23, 1836. The Committee of Ways and Means, now chaired by Democrat Churchill C. Cambreleng of New York, reported a bill in March of that year to regulate the federal deposits. Cambreleng had become chairman in the Twenty-fourth Congress (1835–1837) when Polk was elected to the speakership. The new chairman was a representative of the commercial interests of New York City and a colleague of Vice President Martin Van Buren, who described his friend as "honest as the steelyard and as direct in the pursuit of his purpose as a shot from a [cannon]."[40] Cambreleng had risen from a humble North Carolina background to become the confidential agent of New York financier John Jacob Astor. Although Cambreleng had been supportive of the Bank before the 1830s, he helped lead the Jacksonian opposition to the Bank in the House. Cambreleng's bill "regulating the deposits of public money" specified that the Secretary of the Treasury designate at least one bank in each state and territory as a repository of public deposits. The bill further stipulated that all federal funds would be credited as specie and that no bank selected to receive those funds would issue bank notes in denominations less than five dollars. The Deposit Act further provided for distribution of the federal surplus in excess of five million dollars to the states as an interest- and security-free loan in proportion to their congressional representation.[41]

Some 37 million dollars was due to be distributed to the states in four quarterly payments under the terms of the 1836 law, but only about 28 million dollars was ever transferred due to the economic impact of the Panic and Depression of 1837. Shortly after Martin Van Buren succeeded Jackson in the White House, several New York banks stopped redeeming bank notes in specie, partly in consequence to Jackson's famous "Specie Circular" of 1836 that had announced that only gold or silver would be accepted for public land sales. Hundreds of banks were forced to close their doors, unemployment rose, and bread riots occurred in some of the larger cities as the effects of the depression lasted for several years. Economic historians have debated the role of Jackson's war on the National Bank and his removal and distribution policies upon the economic distress of the late 1830s.[42] Many of the underlying causes were beyond the President's control, such as fluctuations in the world market and the rapid expansion and speculation in western land. Jacksonian fiscal policy, however, aggravated the overextension of credit and speculation that contributed to the severity of the depression. The Committee of Ways and Means under the leadership of Polk and Cambreleng had contributed greatly to the legislative implementation of those policies. The President had finally prevailed upon Congress to get what he wanted—the Bank destroyed as a national institution, and the deposits removed and distributed to the states. Unfortunately, he also bequeathed to his successor something that neither man wanted—a depression.

The Independent Treasury

The tariff and the Independent Treasury continued to be the major policy issues confronting the Committee of Ways and Means in the aftermath of the Depression of 1837. President Van Buren and the cooperative chairmen of the committee, Cambreleng (1835–1839) and John Winston Jones (1839–1841), succeeded in establishing the Independent Treasury, but the electorate rejected the Democratic Party in the elections of 1840 in favor of the Whig Party, which had developed from a loose coalition of anti-Jackson men into a national party in opposition to Democratic policies. But Virginian John Tyler, who became President upon the death of William Henry Harrison in 1841, abandoned the Whig's fiscal and economic policies for recovery. The capable Whig chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, Millard Fillmore (1841–1843), was compelled to create tariff and banking measures in the face of presidential opposition. With the election of James K. Polk in 1844, an atmosphere of cooperation returned to the relationship between the executive and the committee. Polk and his brilliant Secretary of the Treasury, Robert Walker, found a chairman in James Iver McKay (1843–1847) who was willing and able to support administration policies.

President Martin Van Buren convened the Twenty-fifth Congress (1837–1839) in special session on September 4 to deal with the nation's economic ills. Van Buren's first annual message to Congress outlined his policy to divorce the federal government's finances from the banking system. The Treasury, the President argued, could safely collect and disburse funds without recourse to any bank. Van Buren was fortunate to have key congressional support for his plans. Speaker of the House Polk maintained party discipline and order on the floor.



A stalwart spokesman for two administrations, Churchill Cambreleng of New York entered Congress in 1831 and served for 18 years. He defended Jackson's policies against the Second Bank of the United States and allied himself closely with Martin Van Buren's legislative platform. He served twice at the helm of Ways and Means and endured considerable frustration trying to move Van Buren's Independent Treasury program through a reluctant Congress.

The leader in the Senate was the chairman of the Committee on Finance, Silas Wright of New York, who was a devoted follower of Van Buren. Cambreleng, who remained the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, was an equally dependable presidential ally.

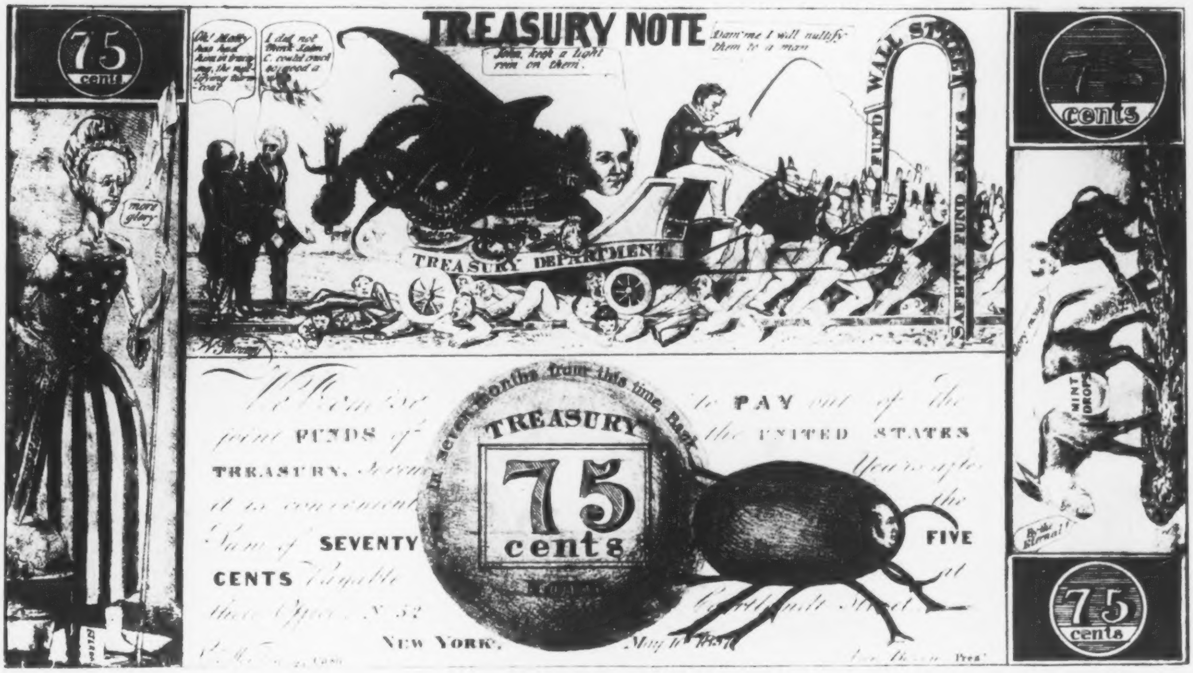
The Senate committee seized the initiative in the special session, in part because of Wright's closer involvement in the President's creation of policy, but also in part because the Senate was the first to organize its committees for the session. The Democrats only controlled the House by 16 votes out of 239. Polk nonetheless gave the administration a two-to-one majority on the key committees, including the Committee of Ways and Means. Two of the key measures reported by the Senate were easily adopted. Both Houses agreed to suspend the final payment of the surplus and to issue ten million dollars of interest-bearing Treasury notes. Cambreleng had argued against the Treasury notes as a deviation from the party's hard money principles, but Van Buren and Wright had prevailed.[43]

The key element in Van Buren's policy failed in the House. In spite of Cambreleng's best efforts, consideration of the bill to divorce the federal government's finances from the banking system was postponed by a margin of less than 20 votes. Cambreleng had tried to move the bill quietly through the House, but Francis Pickens of South Carolina created confusion with a speech linking the bill with the abolition of slavery. According to Pickens, an Independent Treasury that performed banking functions epitomized the capitalist system that threatened the existence of slavery. Cambreleng countered this interjection of sectionalism with a radical economic argument against all banks. Neither Van Buren nor Wright had linked the bill with such radical overtones.[44] Cambreleng's speech created even greater confusion among Democrats, with the result that consideration of the bill was postponed to the next session.

Sectional issues complicated the divorce bill in the following session in 1837-1838. Both Wright and Cambreleng introduced bills from their respective committees. The House bill differed in that the Committee of Ways and Means inserted a specie clause—i.e., that all payments to the Independent Treasury were to be in gold or silver. Although this clause was designed to win conservative Democratic support, the bill was defeated by less than 20 votes on June 25, 1838. In the absence of any legislation, Secretary of the Treasury Levi Woodbury had been operating the department in effect as an Independent Treasury. Yet there were no guidelines to follow, which created considerable embarrassment for the party and for the administration when it was revealed in 1838 that the former collector of the New York Customs House had embezzled and absconded with 1.25 million dollars.[45]

The Twenty-sixth Congress (1839-1841) brought a change to the leadership of the House. Polk had left Congress to run for governor of Tennessee and Cambreleng had been defeated for reelection. Van Buren's choice for Speaker, John Winston Jones of Virginia, lost the election because of a delay in seating the New Jersey delegation, several of whose members' elections were contested. Without the New Jersey members, the House numbered 119 Democrats and 118 Whigs. A small group of Democrats, dissatisfied with the Van Buren Administration, broke ranks with the party and joined the Whigs to elect Robert M. T. Hunter, another Virginian, as Speaker. Although Hunter gave the Whigs control of most committees, he appointed Jones to chair the Committee of Ways and Means with a narrow 5-4 Democratic margin. The House debated the five contested New Jersey seats for three months before Jones was able to report the Independent Treasury plan, now renamed the Subtreasury bill, on May 20, 1840. The bill was adopted by an almost straight party vote of 124 to 107. Van Buren ceremoniously signed it into law on July the Fourth.[46]

Although the Senate Committee on Finance had played the more important role in drafting and initiating major policy legislation during Van Buren's Presidency, the Committee of Ways and Means


TREASURY NOTE
Dam'me I will nullify them to a man
John, keep a tight rein on them.
I did not think John C. could crack so good a whip
WALL STREET
FUND
SAFETY FUND BANKS
TREASURY DEPARTMENT
more glory
75 cents
TREASURY
75 cents
SEVENTY
FIVE
CENTS
PAY
FUNDS
UNITED STATES
TREASURY
NEW YORK
MINT DROPS

had also cooperated closely with the administration. According to one Whig member of the committee in 1837, the committee cooperated too closely. Richard Fletcher, a first-term member from Boston, alleged that Cambreleng simply parroted the Democratic administrations's proposals. In a speech later reprinted in Boston newspapers, Fletcher stated that "every important bill passed by the House, came to the House, ready drawn, from the Executive." Fletcher maintained:

> The chairman of the committee steps up to the White House, and there receives from the President or the Secretary of the Treasury such bills as they wish to have passed by the House. The chairman puts the bills into his pocket; takes them to the committee, without any examination; the majority of the committee approve them; the minority can do nothing; the bills are presented to the House, and received as the doings of the committee.

Although Fletcher disavowed any responsibility for the publication of the speech, he could not escape responsibility for his remarks. Democratic members of the committee lept to the defense of their chairman and their committee. Jones in particular countered the allegations in the best traditions of Virginia gentility. "In the discharge of our duties," he said, "it was our practice to bestow upon the very impor-

"Humbug" cartoon in 1837 lampoons the array of fractional currency issued by "pet banks," those state institutions favored to receive government deposits following the breakup of the Second Bank of the United States by Jackson. Most people put little faith in the depreciated currency and referred to the notes as "shinplasters." Van Buren's face appears on the cartoon treasury note as the head of the humbug, a symbol of deception. Also behind a Jackson-face mule stands a caricature of Van Buren as Old Hickory's lackey catching a flood of worthless money.

tant subjects which came before us our best consideration." The committee, in Jones' version, accepted, rejected, or amended administration proposals "as seemed . . . best calculated to promote the interest of our common country." Fletcher was then discharged from the committee at his own request.[47]

Both versions of the committee's procedure were partially correct. The minority had good reason to feel that they were bypassed and powerless. The chairman and the majority indeed collaborated with the administration. That relationship was a fundamental byproduct of the emerging two-party system, and reflected a clear pattern of executive influence upon legislative deliberations and policy-making characteristic of the period. However, it was also possible for the committee to alter administration proposals as it saw fit. Chairmen such as Polk, Cambreleng, and Jones, who shared the policy goals of Presidents Jackson and Van Buren, had been stalwart spokesmen for those administrations. Such was not the case with the ensuing Whig administration.

Fillmore and the Tariff of 1842

The election of 1840 brought a Whig administration to the capital for the first time, along with comfortable Whig majorities in both Houses. The sudden death of President William Henry Harrison after a month in office, however, elevated to the Presidency a man who was ill-suited to lead the party. Vice President John Tyler, derisively referred to as "His Accidency," had been a Democrat before breaking with Jackson over nullification and removal of the federal deposits. Yet he consistently opposed the cornerstones of Whig economic policy—a national bank, protective tariffs, and federally financed internal improvements. His pompous and vain personality also contributed to the inevitable conflict with Whig legislative leaders, especially Henry Clay in the Senate, and the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, Millard Fillmore.

Tyler initially allowed Clay and the Whig congressional leaders to take the initiative in drafting legislation. He supported the repeal of the Van Buren Independent Treasury, but he opposed and vetoed Clay's bill to create a new national bank. Tyler then vetoed a second attempt to establish a Fiscal Corporation that had originated in the Committee of Ways and Means. Two days after the second veto, the entire Cabinet resigned, with the exception of Secretary of State Daniel Webster. Two days after the Cabinet resignations, Tyler was expelled from the party on September 14, 1841.[48]

The banking issue became a political football kicked around between the Whigs in Congress and the executive. Tyler proposed his own plan, dubbed the Exchequer. The President's proposal for a public institution based in the capital with agencies in the major financial centers was a well-conceived plan, but Clay and his supporters opposed it for partisan gain. As Daniel Webster asked rhetorically, "Who cares now about the bank bills which were vetoed in 1841?"[49] The key role in thwarting Tyler's Exchequer plan was taken by Fillmore's Committee of Ways and Means.

In his early forties, Fillmore was a heavyset but handsome New York lawyer and Whig politician. He had run for the speakership of the Twenty-seventh Congress (1841–1843), but lost to John White (W-KY), Henry Clay's candidate. Fillmore was named to chair the Committee of Ways and Means, where he tried to counter both Tyler's proposals and Clay's control over the party. The President's Exchequer proposal was tabled during the 1841–1842 session and soundly defeated the following year. The result of the Whig controversy over banking was that public funds continued to remain in selected state banks.[50]

Fillmore's handling of the Exchequer plan elicited criticisms that were a curious mirror image of Fletcher's remarks about Cambreleng. On January 9, 1843, Fillmore presented his committee's report on the Exchequer, which concluded with a resolution that the plan "ought not to be adopted." A minority report presented by Charles G. Atherton (D-NH) offered an amendment to direct the committee to bring in a bill providing for a system of public finance to replace "executive discretion." In response to questioning, the chairman agreed that his resolution was a negative one, and that the committee did not intend to bring in any bill unless so instructed by the House.[51]

Two weeks later, Fillmore read to the House two newspaper articles to the effect that the Whig Party caucus, dominated by the Clay factions, had instructed the chairman and his committee to negate the Exchequer plan. Fillmore, noting that he had never thought it necessary to respond to any newspaper article, argued that this charge reflected "so grossly on him and the Committee of Ways and Means, that he felt it his duty to notice it," and to label it "unequivocally false." Henry Wise, a Virginia Democrat, offered a rather cogent commentary. He professed not to know whether the caucus had instructed the committee in this particular instance, "yet, looking at the past, he did know . . . that a caucus, and nothing but a caucus, by its machinery did contrive the legislation of Congress." This exchange provided one of the few evidences of party caucus influence upon the Committee of Ways and Means in this period.[52]

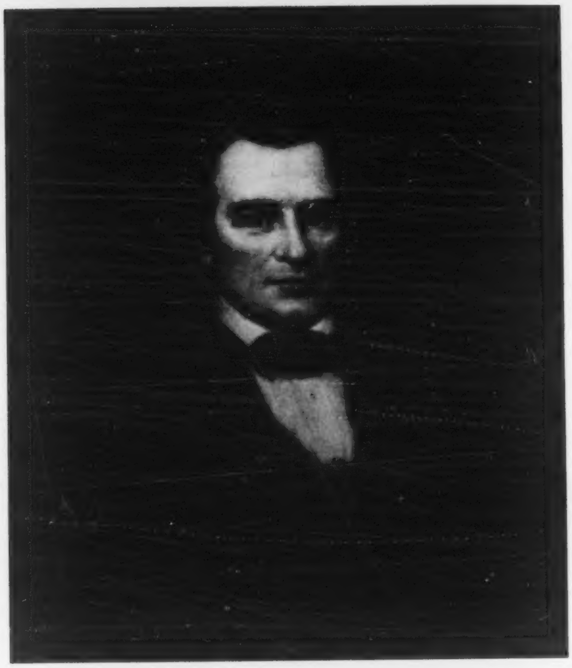
Fillmore's committee in the meantime had been working to provide relief for the business community from the continuing woes of the depression. Fillmore pushed through a Senate bankruptcy bill, modeled on an earlier New York State measure, that was enacted in 1842. But most crucial to the Whig plan for economic recovery was a return to the protective tariff. By January 1, 1842, the federal debt

10
10
Bank of Manchester
Will pay TEN Dollars to
Manchester
NEW JERSEY
2
TWO
STATE BANK AT TRENTON
Trenton
THE ROXBURY BANK
One Dollar & Fifty Cts.
ROXBURY
1 Doll. 50 Cts.
$1 50/100
1 50/100

Currencies from Michigan, New Jersey, and Massachusetts represent money in circulation in 1837. The myriad denominations and designs added confusion to a haphazard banking structure. Some state banking laws were strict, others lax. Wildcat banking plagued the Midwest and South: A bank would issue its note at its town branch but would redeem in specie only at its main office, usually located in a faraway place. Counterfeits and notes of failed banks flooded the market. Saddled with the crisis throughout his term, Van Buren—using Ways and Means to draft deflationary policies—unwittingly prolonged the depression. His successors as President, faced with westward expansion and increasing sectional rivalry, found these and other issues more pressing than the establishment of a stable national banking system. For 30 years, from 1833 to 1863, the nation expanded without an adequate regulator of currency.

had grown to 17.7 million dollars from five million dollars in 1840. Tyler had called for a new tariff bill to raise revenue in his annual message to Congress on December 7, 1841. He blamed Congress for the failure to act upon either his tariff or Exchequer proposals, or his request for increased Army and Navy appropriations. When the Committee of Ways and Means did act on the tariff, it initially drafted bills the President could not support.

Fillmore and the Committee of Ways and Means linked an increased tariff with the distribution to the states of the proceeds from public land sales. Although it might seem inconsistent to raise one source of federal revenue while giving away another to the states, Fillmore argued that distribution prevented government funds from "being squandered and gambled away by trading politicians and



One of the few Democratic chairmen in the House during the Twenty-sixth Congress, John Winston Jones of Virginia lost the election for Speaker to a Whig despite a strong endorsement from President Van Buren in 1839. Later that year Jones gained leadership of Ways and Means. On May 20, 1840, he reported Van Buren's Independent Treasury plan, renamed the Subtreasury bill. Congress passed the controversial measure, which divorced the federal government's finances from the banking system, and the President ceremoniously signed the bill into law on July 4, 1840.

reckless demagogues." Ever since the Compromise Tariff of 1833, the receipts from land sales had effectively blocked the need for higher duties. The real reason for linking distribution with tariff reform was that reducing federal revenues provided an added incentive for returning to a protective tariff, which was Fillmore and Clay's true agenda. For this reason, Tyler vehemently opposed the committee's plan.[53]

In the summer of 1842, the Committee of Ways and Means reported two tariff bills, one temporary and the second permanent, to raise rates above the existing 20 percent level while providing for distribution. Tyler, as expected, vetoed both measures, which played into the hands of the Whig leadership. Fillmore's committee then drafted a decidedly protective tariff that raised rates to an average of 30 percent. Because this bill eliminated the distribution provision, Tyler had no choice but to sign it into law. The Tariff of 1842 accomplished the Whigs' goal of returning to protectionism in order to benefit the business community.[54]

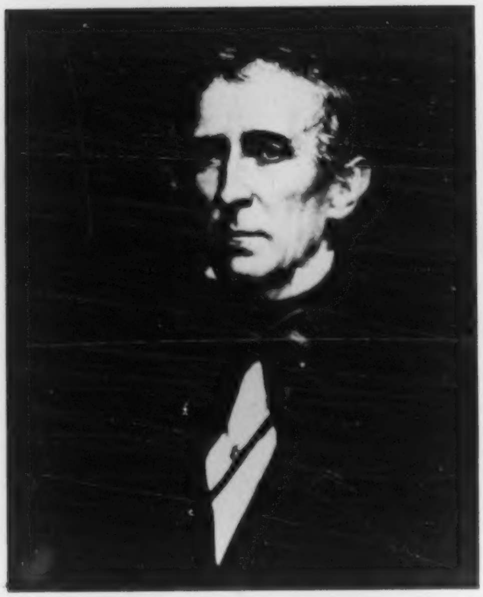
Fillmore won high praise from his party colleagues for his handling of both the Exchequer and the tariff. As one of his friends observed, "Fillmore is a great man; but it takes strong pressure to make him show his highest powers."[55] Although he only served for one Congress as chairman, he displayed thorough competence and quiet efficiency, not only in the highly visible management of major policy measures, but also in his behind-the-scenes handling of everday committee business. As chairman, Fillmore diligently examined departmental appropriations requests, often asking for further information to justify seemingly minor expenditures. He wrote to Secretary of the Navy Abel P. Upshur on January 15, 1842, for example, "to know the reasons which induce you to ask for $5,000 for the contingent expenses of your office, instead of $3,000 the sum usually appropriated for that object." The quantity of such requests suggests that Fillmore was both careful to guard the public purse, and less than reluctant to harass Tyler's department heads.[56]

One letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs perhaps best illustrated the chairman's devotion to detail. Fillmore marked up this official's estimates with a red pencil and returned them with a request for further information. In veiled, but nevertheless clear language, the chairman suggested that the Commissioner explain his estimates in person. Fillmore's eight specific queries expressed clear dissatisfaction, concluding with an ominous statement: "Finally, on looking at my red marks you will note many other things on which I desire a brief explanation, and particularly, I would like to know the necessity for so large an appropriation of contingencies."[57]

Polk, the Treasury, and the Tariff

If Fillmore's attention to detail reflected the strained relationship between the executive and the committee during Tyler's Presidency, a spirit of cooperation returned with the ensuing Democratic administration of James K. Polk (1845–1849). The Democratic chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means during the Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Congresses (1843–1847) was James Iver McKay of North Carolina. A dour lawyer and planter, McKay was noted for his persistence and parsimony. Even Polk found him "grave and stern . . . a man of peculiar temperament," who, even when cooperative, was difficult to get along with.[58] As chairman, he did most of the work himself and would not permit the hiring of a clerk, in keeping with his reputation as "Old Money Bags." In McKay, Polk found a like-minded, if difficult and independent agent to expedite the administration's fiscal program.

Although the Democrats who controlled the House and the Senate during the Twenty-ninth Congress shared the President's economic goals to a large extent, they were jealous to maintain legislative autonomy, and they were not hesitant to oppose the administration. Polk encountered especially stiff opposition from the Senate during this period. Senators tended to be more insulated by their six-year terms from presidential and party pressures. Senate committee chairmen, who did not owe their positions to presidential influence, did not consider themselves tools of the administration. The Senate



Dubbed "His Accidency" by detractors, former Ways and Means member John Tyler of Virginia was the first Vice President to be elevated to the office of Chief Executive by the death of his predecessor. Tyler served as the tenth President, succeeding William Henry Harrison in 1841. Although nominally a member of the Whig Party, Tyler was at heart a Jacksonian Democrat. As such he stood at odds with the Ways and Means leadership. He opposed measures for establishing a national bank, protective tariffs, and federally financed internal improvements—the cornerstones of the Whig economic recovery program.

Committee on Finance, chaired by Dixon H. Lewis of Alabama, for instance, was far less responsive to President Polk's initiatives than the House Committee of Ways and Means.

Polk, nicknamed "Young Hickory" for his identification with Jackson, extended his mentor's theory of presidential leadership. According to Polk, the President had the constitutional obligation not only to veto unwise legislation, but also to take the lead in recommending policy to the legislature. In his inaugural address, Polk listed the four major goals of his administration: 1) a reduction in the tariff, 2) the establishment of the Independent Treasury, 3) the settlement of the disputed Oregon boundary, and 4) the acquisition of California. Remarkably, all four were accomplished in one term. The Committee of Ways and Means played a major role in implementing Polk's agenda by reporting the bills to reduce the tariff and to reestablish the Independent Treasury.

The Independent (or "Constitutional" as President Polk preferred) Treasury bill was the easier of the two measures to pass. The administration sought to separate the federal government from the banking community. The Committee of Ways and Means reported the bill on March 30, 1846. As introduced by the second-ranking Democrat on the committee, George C. Dromgoole of Virginia, the bill authorized the construction of fireproof vaults in the new Treasury building for the safekeeping of government funds. An amendment to the bill specified that only specie would be received in payment of federal dues. Dromgoole made the principal defense of the bill in the House, arguing that banks had no legitimate right to receive public funds. The bill passed the House on April 2 by a straight party vote, 122 to 66. The Senate, on the other hand, delayed consideration of the bill for four months. Lewis claimed that other business was more urgent, and he resisted Polk's personal appeals to expedite the bill. When finally passed by the Senate on August 1, 1846, the law elicited little controversy or attention. Polk did not even note its passing in his diary.[59]

Part of the relative apathy over the Constitutional Treasury bill was the greater urgency attached to tariff reform. For Polk and for McKay, reduced tariff duties were the keystone of the administration's economic policy. As chairman of the committee during the previous Congress, McKay had introduced tariff legislation in 1844, in large part to satisfy the demands of Southern Democrats. Calhoun's faction promised to support the Democratic nominee only if the party lowered the rates of the Whig Tariff of 1842. McKay's bill was thus designed to create a Democratic campaign issue. The committee carefully drafted a line-by-line reduction in rates. Senator Silas Wright of New York referred to it as "by far the best tariff bill . . . which has ever been reported to Congress." The bill failed by only six votes.[60]

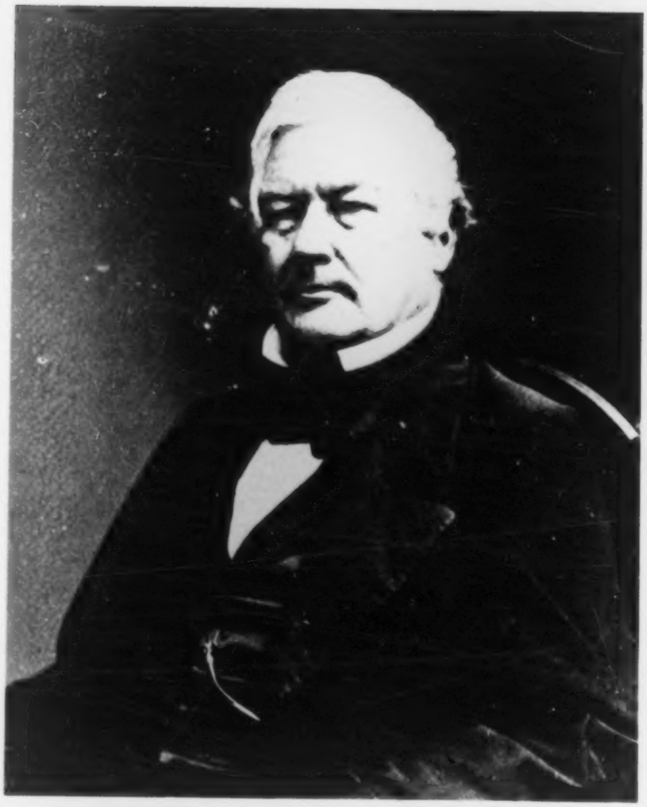
Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, conducted a thorough study of tariff rates shortly after taking office in 1845. He presented to Congress a voluminous statistical report as an exercise in "scientific" tariff revision. Walker provided a solid argument to buttress the Democratic Party's opposition to protective tariffs. When Polk's first annual message to Congress in December strongly recommended a tariff for revenue only, the Committee of Ways and Means turned to Walker for help in drafting a free trade tariff. The Secretary of the Treasury called customs officials to Washington, where they worked out a schedule of duties that would provide the maximum revenue without reaching the protectionist levels of the previous tariff. The bill was ready for the committee in mid-February 1846, but McKay kept it in committee for over two months. Some adjustments were made in committee to make the bill more politically acceptable, and McKay reported it on April 14.[61]

As reported, the Walker Tariff bill reduced rates to an average of 20 percent. Protectionists and free traders descended on the Capitol in a massive lobbying effort. One group displayed in a committee room a selection of less expensive British goods that would be available if the tariff were reduced. In response, protectionists erected a large temporary building near the Capitol, where they presented a National Fair of American Manufactures to show the greater quality and lower price of domestic products. Polk toured the fair, but he scoffed at the notion that "high duties make low goods."[62]

The outbreak of war with Mexico in May 1846 complicated the issue as Democrats adjusted rates to raise an adequate wartime revenue. The Mexican War proved to involve relatively minor wartime expenditures, but Walker's suggestions to move certain items such as tea and coffee from the free list ran into strong opposition. Andrew Johnson, then a young Democrat from Tennessee, protested "taxing the poor man's tea and coffee to carry on a war which was mainly for the protection of the property of the rich." [63] The taxes on tea and coffee were dropped, but the debate dragged on until early July when the measure passed by a vote of 114 to 95. The bill passed the Senate later that month by a dramatic one-vote margin. As enacted, the Tariff of 1846 set the rates for import duties for over a decade.

The Committee of Ways and Means dutifully reported appropriations measures to finance the Mexican War. Two days before the scheduled adjournment of the first session of the Twenty-ninth Congress, Polk requested an appropriation of two million dollars for use in the treaty negotiations with Mexico for the purpose of purchasing land. In this August 8, 1846, message, the President revealed for the first time the war goal of acquiring territory. Identical language had been included in a letter dated the previous day from Secretary of State James Buchanan to McKay in his capacity as chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. Neither Polk nor McKay was prepared for the response given to the committee's bill in the House. Some Northern members were suspicious that the real purpose of the bill was to extend slaveholding territory. David Wilmot, a Pennsylvania Democrat with free-soil sentiments, introduced a resolution that slavery should be excluded from any territory acquired from Mexico. The House passed the bill with Wilmot's amendment, but the Senate did not consider it in that session. The Wilmot Proviso marked the reemergence of slavery as an issue that would continue to confound Congress in the coming decade.[64]

The Democrats lost control of the House in the Thirtieth Congress (1847–1849). Samuel Finley Vinton (W-OH) became chairman and McKay stepped down to ranking minority member. Although Vinton and the Whigs made an attempt to repeal the Tariff of 1846, the Democratic Senate prevented any chance for success. Polk tried to use McKay to influence the committee, but the situation strained the relationship between the two men. McKay left one meeting in an outrage, prompting the President to threaten to break off contact. "I was vexed," Polk noted in his diary, ". . . I considered Gen'l McKay's conduct very rude, and that, unexplained, I would never speak to him again." Although McKay later conveyed his apologies and the two reconciled, the President concluded that "he is an excellent & a sensible man . . . but his habit is to find fault with everybody & everything." [65] McKay declined reelection in 1849. One of the few noteworthy accomplishments of Vinton's chairmanship was the bill providing for the establishment of the Department of the Interior in 1849, which Vinton reported out of the committee on February 12, 1849, and which was enacted on March 3 of that year.



A skilled legislator, Millard Fillmore chaired the Ways and Means Committee from 1841 to 1843 during Tyler's Presidency. Fillmore's diligent leadership marked a period when his party, the newly formed Whigs, held a majority in Congress for the first time. He energetically administered the committee's oversight role, which blossomed partially because of the legislature's ongoing concern with economy in spending. He won high praise for reporting bills on banking and protective tariffs in the face of President Tyler's frequent use of the veto. Fillmore's methodical industry took him to the White House in 1850 as the 13th President of the United States.

The President's influence upon the Committee of Ways and Means was clearly evident during this period. During the 1830s and 1840s, the committee and the executive operated in an atmosphere of mutual dependence, with the initiative most often supplied by the White House and the Treasury Department. This pattern was interrupted only during Fillmore's chairmanship while Tyler was President, and during the chairmanship of Samuel F. Vinton. The key component of this relationship was party, just as party had consolidated its control over the committee appointment process. Presidents such as Van Buren and Polk who were effective party leaders were most often able to communicate their programs through chairmen of the same party. When the President and the chairman and majority of the committee were of different party affiliations, such as Tyler-McKay and Polk-Vinton, stalemate or opposition resulted on major policy issues. This latter situation increasingly characterized the 1850s, when the party system went through a turbulent period of change and reorganization, and when the slavery issue loomed behind even the most routine legislation. All three Presidents in the 1850s; Fillmore, Pierce, and Buchanan, encountered at least one Congress in which the opposition party controlled the Committee of Ways and Means.

"Old Money Bags" was the reputation James McKay of North Carolina won for being frugal. He scrupulously upheld the principle of economy to the point of forgoing a clerk; the Ways and Means chairman did all the work himself. He reported appropriations bills that funded the Mexican-American War and a measure to fund treaty negotiations. The treaty bill ignited a great controversy. Some Northern members suspected the measure was a ploy to extend slavery into territory that Mexico would cede to the U.S. The Wilmot Proviso of 1846 allayed their fears but resurrected slavery as an issue that would confound Congress in the decade ahead.

The Committee of Ways and Means in the 1850s

The decade of the 1850s proved to be a period of relative inactivity for the Committee of Ways and Means. The committee continued to consider appropriations matters, but with the exception of the Morrill Tariff as the decade ended, it initiated no major policy legislation. In part this seeming inactivity belied the political turbulence of the era. The issue of slavery in the territories destroyed the existing party system as the Democratic Party split into Northern and Southern wings, the Whig Party disintegrated, and a variety of third parties—Liberty, American, and Free Soil—gave way to the Republican Party in mid-decade. Central to the vision of the Republican Party was economic growth unhindered by slavery. Building upon the free-soil ideology, the Republican Party preached the virtues of economic opportunity, growth, and expansion in the form of homestead legislation, transcontinental railroads, steamship subsidies, and protective tariffs. The history of the Committee of Ways and Means would assume a kaleidoscopic aspect as it touched upon all of these issues.

The committee did not play a prominent role in the Compromise of 1850, the first important legislative accomplishment of the decade, which attempted to settle the issue of slavery in the territories acquired from Mexico. California was admitted as a free state and New Mexico and Utah were created as territories with no restrictions on slavery. The slave trade in the District of Columbia was also prohibited, and a more stringent fugitive slave law was enacted. Following the

Compromise of 1850, Congress experienced a period of relative tranquility. Few legislators were satisfied with the compromise, yet most hoped that it would provide a final solution to the territorial problem.

With the bank and tariff issues momentarily resolved, and with the country prospering, the majority of the committee's business concerned routine appropriations. Occasionally the committee considered an appropriations request that involved the slavery issue. For example, in February 1853, Chairman George S. Houston (D-AL) received a letter from W. Parker Foulke, Chairman of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, requesting an appropriation for a naval expedition to Liberia to locate a site for colonizing free blacks. In the 1840s and '50s, the committee also periodically received estimates from the Secretary of the Navy of the sums necessary for the suppression of the illegal African slave trade. There is no indication that these proposals prompted extended discussion either in the committee or on the floor of the House.[66]

The most controversial committee measure between 1850 and 1855 was an appropriation for the mail steamship service during the Thirty-third Congress (1853–1855). Steamship subsidies were among the most lucrative of government contracts, and the operators of the domestic and international mail routes reaped huge profits with little interference from the federal government. Frequent explosions on these vessels prompted Congress in 1852 to tighten safety standards and to establish a Board of Inspectors under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury. Chairman Houston reported the steamship appropriations bill for 1856, which limited contract subsidies and slashed the appropriations for one New York to Liverpool line operated by Edward K. Collins. The restrictive clauses of the bill had been requested by the Democratic Pierce Administration in its desire to prevent further abuses of the system. When the bill came up for consideration, Collins' friends in the House reinstated his subsidy over Houston's objections. The House and the Senate passed the bill in this form, but the President vetoed it on March 3, 1855. The President's veto was returned to Congress in the final hours of the session, causing a stormy scene in the House, but the veto was sustained by a vote of 98–79, and the appropriations bill, without the subsidy clause, was tacked on to a naval appropriations bill and enacted without further incident.[67]

The Thirty-third Congress also witnessed the investigation of charges of misconduct against former Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means Thomas H. Bayly (D-VA). Benjamin Green, former Chargé d'Affaires for the United States in Mexico, charged in 1854 that Bayly had used his position to secure passage of appropriations bills for the payment of indemnities due to Mexico with the knowledge that some of the funds would be paid to prominent Washington bankers. Bayly was susceptible to these accusations because of his close ties to the banking community, and because his father-in-law, Judge John F. May, had considerable holdings in various land and railroad ventures. Rumors had also been circulating that Bayly had manipulated the Illinois Central Railroad bill through the House in return for a gift of Illinois and United States bonds.[68]

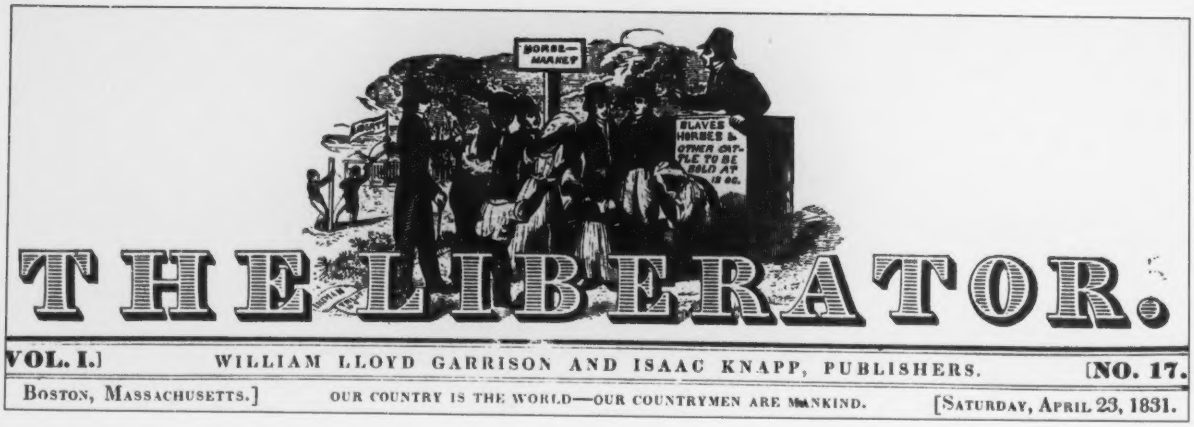
The matter was initially referred to a special committee that was currently investigating several cases of alleged improper congressional conduct. The committee decided that the charges were not within their jurisdiction, but Bayly insisted that any charges against his "representative character" be referred to the House. The matter was referred to another select committee which deliberated for several months before it found that Bayly, while having made some "erroneous" statements to the House, was not guilty of any impropriety.[69]

The atmosphere of relative calm in Congress was shattered by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in May 1854. This legislation repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820 by allowing the residents of Kansas and Nebraska to determine whether they would be free or slave states. The Committee of Ways and Means became involved in the controversy in March 1856, when Chairman Lewis D. Campbell of Ohio reported an Army appropriation bill that was amended by the Free Soil faction in the House to include a proviso forbidding the use of federal troops to support the territorial government of Kansas, currently challenged by a rival antislavery government in Topeka. The intent of the proviso, originally introduced by Lucien Barbour, a Free Soil delegate from Indiana, was to buy time for the Topeka government until Congress could resolve the question of the legitimacy of the rival governments.

The proviso to the Army bill placed Chairman Campbell in a difficult position. A free-soil advocate, Campbell opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Although he favored "the speedy exercise of all legislative power to exclude slavery from Kansas and Nebraska," as chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, Campbell felt compelled to oppose the introduction of independent legislation into appropriations bills. Campbell believed that this procedure violated "the rules of law, and the usage of this House." The chairman also stated his conviction that the subject matter of the current proviso fell under the legitimate jurisdiction of either the Committee on the Judiciary or the Committee on Territories. Thus, the entire Army bill would be placed in jeopardy "for no better reason than that other committees and the House may have failed to perform their duties in regard to the interesting condition of the people of Kansas." [70]

In spite of Campbell's opposition, the House passed the Army appropriations bill with the proviso prohibiting the use of troops in Kansas. The Senate, on the recommendation of the Committee on Finance, refused to accept the amendment, initially using the argument that it infringed on the power of the executive to enforce the laws.

The masthead of the leading abolitionist newspaper of the antebellum period reflects the gathering momentum to eradicate slavery from the South. Such requests as a petition for funds to colonize freed slaves and an appropriations bill containing a free-soil proviso to prohibit the use of federal troops in the Kansas Territory occasionally drew Ways and Means into the slavery question, an inflammatory issue that refused to go away.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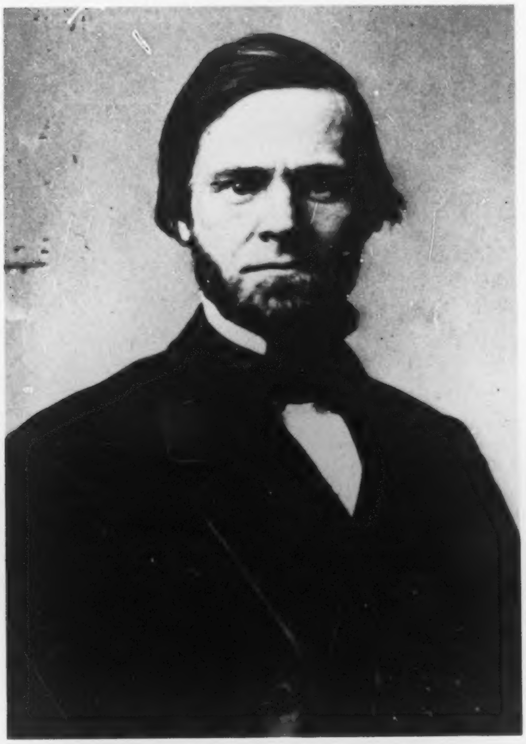
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.] OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE MANKIND. [SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1831.

After several futile attempts at conference, the House adjourned on August 18, 1856, without passing the bill. At this juncture President Pierce, alarmed at the prospect of having no funds to maintain the U.S. Army, called a special session of Congress and impressed upon both Houses the danger of leaving the country unprotected. In response to his request, Campbell offered the original bill as a substitute, but the House stubbornly persisted in tacking on the proviso.

The debate over the Army bill, which had previously centered on the executive's power to enforce the laws, now took on the form of the first great showdown between the House and the Senate over their respective roles in the appropriations process. Senator Robert M. T. Hunter of Virginia, former Speaker of the House and chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance since 1850, announced his categorical opposition to the House proviso. Hunter's original instinct was to oppose it as a breach of executive power, but he now stated his belief that the House was trying to force concurrence, thereby threatening the status of the Senate as a coequal branch of the legislature. For his part, Hunter preferred that "the Army be disbanded, rather than the Senate be destroyed." In a lengthy speech on August 22, Hunter launched into a stinging condemnation of the House's behavior, and asserted his intention to let the bill fail if an agreement could not be reached. For over a week the bill bounced back and forth between the House and the Senate, which insisted that the proviso be taken out. Eventually, on August 30, the House tired of this battle of wills and agreed to pass the bill without the proviso. That same day, the 1856 Army appropriation bill was signed into law by President Pierce.[71]

In 1857, agitation over Kansas was interrupted by a financial panic, precipitated by reckless land and railroad speculation. On August 24, the New York branch of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company failed, touching off a rapid chain of bank foreclosures, industrial bankruptcies, and dwindling imports. Within months



Republican John Sherman of Ohio came to Washington, DC, in 1855 and stayed in public office for nearly 50 years. Sherman's memoirs indicate that the Thirty-sixth Congress consciously avoided the seething issue of slavery. As chairman of Ways and Means, Sherman was preoccupied with appropriations bills. His committee experimented with delegating work to individual members. This practice later formed the basis of the panel's formal use of subcommittees during the Civil War. From Sherman's committee came the Morrill Tariff bill, enacted in 1861, the last important measure reported by Ways and Means before the Civil War. Sherman subsequently became chairman of the Senate Finance Committee

the United States was in the throes of a severe economic depression that lasted until 1859.

The panic caused a fiscal crisis for the federal government. In the early 1850s, federal expenditures, boosted by a Treasury surplus, remained at high levels. During this period Congress was also pressured by increasing demands by the various departments for supplemental appropriations to meet expenses (also known then as deficiency appropriations). Between 1851 and 1856 deficiencies incurred by the federal government fluctuated between 2.5 million dollars and 5.5 million dollars.[72] The Democratic Congress in 1857 enacted a tariff for revenue only that had the effect of substantially lowering federal revenues at the very time the panic hit. This sudden change in the financial condition of the Treasury left two alternatives to Congress, enact a loan bill or increase the tariff.

The House engaged in a lengthy debate in May 1858 on the state of the public finances. Congressional Republicans, attempting to use the perceived extravagance of the Democratic Buchanan Administration as a campaign issue, accused the department secretaries of usurping the congressional power of the purse by tranferring funds to purposes other than those for which they were specifically authorized. The Republicans also attacked the executive for entering into government contracts before funds had been allocated, thereby forcing

Congress to comply with additional appropriations. John Sherman (R-OH) played a prominent role in the debate and even singled out the Democratic members of the Committee of Ways and Means for criticism, stating that "If we [Republicans] indicate even the commencement of retrenchment, or point out abuses, we are at once assailed by the Committee of Ways and Means." [73]

The Republican Party made significant gains in the congressional elections of 1858, but when the House convened in December 1859, no party held a majority.[74] The opening of the Thirty-sixth Congress occurred just three days after the execution of John Brown for his role in the raid on Harper's Ferry. The selection of a Speaker of the House was prolonged by the lack of any party majority as well as by sectional animosity.

Sherman, the Republican candidate, was a third-term congressman of considerable ability, but his previous endorsement of a controversial book on slavery, *The Impending Crisis of the South*, alienated any Northern Democrats who might have supported him, and his supporters could not muster the votes needed to ensure his election. Sherman eventually withdrew from the race in favor of a compromise candidate, a first-term member from New Jersey, former Governor William Pennington, who won by a single vote. Sherman compiled a roster of committee appointments that the grateful Speaker adopted. According to the Ohio congressman, the Speaker "thanked me kindly, stating that he had little knowledge of the personal qualifications of the Members . . . and adopted the list as his own." On January 9, 1859, with no prior service on the committee, Sherman was named the new chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, replacing Democrat John S. Phelps of Missouri.[75]

The committee's deliberations during the Thirty-sixth Congress (1859-1861) were almost exclusively devoted to appropriations and the preparation of a new tariff measure. This focus was due in part to the still chaotic state of the nation's finances, but Sherman also suggested that the legislature was once again consciously avoiding slavery by concentrating on issues of a "nonpolitical" character, under which appropriations and the revenue now qualified. Sherman also stated that at this time the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means was recognized as the leader of the House, "practically controlling the order of its business." [76]

Sherman's attempts to secure the speedy enactment of appropriations bills in the Thirty-sixth Congress were frustrated somewhat by the Senate. The Committee on Finance, still under the guidance of Virginia's Robert M. T. Hunter, took an aggressive role in the appropriations process. By 1860, the Southern Democratic majority on the Senate committee routinely obstructed the passage of appropriations bills passed by the Republican House. For example, the Committee on Finance substantially amended two House appropriations bills for

Indian affairs and the Army. In the case of the latter bill, the Senate committee recommended the adoption of 47 amendments, including appropriations of $50,000 each for the construction of public buildings in Charleston and in New Orleans. In June 1860, the Committee of Ways and Means recommended that the House disagree to all but two of the Senate amendments. In the subsequent conference committee, Senator Robert Toombs of Georgia, representing the Committee on Finance, informed Sherman that the Charleston and New Orleans appropriations had to be included or the bill would be rejected by the Senate. Sherman answered that the ultimatum meant that the bill would be defeated in the House. Toombs eventually backed down and the bill was passed without the Senate amendments.[77]

The Committee of Ways and Means also prepared a major tariff revision in the Thirty-sixth Congress. Such a bill had been considered in the winter of 1859, but the then Democratic majority on the committee prevented any real tariff reform. In March 1860, the Republican majority reported a bill "to provide for the payment of outstanding Treasury notes, to authorize a loan, to regulate and fix the duties on imports, and for other purposes." The bill was drafted and reported by Justin S. Morrill of Vermont, a tariff expert who had prepared a readjustment of existing duties in connection with a loan bill to raise revenues in 1859. The bill's intent was to restore the rates imposed by the Walker Tariff of 1846, thereby raising nearly 50 million dollars a year in revenues while providing protection for American industries.[78]

After the bill was introduced, it was debated by the House for two months. Chairman Sherman was preoccupied with the committee's appropriations bills and did not act as floor manager during the preliminary debates on the Morrill Tariff. The task was left to the Vermont congressman, who was a brilliant technician, but whose unfamiliarity with the House rules allowed the bill to be loaded down with so many amendments that it was altered beyond recognition. Chairman Sherman intervened by proposing a lengthy amendment that in effect restored the original provisions of the bill. The House, wearied by the long debate, passed the bill on May 10, 1860.[79]

The Senate returned the Morrill bill to the House on December 20, 1860, with the recommendation that consideration be postponed until the following session. At the beginning of the Thirty-seventh Congress on January 23, 1861, the Senate referred the measure to a special committee, which proposed several minor amendments. Both the Senate and the House subsequently approved the bill and it was enacted on March 5, 1861. The Morrill Tariff was the final important legislation of the Committee of Ways and Means before the Civil War. The conflict erupted the following month, and the tariff was gradually modified out of necessity in the war years by statutes that doubled and even tripled the original rates.[80]

MILESTONES IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMMITTEE
1829–1861

1832–33	Nullification Crisis
1833	Compromise Tariff of 1833 lowered duties of the 1828 "tariff of abominations"
1832–36	Bank War
1836	Deposit Act
1840	Subtreasury (or Independent Treasury) established
1841	Independent Treasury repealed
1842	Tariff of 1842 returned to protectionist rates
1846	Constitutional Treasury reestablished the Independent Treasury plan
1855	Controversial Mail Steamship Subsidy Appropriation bill
1856	Controversial Army Appropriations bill
1857	Tariff of 1857 for revenue only
1861	Morrill Tariff returned to principle of protectionism

In the years immediately preceding the Civil War, the Committee of Ways and Means had nine members, six from the majority party, and three from the minority. It usually met pursuant to adjournment of the House's morning session, between 9:30 and 11 a.m., or at the call of the chairman. The committee also convened in the evening if necessary. In 1857, the House had finally permitted the committee to hire a full-time permanent clerk at an annual salary of $1,800. The Committee of Claims was the only other House committee at this time allowed to hire a permanent clerk. The other standing committees could hire temporary clerks, but only by special House resolution. The committee's first clerk, Robert Cochran, recorded the minutes and handled most of the committee's correspondence, among other duties. He was replaced at the end of the first session of the Thirty-sixth Congress by George Bassett.[81]

Sherman's committee also adopted the practice of delegating the responsibility for certain bills to individual members of the committee.[82] Morrill, for example, specialized in tariff legislation, and Elbridge G. Spaulding (R-NY) prepared banking and currency measures, while the chairman drafted most of the committee's appropriations bills. When it came to amending appropriations measures, various members would be instructed by the committee to prepare amendments once the panel had decided its basic principles and content. Later, during the Civil War, this informal delegation of responsibility would develop into a subcommittee system.

Conclusion

By the 1820s the status of standing committees of the House of Representatives as legislative policy-makers was assured by revisions in the House Rules enabling standing committees to originate bills without prior instructions by Committees of the Whole House. In ensuing decades, these bodies gained additional importance as the legislative workload intensified and as two-party politics became institutionalized in Congress.

The increasing specialization of operations represented by Chairman Sherman's delegation of authority in the Thirty-sixth Congress was but one byproduct of the development of the Committee of Ways and Means during this period. Between 1829 and 1861, the committee's oversight role in the congressional appropriations process was formalized and expanded, as was the chairman's position as de facto floor leader, second in importance only to the Speaker of the House.

Relations between the President and the Committee of Ways and Means were generally harmonious in the antebellum period. However, on occasion the committee found it necessary to assert its independent role vis-à-vis both the executive branch and the Senate. The President and the executive departments provided both policy initiatives and supporting information for the legislative process, but the Committee of Ways and Means tended to conduct its own inquiries and to jealously guard against any insinuations of executive dictation. The Senate Committee on Finance also emerged in this period as both a powerful rival as well as a complement to the House committee. But perhaps most significantly, the Committee of Ways and Means had consolidated its tripartite jurisdiction over revenue, banking, and appropriations, creating a unique power base that became even more crucial in the Civil War Congresses.

1861 ★ 1865

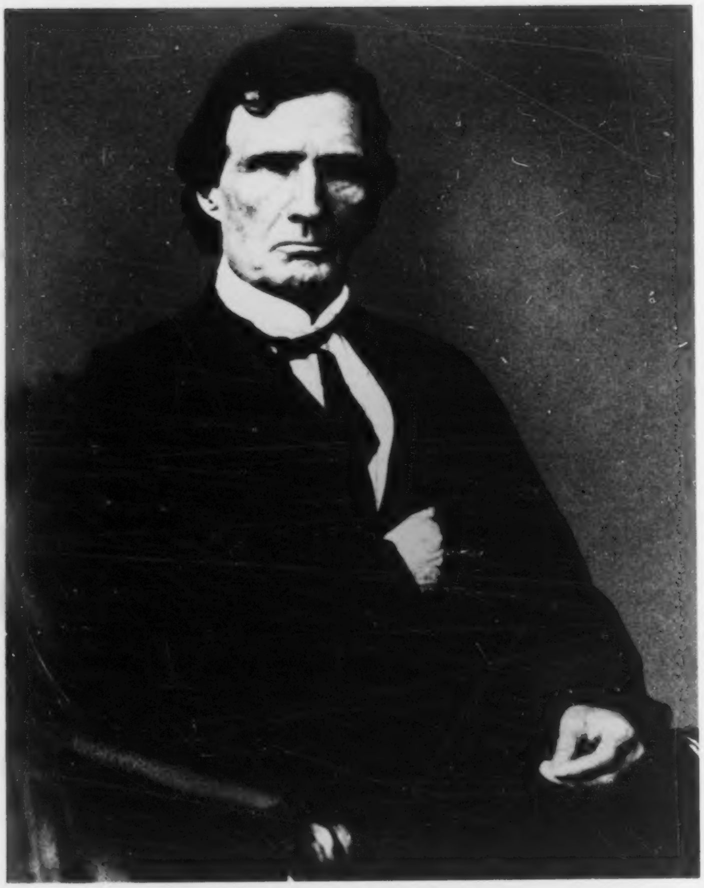
Financing the Civil War

The Civil War marked a pivotal period in the history of the Committee of Ways and Means: With the end of the war, the overburdened committee's jurisdiction over appropriations and banking also came to an end. The chairman during this period, Republican Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, was the dominant leader in the House. He delegated authority within the committee to subcommittees on revenue and on banking and currency, while the chairman retained personal control over appropriations matters. The committee originated most of the important tax, appropriations, and currency bills in the two war Congresses. In the process, the committee reported legislation that raised the protective tariff to its highest levels ever to that time, that instituted the first federal income tax, and that authorized the first national paper currency. The workload was so oppressive, however, that Congress split the committee along jurisdictional lines in 1865, when the House rules were revised to create separate committees on appropriations and on banking and currency.

"And yet, sir, powerful as the committee is constituted, even their powers of endurance, physical and mental, are not adequate to the great duty which has been imposed by the emergencies of this historic time." (Samuel S. Cox, 1865)[1]

The circumstances under which the Committee of Ways and Means operated during the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congresses (1861–1865) were quite different from those existing in the 1850s, when sectional tensions had impeded the legislative process. All business, from the election of the Speaker of the House to the passage of minor appropriations bills, had been bogged down at various times by seemingly endless quarrels between various congressional factions. After the departure of congressmen from the seceded states during the winter and spring of 1860–61, the Republican Party was left with a substantial working majority in Congress. In legislative terms it proved to be a liberating change. Faced with a grave national emergency, the Republican Congress was forced to act quickly. It functioned remarkably well during the early stages of the war. As Congressman James G. Blaine remarked of the opening months of the Thirty-seventh Congress, "In no other session of Congress was so much accomplished in so little time." [2]

The Committee of Ways and Means was fortunate to have an able and forceful chairman during the Civil War. Thaddeus Stevens (R-PA) exercised control over the House as leader of the majority party, and he delegated authority within the committee to his colleagues, particu-



A stern chairman with an acid wit, Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania kept firm control of federal purse strings. His fiscal duties and his parliamentary prowess made him the most important congressman in the House of Representatives during the Civil War. His forceful leadership, which encouraged the use of tax and banking subcommittees during the conflict, greatly increased the productivity of Ways and Means. Stevens supported stronger antislavery policies than those of Lincoln and advocated harsh conditions for the defeated South, a sharp departure from the President's conciliatory approach to Reconstruction. After the Civil War, Stevens headed the Joint Committee on Reconstruction and led the impeachment proceedings against President Andrew Johnson.

larly Justin S. Morrill (R-VT) and Elbridge G. Spaulding (R-NY), who chaired subcommittees on taxation and on banking and currency respectively. Stevens was such an active and influential floor leader that he invited favorable comparison with an earlier chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, John Randolph.

Even with an efficient delegation of authority within the committee, the workload was so great that a movement developed to divide the Committee of Ways and Means into three separate standing committees. At the close of the Thirty-eighth Congress, the House Rules were amended to divide the functions previously performed by the committee among three committees: the existing Committee of Ways and Means, and two new committees: the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Banking and Currency. Resentment over Chairman Stevens' leadership also played a role in the division of the committee. Stevens acquiesced in this decision for political reasons to maintain his influence over the Republican Party's postwar Reconstruction policy.

Thaddeus Stevens' Committee, 1861–1865

The chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means during the Civil War Congresses, Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, was similar by temperament and influence to the first great chairman of the committee, John Randolph. Like his Virginia predecessor, Stevens had an abrasive personality, and like Randolph he was the most powerful figure in the House. As leader of the majority party in Congress, Stevens was the real source of power and influence, not Speaker of the House Galusha Grow (R-PA, 1861–1863).

Thaddeus Stevens possessed a personality that inspired both respect and loathing. He dressed in loose-fitting, wrinkled black clothing, and his gaunt features, stern appearance, and black wig created a startling, almost fiendish impression. Like Randolph, Stevens compensated for a physical disability. Although he was born with a crippled foot, he vigorously engaged in swimming, horseback riding, and fox hunting. He also gambled, but he drank sparingly or not at all. He never married, but he evidently enjoyed the company of women. According to rumor he maintained a lengthy relationship with his housekeeper, an attractive young widow.[3]

Intellect and a scathing wit were Stevens' main attributes in debate. He once interrupted a colleague, who was pacing up and down the aisle while delivering a lengthy speech, to ask: "Do you expect to collect mileage for this speech?" On another occasion, a fellow congressman had responded to a colleague's challenge to a duel by suggesting that they fight with Bowie knives. Stevens made the whole episode appear ridiculous by recommending that dung forks would be more appropriate. But he used wit and intellect for two main purposes. One was to control the House. Ben Perley Poore, a contemporary observer of Congress, recalled that "Thaddeus Stevens was the despotic ruler of the House":

> No Republican was permitted by "Old Thad" to oppose his imperious will without receiving a tongue-lashing that terrified others if it did not bring the refractory representative back to party harness. . . . John Randolph . . . was never so ingeniously insulting as was Mr. Stevens toward those whose political actions he controlled.[4]

The chairman's other purpose was to further his causes. Stevens was deeply committed to the rights of the underprivileged. He had grown up in poverty, one of four young sons of a widowed mother. As an adult he was generous, quietly aiding the poor and indigent. He championed the cause of universal free education both on the state level in Pennsylvania and later on the federal level. His primary passion was the eradication of slavery, an institution that he denounced

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF WAYS AND MEANS
1861–1865

Thaddeus Stevens (R-PA)	**Thirty-seventh–Thirty-eighth Congresses, 1861–65**

as "a curse, a shame, and a crime." After the war, Stevens' reputation suffered because of the punitive policies against the rebellious states that he advocated as chairman of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction. Those policies, however, were motivated as much, if not more, out of concern for the well-being of freedmen as they were by a desire to punish the South.[5]

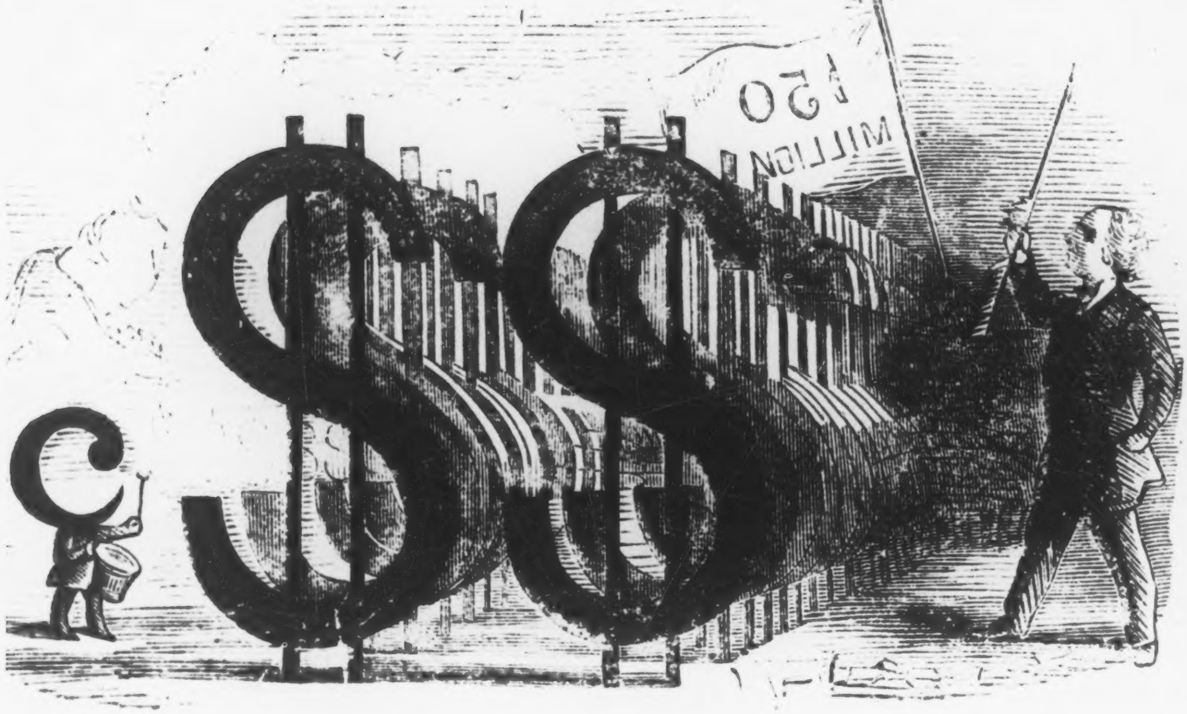
During the rebellion, when procedural skill, bold leadership, and force of will were sorely needed, Thaddeus Stevens proved to be a wise choice to manage the difficult financial tasks at hand. His most important asset as chairman was his parliamentary skill. The chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means had special privileges granted by the House rules, most notably the ability to take the floor at any time to introduce or to call for debate on committee legislation, and the right to take precedence in debate on most issues considered by the House. In the role of bill manager, Stevens had no equal. His ruthless use of parliamentary procedure to end debate and call for an immediate vote effectively held the House to consideration of the measure at issue. On several occasions he moved to close debate within one hour, or five minutes, or one minute, or once even that all debate "be terminated in one-half minute." [6]

Another strength was Stevens' ability to delegate responsibility. The committee had an exceptionally heavy workload during the Civil War, and Stevens, who had no formal training in public finance, left the task of preparing the highly technical tax, currency, and loan bills to his more experienced colleagues. John Sherman of Ohio, who served with Stevens on the committee before he moved over to the Senate, suggested in his memoirs that the Pennsylvania congressman, "while a dangerous opponent in debate" was less interested in the more mundane aspects of committee work than he was in managing bills through the House. "He was better in the field of battle than in the seclusion of the committee," Sherman recalled. "Still, when any contest arose in the House over bills reported by the committee, he was always ready to defend his actions." Stevens formalized a trend begun in the late 1850s of dividing the committee's responsibilities along jurisdictional lines. According to Elbridge G. Spaulding, the committee would meet at the beginning of each session and divide the workload among several subcommittees consisting of three to four members each. Justin S. Morrill, a tariff expert, headed a subcommittee on taxation, and Spaulding, a former state treasurer, was the chairman of a subcommittee on currency and loans, while Stevens remained personally in charge of appropriations bills at the full committee level.[7]

The Committee and the Lincoln Administration

The committee's relationship with the Lincoln Administration began on friendly terms. Stevens and Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase, a former governor of Ohio, had been friends since the early 1840s. Both men shared an opposition to slavery. They corresponded regularly, and neither man made any pretense to financial genius, though each possessed what was known in the 19th century as a strong-willed personality. Their relationship remained cordial until after Chase had been appointed to the Supreme Court. On the other hand, Stevens differed greatly with the President. The chairman grew impatient with Lincoln's caution in prosecuting the war, and he resented the President's hesitancy to adopt the abolition of slavery as an immediate war goal. Toward the end of the war, Stevens also dissented from the President's moderate and compassionate approach to Reconstruction.

Lincoln's strong leadership contrasted sharply with the weak Presidents of the 1850s. Some of his early decisions, such as blockading the South and suspending the writ of habeas corpus, restored vigor to the Presidency, but they also formed the basis for a lengthy confrontation with the legislative branch. Although Congress cooperated in the early part of the Thirty-seventh Congress, Lincoln's conduct of the war offended not only the small but vocal Democratic opposition, but also many Radical Republicans dedicated to the destruction of slavery. Radicals, including Stevens, objected to the President's dismissal in the fall of 1861 of Gen. John C. Frémont, who had decreed the emancipation of the slaves of disloyal citizens within the military district of Missouri. Stevens and his colleagues were not only outraged at Lincoln's reluctance to embrace immediate emancipation, they also criticized his conduct of military operations. Dismayed by Gen. George B. McClellan's procrastination and the President's inability to prod him to action, the Radicals created the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War in 1862. The committee investigated allegations of fraud and incompetence in the War Department, probed governmental security (even rumors that Mrs. Lincoln was a spy), and promoted the prosecution of the war to abolish slavery. Congressional resentment of Lincoln's practice of presidential power was also directed at his successor, and culminated in the impeachment of Andrew Johnson in 1868.[8]



Lincoln's role in war finance was less controversial, because he left financial matters to Chase. The President had never been interested in economics, and he recognized his limited knowledge. When financiers criticized one wartime currency measure, Lincoln still signed the bill, reasoning that he was not "exclusively responsible" for it. He reportedly referred financial inquiries to the Secretary of the Treasury: "Go to Secretary Chase; he is managing the finances."

Stevens cooperated with Chase for the most part. He gave the administration loyal support when it came to appropriating money for the war effort. Stevens readily assented to the huge amounts needed, but he urged economy in the expenditure of money and was critical of excessive outlays for the military. For these reasons, the chairman was cautious in his support of an appropriation requested by the administration to raise a special force to protect Kentucky from invasion by the Confederate Army. Declaring that "there are already 660,000 men under arms somewhere . . . [which] can be very well spared," Stevens warned against the folly of "piling mountains upon mountains of debt and taxation, until the nation is finally destroyed by the operations of this war." [9]

The chairman was also selective about backing appropriations for public improvements, especially pork barrel measures thinly disguised

Depicted as a drum major, Treasury Secretary Salmon P. Chase of Ohio marshals a brigade of dollars to help cover the North's Civil War costs. President Lincoln, who admitted that his knowledge of finance was limited, put all such matters in the hands of Chase. The Union mainly raised war funds through loans and taxation. Putting its revenue, banking, and appropriations authority to work, Ways and Means originated most of the key legislative measures that financed Union war efforts.

as military necessities. One such measure, the Illinois Canal Bill presented during the Thirty-seventh Congress, proposed a five-year project to construct a canal between the Mississippi River and Lake Michigan in the event of a war with Great Britain. Stevens delayed the bill by referring it to a Committee of the Whole House, which, complained a colleague, was like "consigning it to the tomb of the Capulets." On the other hand, the chairman enthusiastically endorsed appropriations during the Thirty-eighth Congress for internal improvements that would benefit all regions of the country equally, such as the transcontinental railroads.[10]

Stevens' parliamentary prowess and his control over the federal purse strings made him the most powerful congressman in the House during the Civil War. Some members complained of his despotic practices during debate on important bills, but the relations between Stevens and his colleagues on the committee were generally harmonious. In both war Congresses, the Republicans held solid majorities on the committee of 6–3 and 7–2, with the Democrats in the minority supporting most committee measures. There was only one piece of legislation, the Legal Tender Bill of 1862, that caused serious divisions within the committee. In other areas a working consensus existed among the members on both issues and the division of labor necessary for the committee to function efficiently.

Early War Finance Initiatives, 1861

The House Committee of Ways and Means originated the key legislative measures to finance the Union war effort, as it had similarly financed the War of 1812. Once again at the committee's suggestion, Congress increased excise taxes and secured loan issues. During the earlier war, the committee had recommended the creation of treasury notes as a circulating medium. They took the more controversial step in 1862 of suggesting the establishment of a national paper currency. Finally, the committee presented plans for a federal income tax, similar to one that had been suggested in 1815 by Secretary Dallas but that had been rejected by the committee at that time.

When the Thirty-seventh Congress convened in special session on July 4, 1861, the nation had been in a virtual state of war since April 15. President Lincoln had declared that a state of insurrection existed in the seceded Southern states, and he had called upon the loyal state governors to provide 75,000 militiamen. The President had also blockaded Southern ports and removed funds from the Treasury to cover war expenses without prior congressional authorization.

Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase submitted his first report to Congress in early July. The appointment of Chase to the Cabinet had been prompted by political considerations. After his elec-

Treasury Secretary Chase pushed the sale of government war bonds to the public to help retire bank loans. But his plan fell short when Union losses on the battlefield in 1861 shook public confidence. The nation faced a nearly exhausted Treasury and a desperate need for a stable currency. Chase's solution to the crisis, the creation of a currency guaranteed by federal bonds and printed by national banks, received faint support from Ways and Means. The committee favored a bill that became the Legal Tender Act of 1862. It authorized paper money printed and backed by the credit of the government. In 1864, Chase left the Treasury to become Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

tion, Lincoln had offered the two most prestigious Cabinet appointments, State and Treasury, to William H. Seward of New York and to Chase. Seward and Chase, who had been the President's chief rivals for the Republican nomination in 1864, were the leaders of the conservative and liberal wings of the party. Their appointment reflected the desire of the new President, a moderate, to forge a coalition embracing the major ideological elements of the party. Chase had declined the post, citing his inexperience in fiscal matters, but he later accepted it, as he said, in order not to "shrink from cares and labors for the common good which cannot be honorably shunned." Seward proved to be an excellent Secretary of State, but Chase's record at the Treasury Department was mixed.[11]

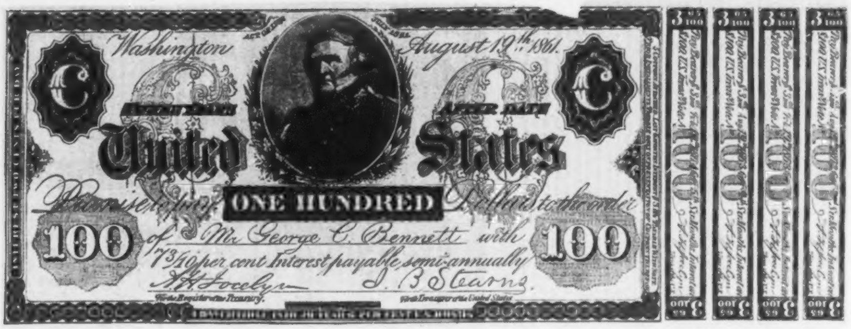
A former United States senator and governor of Ohio, Chase was an able lawyer, a hard worker, and a self-righteous opponent of slavery, but he lacked the experience and training necessary for the position of Secretary of the Treasury. Thaddeus Stevens was also unschooled in public finance, but he more than compensated for this deficiency with his aggressive leadership qualities. At critical points in the war, Stevens also proved to be flexible enough to accept innovative methods to meet drastically escalating government expenditures. Chase, on the other hand, as a hard money advocate of the old school, lacked Stevens' force and vision in dealings with Congress.

Fortunately, Chase maintained a close working relationship with the banking community, most notably through Jay Cooke, a wealthy Philadelphia banker. Cooke performed a role in marketing government securities similar to that provided by Robert Morris during the Revolutionary War. From his Washington office across the street from the Treasury Department, Cooke orchestrated a nationwide campaign to sell war bonds using advertisements, mass rallies, patriotic speakers, and brass bands. Without his salesmanship and capital, which he contributed in liberal amounts, the war effort would have suffered at Chase's direction. Cooke agreed with Chase that the war should be financed by loans rather than by taxes, and his considerable influence probably delayed the Treasury Secretary's conversion to taxation as a necessary fiscal expedient.[12]

The financial picture that Chase outlined in his first financial report was not promising. During the previous Buchanan Administration, the federal government had accumulated a 20-million-dollar yearly deficit. The Thirty-sixth Congress consequently passed a loan act authorizing the issue of ten million dollars in Treasury notes to be supplemented by the higher import duties imposed by the Morrill Tariff of 1861. The tariff helped to bring in some additional revenues, but by July 1861 the government was faced with a 30-million-dollar deficit in addition to the projected military expenditures for the coming year. In his report to Congress, Chase requested 350 million dollars in appropriations. Of this sum, he recommended that one-quarter could be raised through taxation and the remainder through borrowing in the form of Treasury bonds sold to banks and the general public.[13]

The Committee of Ways and Means promptly responded to the Secretary of the Treasury's request. On July 9, Stevens reported a bill authorizing Chase to borrow 250 million dollars over the next 12 months. The chairman ensured prompt passage of the bill by suspending the rules and limiting floor debate to one hour. The loan bill was subsequently approved with only five dissenting votes. On the heels of this measure, Stevens reported a 150-million-dollar military appropriations bill that was passed by both the House and the Senate after only brief consideration.

Congress' next action was to authorize a comprehensive revenue plan. Consequently, the Committee of Ways and Means reported two bills, the first a tariff, approved by the House on July 19 and containing moderate increases on items such as coffee, tea, and sugar.[14] On July 24, Justin Morrill of the subcommittee on taxation reported the second measure, a bill providing for a direct tax and various internal duties. Borrowing from an earlier measure proposed in 1813, the omnibus bill provided 30 million dollars in revenues derived principally from real estate taxes apportioned on a state requisition system. In his introductory remarks on the bill, Stevens admitted that while its terms



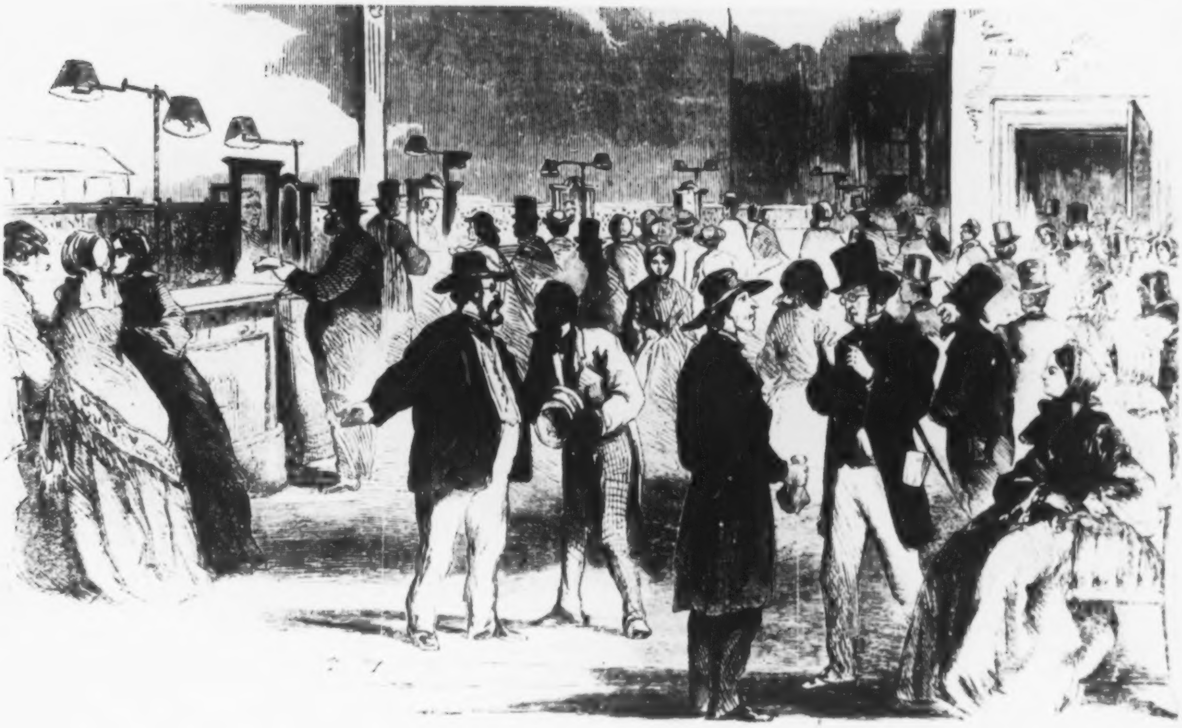
"Old Fuss and Feathers," Gen. Winfield Scott appears on a $100 U.S. bond, one of the Civil War loan issues authorized by legislation reported by Ways and Means in 1861. Believing victory would come easily in the opening months of the war, Northerners—such as those crowding a Wall Street bank (right)—enthusiastically invested in war bonds.

were "most unpleasant," approval was necessary since "annihilation of the government is the alternative." [15]

The committee's tax bill encountered strenuous objections from representatives of land-abundant Western states. Leading the opposition, Schuyler Colfax of Indiana labeled the land tax "the most odious tax of all we levy." In debate, Colfax complained that the bill's provisions favored the wealthy, whose investments were tied up in stocks and bonds, stating: "I cannot go home and tell my constituents that I voted for a bill that allowed a man, a millionaire, who has put his property into stock, to be exempted from taxation, while a farmer who lives by his side must pay a tax." [16] As an alternative, he proposed that the direct tax clause be replaced by a tax on stocks, bonds, mortgages, money, and interest, as well as an income tax.

On the strength of these arguments, the House recommitted the bill with instructions to provide for other taxes. The following day the Committee of Ways and Means reported its inability to revise the bill to provide for direct taxes in a manner consistent with the Constitution. After further debate the House passed a resolution authorizing the committee to raise such sums as might be deemed necessary "by internal duties or direct taxation on personal income or wealth." The bill was reexamined in the committee and an alternative was proposed whereby direct taxes would be reduced by ten million dollars and supplemented by an income tax of 3 percent on all incomes exceeding $600. Morrill designed and introduced the income tax provisions of the bill. "The indirect or income tax which is to be raised by this bill will be, in my judgment," Morrill maintained, "at least twice as much as what we shall raise by direct taxation." [17] He argued that the income tax, which had been considered an indirect tax since it had first been discussed in 1815, differed from a direct tax on land. Most members of Congress agreed with Morrill. The revenue bill was passed by the House on July 29, 1861, by a vote of 77-60.

The House bill was amended by the Senate before a conference committee compromised the differences between the two versions. The House tariff and revenue bills were considered together by the



Senate, which determined that the direct tax could be supplemented by moderate duties on both imports and incomes. Subsequently, the Senate Committee on Finance reported a revenue bill amending the House version to provide a 5 percent income tax on all incomes above $1,000 with a lower rate levied on incomes of U.S. citizens residing abroad and on income derived from government securities. The revenue bill eventually forged in conference committee contained the direct tax provision recommended by the House, an income tax of 3 percent on incomes above $800 for citizens residing in the United States and 5 percent on those living abroad. Congress also decided to tax securities by 1.5 percent. This bill was signed into law by President Lincoln on August 5, 1861.[18]

The income tax provisions of the Revenue Act of 1861, however, were never enforced. The tax applied to income generated in 1861 and was to be paid on or before June 30, 1862. Chase and the Treasury Department delayed implementation of the statute, expecting Congress to modify the tax in its next session. He praised Congress in December of 1861 for postponing "the necessity of taking steps for the practical enforcement of the law." Chase cited every excuse for delay—the lack of accurate statistics and the large number of incomes exempt from the tax. He continued to favor loans and direct taxes rather than the income tax.[19]

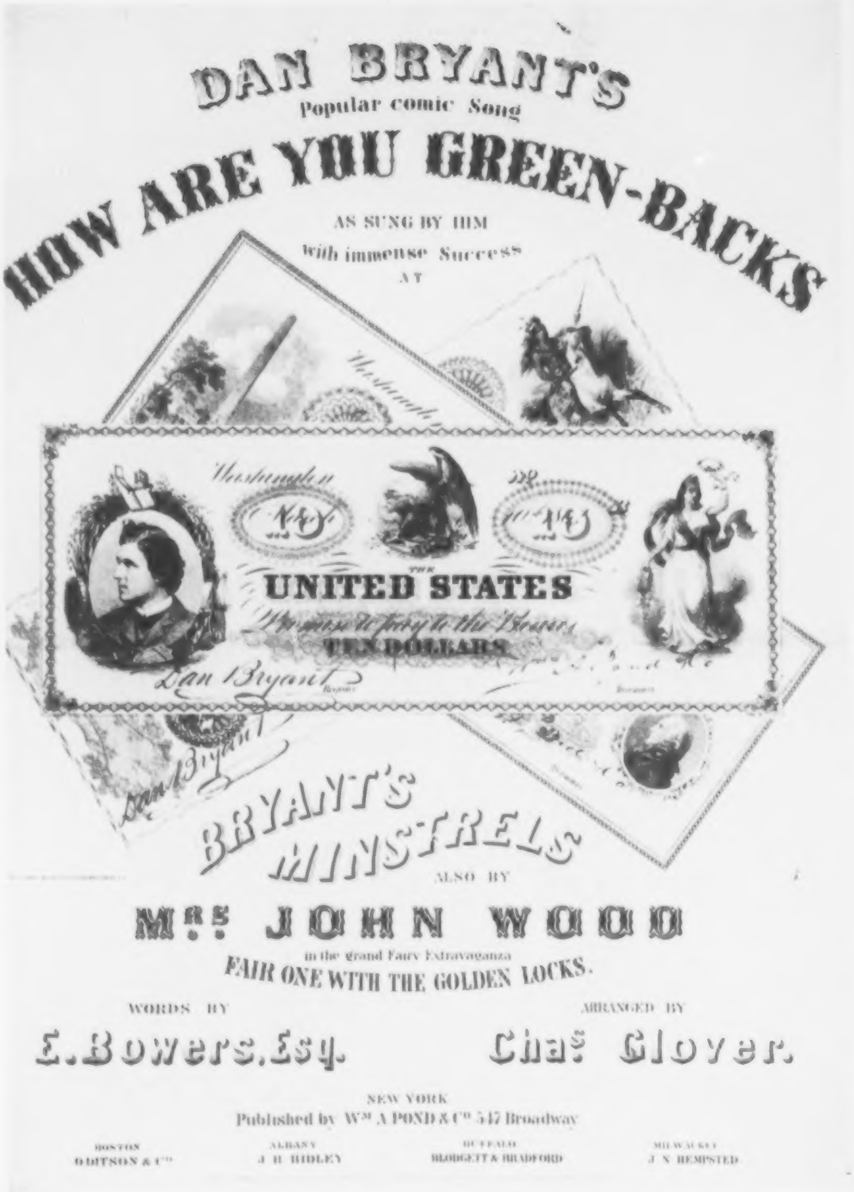
The Legal Tender Act of 1862

In August 1861, Secretary of the Treasury Chase journeyed to New York for a meeting with prominent bankers for the purpose of obtaining the loan authorized earlier that year by Congress. Convinced that the war would be short, the financiers from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia agreed to supply the Treasury with 50 million dollars in exchange for a subscription of the same amount in federal securities. Two additional loans of 50 million dollars would be made in October and December. Chase stipulated that the bank payments would be made in specie, as specified by the terms of the Independent Treasury Act. In addition, Chase agreed to encourage public investment in the national loan through the purchase of notes at attractively low interest rates payable to the banks.[20] Buoyed by substantial popular support, the first two payments took place without complications.

Chase's policy proved to be shortsighted. By December 1861, the war was going badly and public interest in purchasing government bonds had dwindled. In addition, the Secretary's insistence on specie payments caused a serious drain on the nation's gold reserves. As a result, the banks and the general public began to hoard whatever limited gold was available. Faced with the prospect of depleted gold reserves and severely depreciated government securities, the banks suspended their payments to the federal government, an action that posed an immediate threat to the war effort.[21]

By January 1862, the financial situation was critical. Government expenditures had exceeded Chase's July estimates by 200 million dollars, and current war costs were nearing the then staggering sum of two million dollars a day. Foreign trade was hindered by the war effort, with a corresponding decline in customs revenues. The gold reserves in the Treasury were so low that it had also been forced to suspend specie payments. The unexpected action of the banks in suspending specie payments had left Chase hard-pressed to provide fresh fiscal alternatives. The best available option would be for Congress to enact some monetary plan to provide a stable currency not backed by specie.

Although he opposed the issuance of government notes in principle, Chase left the door open for the adoption of this expedient in his report to Congress in which he stated that the legislature possessed the authority to control credit circulation under its power to regulate commerce and to regulate the value of coin. Chase suggested that the currency issues of the state banks could be replaced by one of two measures: the gradual withdrawal of these notes and their replacement by U.S. notes payable in coin or on demand, or the creation of a system of national banks authorized to issue notes for circulation also convertible into coin by the pledge of government securities.[22] Chase personally recommended that Congress adopt the second plan.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AS SUNG BY HIM
with immense Success
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The song "How Are You Green-Backs" lampoons the controversy over paper currency during the Civil War. Greenbacks, named for their color, were first issued by the federal government in 1862. The U.S. notes served as legal tender payable on demand for all debts except tariff duties, interest on the public debt, and the purchase of public land. The Legal Tender Act of 1862 authorized the creation of greenbacks after an intense debate over the currency issue inflicted the only serious division among the Ways and Means Republican majority during the war. Greenbacks depreciated steadily throughout the war; they finally regained par value under the Resumption Act of 1875.

Chase's report was referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, where Spaulding's subcommittee on loans and currency produced a very different bill that formed the basis for the Legal Tender Act of 1862. As introduced by Spaulding on December 30, 1861, the committee's currency bill provided for the issue of 50 million dollars in Treasury notes, payable on demand. The most significant and controversial aspect of Spaulding's bill was that the notes would be "lawful money and legal tender in payment of all debts, public and

A legal tender note illustrates one type of paper currency in circulation during the Civil War. In 1863, the National Banking Act, drawing on fiscal concepts espoused by Ways and Means, revamped the nation's banking system and stimulated war bond sales by introducing another form of paper money, the national bank note. It remained the foundation of U.S. currency until 1914.

private, within the United States." This paper money would be legal tender in payment of all taxes and debts owed to the government, and would also be reissued "from time to time as the exigencies of the public service may require."[23] The essential difference between the two plans was that Chase's notes would be guaranteed by government bonds and would be printed by the national banks, but Spaulding recommended that the government itself print paper money backed by its own credit. His bill was read twice and recommitted to the Committee of Ways and Means for further consideration.[24]

The currency bill caused a serious split within the committee's membership, one that cut across party lines. In preliminary discussions, opinion was divided as to whether Spaulding's bill should be presented to the House. The measure was supported by Republicans Stevens, Spaulding, and Samuel Hooper of Massachusetts. Morrill, Valentine S. Horton of Ohio, and minority member Erastus Corning of New York actively opposed the bill; Republican members John L. N. Stratton of New Jersey and Horace Maynard of Tennessee took no active part in the committee's deliberations. The ranking minority member, John S. Phelps of Missouri, was absent, attending to the problems of his war-torn home state. After several days of deliberations a vote was taken that found the committee equally divided along these lines. The committee allowed the bill to be reported to the House when Stratton finally voted in its favor.[25]

On January 7, 1862, Spaulding once more reported his bill, now labeled H.R. 187, to the House. Before taking this action, the committee had made some modifications to the measure, raising the treasury note issue to 150 million dollars but retaining the legal tender clause. The bill encountered stiff opposition from several quarters, principally from the Secretary of the Treasury and his advisor Jay Cooke, from opponents of paper money in the House, and from the financial and banking community. On the day the bill was reported, Cooke's brother wrote to him about the volatility of the currency issue, stating that "the Committee of the House are perfectly wild on the subject," and

PARTY RATIOS IN THE COMMITTEE AND THE HOUSE
1861–1865

CONGRESS	COMMITTEE	HOUSE	PRESIDENT
Thirty-seventh (1861–1863)	6 R–3 D	105 R–43 D [30]	Lincoln (R)
Thirty-eighth (1863–1865)	7 R–2 D	102 R–75 D [9]	

R—Republican D—Democrat

[Numbers in brackets refer to independents or members of third parties.]

mentioning Chase's opposition to the bill: "I learn (but not from Gov C) that he has declared that if Congress persists in such a course, and fails to carry out his policy, bank bill included—he will no longer be responsible for the national finances by remaining in the Treasury."[26] On January 8, Chase held his annual dinner for members of the House Committee of Ways and Means and the Senate Committee on Finance, with Jay Cooke also present. The currency was the primary subject of discussion, but Chase was unable to change the minds of the House members favorable to Spaulding's bill.

Meanwhile, House members who supported hard money, that is, gold and silver coin only, raised their own objections to the currency bill. These congressmen rallied around the committee's minority report authored by Morrill. The Vermont Republican believed that the issuance of inflationary paper currency by the federal government would spell fiscal disaster. Morrill prophesied that the circulation of worthless paper money would "be of greater advantage to the enemy. . . . It will injure creditors; it will increase prices; it will increase many-fold the costs of the war."[27] Other representatives questioned the constitutionality of paper money. The leaders of the opposition in the House in addition to Morrill were Ohio Democrats George H. Pendleton and Clement L. Vallandigham.

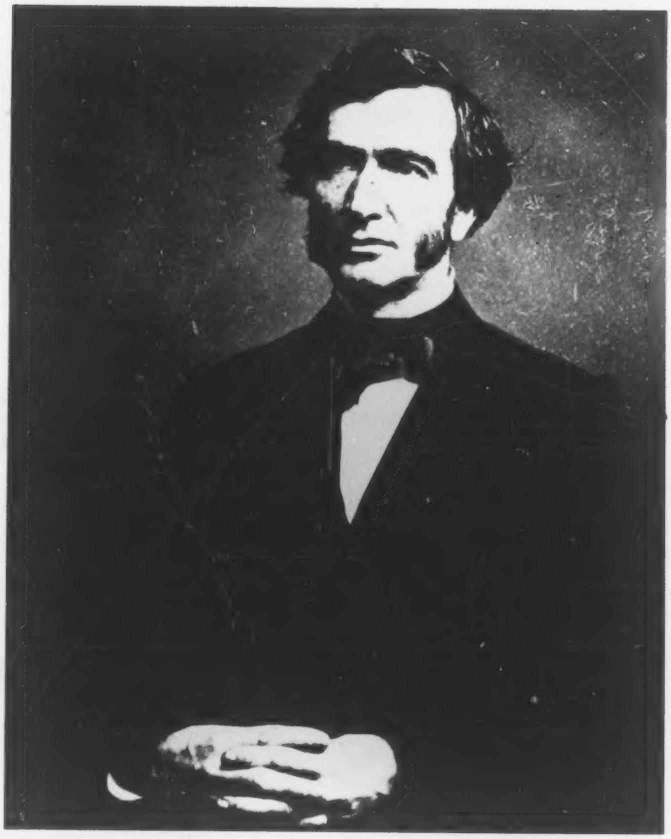
Chairman Stevens vigorously defended the legal tender bill. In committee he had originally expressed doubts about its constitutionality, but he quickly changed his mind when he came to the realization that Spaulding's plan was the government's only alternative. His response to the strict constructionists in debate was that the Constitution's prohibition upon the states "to make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts" did not necessarily apply to Congress. Besides, he added, "If nothing could be done by Congress except what is enumerated in the Constitution, government would not last a week."[28]

The leading Northern financial institutions made one last effort to stop the legal tender bill. While the bill was being debated, delegates from banks in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia traveled to Washington to lobby Congress. On January 11, an informal meeting took place between members of the Committee of Ways and Means, the Senate Committee on Finance, Secretary Chase, and the representatives of the banks. The son of former Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin, James Gallatin of the New York National Bank, delivered the principal speech in opposition to the legal tender bill. He argued that more revenue could be raised through taxation without the issuance of paper money. Loans could also be floated on the open market, a practice often derided as "shinning." Spaulding ridiculed the idea of selling depreciated government bonds, or "shinplasters." As Spaulding described the meeting, it became "somewhat conversational in character." No consensus was reached, and the committee stuck to its version of the bill. On February 6, after several versions of the bill were presented to and debated by the House, the bill, with the legal tender clause intact, was approved by a vote of 93 to 59.[29]

The legal tender bill was then considered by the Senate Committee on Finance. Chairman William Pitt Fessenden of Maine, who was expected to guide the bill through the Senate, expressed skepticism about the measure and its potential "to encourage bad morality, both in public and in private." [30] The Senate committee subsequently reported a bill authorizing the issuance of paper currency, but stipulated that the notes would not be payable for interest on securities, for tariff duties, or for purchases of public land. These restrictions were included to protect certain revenues from currency depreciation. The measure passed the Senate by a vote of 30 to 7 after a long debate in which Fessenden and several other senators attempted unsuccessfully to strike out the legal tender clause altogether. Several disagreements between the two bodies were worked out in conference committee, and the bill, with the Senate amendments substantially intact, became law on February 25, 1862. In July an additional 150 million dollars of paper currency, referred to as "greenbacks" because of their appearance, were authorized by statute. All other forms of currency were gradually eased out of circulation. The passage of these acts were the only major accomplishments of Spaulding's short congressional career. "The father of the greenbacks" returned to Buffalo at the conclusion of the Thirty-seventh Congress to resume his banking career.[31]

The Internal Revenue Act of 1862

The passage of the Legal Tender Act enabled Congress to print the currency needed to pay the government's expenses, but it did not



Tax expert Justin Morrill headed the Ways and Means subcommittee on taxation and brought his genius for finance to bear on the problem of funding the Union's Civil War effort. The series of internal revenue bills that Morrill prepared inspired the basic legal machinery behind today's Internal Revenue Service and its tax-collecting powers. As a member of Ways and Means, the Vermont congressman also authored the Morrill Tariff Act of 1861. Its main provisions increased existing tariff rates in order to provide for payment of outstanding treasury notes. Morrill became Ways and Means chairman in 1865, and on three different occasions between 1877 and 1898 he served as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

solve the revenue shortage. In the winter of 1862, Congress steered its course away from a reliance on loans toward taxation as the principal means to finance the war. This shift in policy stemmed partly from a favorable change in public opinion. The nation's newspapers, for example, urged the imposition of additional taxes, and even began to pressure Congress to provide the necessary leadership. An editorial appearing in the *New York World* in January 1862 charged that the House Committee of Ways and Means was inappropriately named, since it provided "neither the leadership nor the means of meeting the public debt." The editorial further criticized the "spouting wretches" in Congress for wasting time in discussing issues other than the nation's finances, "the only real question now before the country." [32]

In the spring of 1862, a tax bill finally emerged from its "Serbian bog of delay," to use the *World*'s colorful phrase for the Committee of Ways and Means. The delay was more than justified by the complexity of the issues and by the thoroughness of the committee's recommendations. In response to Secretary Chase's earlier request for 50 million dollars in additional revenues, the committee's bill provided taxes to yield 150 million dollars. This measure, as originally reported by

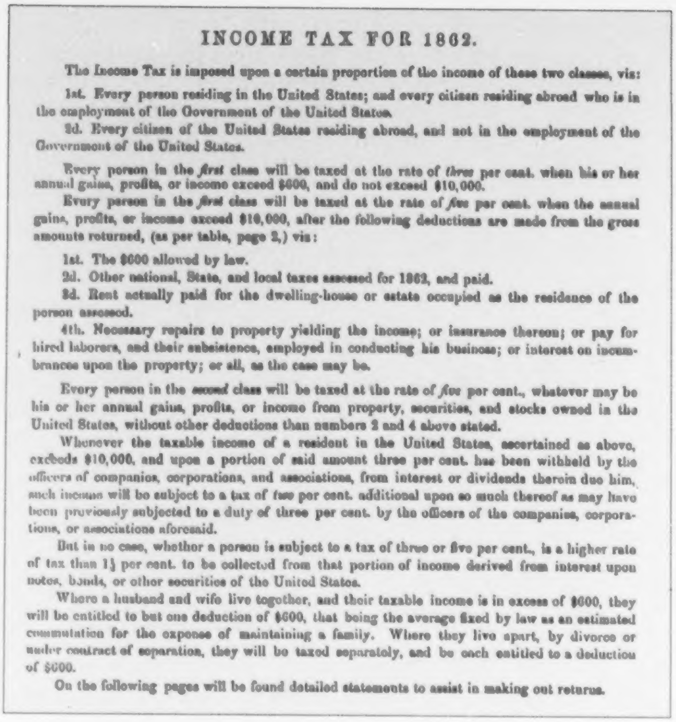
Morrill, was more comprehensive than the Revenue Act of 1861. It extended the income tax by applying a mildly progressive scale of 3 percent on persons owning or earning between $600 and $10,000, and 5 percent on incomes above $10,000. The bill also imposed an inheritance tax and included other excise, license, and stamp taxes similar to those levied during the War of 1812. The bill was passed without significant opposition in Congress or among the general public. The President signed the Internal Revenue Act on July 1, 1862. The law provided for the first federal income tax in American history. Moreover, it incorporated the two seemingly radical principles of progressive rates and withholding. The rates of 3 percent and 5 percent recommended by Morrill were retained, and the law further provided for withholding of the tax from government salaries, both civilian and military, and from interest and dividends paid by railroads, banks, trust, and insurance companies.[33]

For such an apparently radical departure in federal tax policy, the income tax elicited little public opposition. The first Commissioner of Internal Revenue, George S. Boutwell, set up an office in the Treasury with but three clerks to collect the tax. The confusion inherent in such a vast system, coupled with the inevitable evasion of the tax, kept collections to less than one-half of the original estimates. Congress also passed a new tariff revision in 1862, drafted by the Committee of Ways and Means partly to supply additional revenues and partly to offset the impact of internal revenues on domestic commodities. The bill had a protectionist slant that benefitted domestic producers and manufacturers, particularly of iron and wool, while also providing additional revenues.[34]

Income Tax and Tariff Revision in 1864

The Committee of Ways and Means produced three new measures in 1864—two income tax revisions and one further tariff increase—as the cost of the Union war effort continued to exceed revenues. The income from both the Tariff Act and from the Internal Revenue Act of 1862 had proved disappointing. Morrill's subcommittee on taxation once again set to work in 1864 to double the tax yield of federal revenues. On April 14, Morrill reported the committee's bill to increase the income tax to 5 percent on all incomes over $600. This proposal would have eliminated the principle of progressive rates, although the Commissioner of Internal Revenue had recommended an increase in the graduated scale. Both Morrill and Stevens argued emphatically against taxing higher incomes at increased rates. The chairman asserted that a progressive income tax was "a punishment of the rich man because he is rich." Morrill similarly argued that such a tax was unjust and would lead to evasion of the law. "This inequality is in fact no

The federal government's first income tax form (below and following page) bears a heading dated 1862. Critical financial demands of the Civil War prompted Ways and Means to steer away from loans and move toward taxation as the primary method of raising adequate funds. Revenue bills reported by the committee became law in 1862 and 1864, the first income tax measures enacted in U.S. history. A section of the 1862 law (right) sets two tax rates, 3 and 5 percent. The tax law of 1864 set forth graduated rates of 5 to 10 percent (see following table) and allowed for withholding of taxes on salaries of government employees.



INCOME TAX FOR 1862.

The Income Tax is imposed upon a certain proportion of the income of these two classes, viz:

1st. Every person residing in the United States; and every citizen residing abroad who is in the employment of the Government of the United States.

2d. Every citizen of the United States residing abroad, and not in the employment of the Government of the United States.

Every person in the *first* class will be taxed at the rate of *three* per cent. when his or her annual gains, profits, or income exceed $600, and do not exceed $10,000.

Every person in the *first* class will be taxed at the rate of *five* per cent. when the annual gains, profits, or income exceed $10,000, after the following deductions are made from the gross amounts returned, (as per table, page 2,) viz:

1st. The $600 allowed by law.

2d. Other national, State, and local taxes assessed for 1862, and paid.

3d. Rent actually paid for the dwelling-house or estate occupied as the residence of the person assessed.

4th. Necessary repairs to property yielding the income; or insurance thereon; or pay for hired laborers, and their subsistence, employed in conducting his business; or interest on incumbrances upon the property; or all, as the case may be.

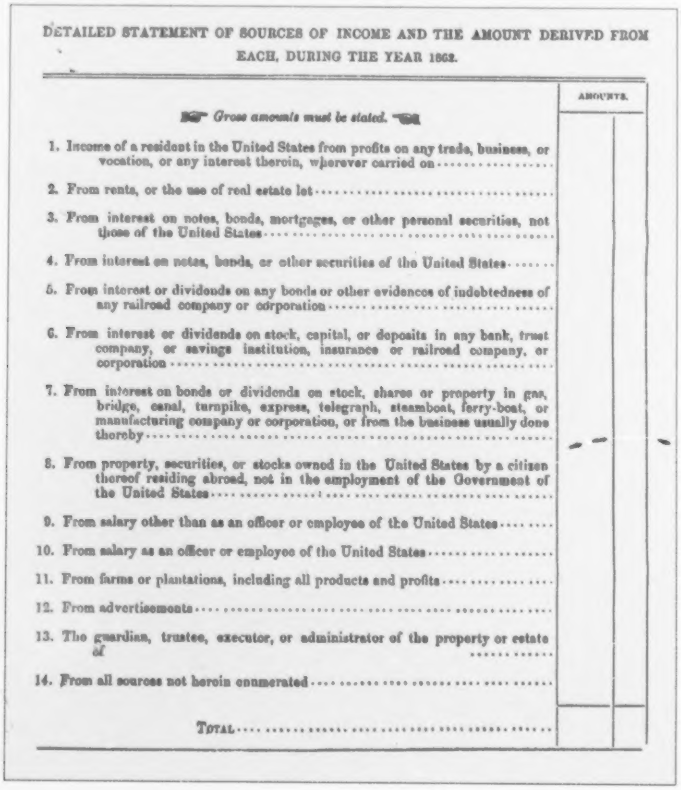
Every person in the *second* class will be taxed at the rate of *five* per cent., whatever may be his or her annual gains, profits, or income from property, securities, and stocks owned in the United States, without other deductions than numbers 2 and 4 above stated.

Whenever the taxable income of a resident in the United States, ascertained as above, exceeds $10,000, and upon a portion of said amount three per cent. has been withheld by the officers of companies, corporations, and associations, from interest or dividends therein due him, such income will be subject to a tax of *two* per cent. additional upon so much thereof as may have been previously subjected to a duty of three per cent. by the officers of the companies, corporations, or associations aforesaid.

But in no case, whether a person is subject to a tax of three or five per cent., is a higher rate of tax than 1½ per cent. to be collected from that portion of income derived from interest upon notes, bonds, or other securities of the United States.

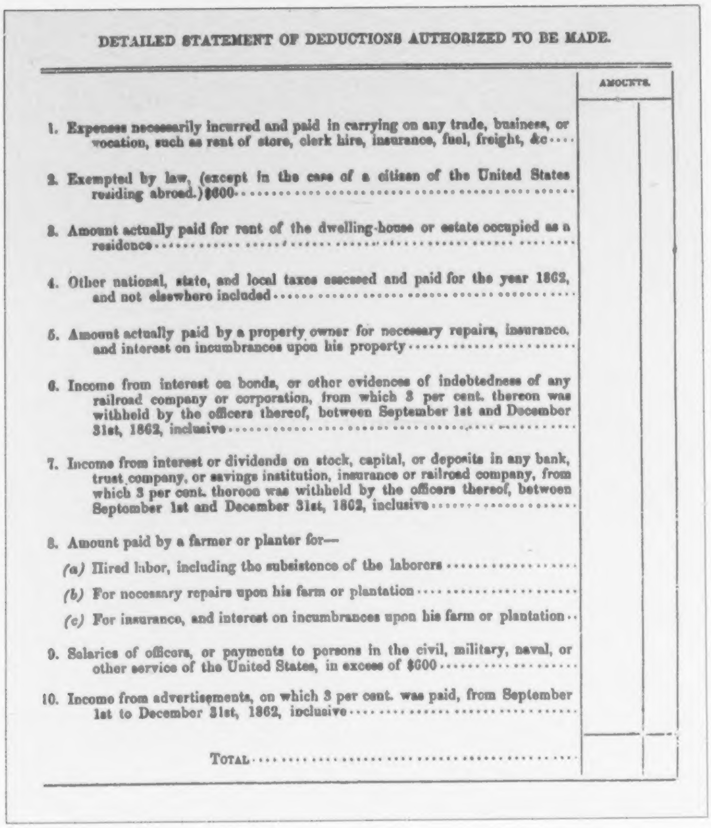
Where a husband and wife live together, and their taxable income is in excess of $600, they will be entitled to but one deduction of $600, that being the average fixed by law as an estimated commutation for the expense of maintaining a family. Where they live apart, by divorce or under contract of separation, they will be taxed separately, and be each entitled to a deduction of $600.

On the following pages will be found detailed statements to assist in making out returns.



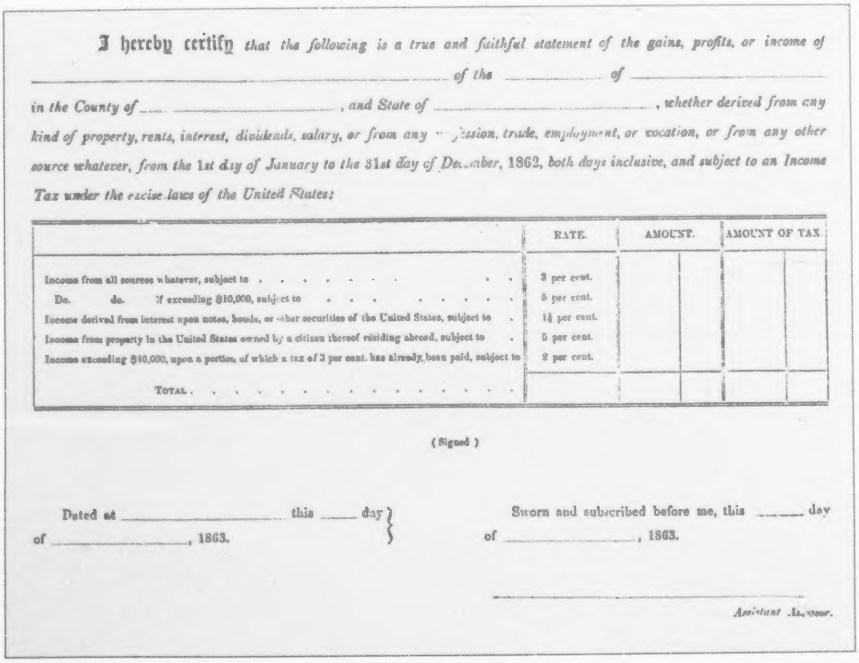
DETAILED STATEMENT OF SOURCES OF INCOME AND THE AMOUNT DERIVED FROM EACH, DURING THE YEAR 1862.

☞ *Gross amounts must be stated.* ☜	AMOUNTS.	
1. Income of a resident in the United States from profits on any trade, business, or vocation, or any interest therein, wherever carried on		
2. From rents, or the use of real estate let		
3. From interest on notes, bonds, mortgages, or other personal securities, not those of the United States		
4. From interest on notes, bonds, or other securities of the United States		
5. From interest or dividends on any bonds or other evidences of indebtedness of any railroad company or corporation		
6. From interest or dividends on stock, capital, or deposits in any bank, trust company, or savings institution, insurance or railroad company, or corporation		
7. From interest on bonds or dividends on stock, shares or property in gas, bridge, canal, turnpike, express, telegraph, steamboat, ferry-boat, or manufacturing company or corporation, or from the business usually done thereby		
8. From property, securities, or stocks owned in the United States by a citizen thereof residing abroad, not in the employment of the Government of the United States		
9. From salary other than as an officer or employee of the United States		
10. From salary as an officer or employee of the United States		
11. From farms or plantations, including all products and profits		
12. From advertisements		
13. The guardian, trustee, executor, or administrator of the property or estate of		
14. From all sources not herein enumerated		
TOTAL		



DETAILED STATEMENT OF DEDUCTIONS AUTHORIZED TO BE MADE.

	AMOUNTS.	
1. Expenses necessarily incurred and paid in carrying on any trade, business, or vocation, such as rent of store, clerk hire, insurance, fuel, freight, &c....		
2. Exempted by law, (except in the case of a citizen of the United States residing abroad.) $600........		
3. Amount actually paid for rent of the dwelling-house or estate occupied as a residence........		
4. Other national, state, and local taxes assessed and paid for the year 1862, and not elsewhere included........		
5. Amount actually paid by a property owner for necessary repairs, insurance, and interest on incumbrances upon his property........		
6. Income from interest on bonds, or other evidences of indebtedness of any railroad company or corporation, from which 3 per cent. thereon was withheld by the officers thereof, between September 1st and December 31st, 1862, inclusive........		
7. Income from interest or dividends on stock, capital, or deposits in any bank, trust company, or savings institution, insurance or railroad company, from which 3 per cent. thereon was withheld by the officers thereof, between September 1st and December 31st, 1862, inclusive........		
8. Amount paid by a farmer or planter for—		
(a) Hired labor, including the subsistence of the laborers........		
(b) For necessary repairs upon his farm or plantation........		
(c) For insurance, and interest on incumbrances upon his farm or plantation..		
9. Salaries of officers, or payments to persons in the civil, military, naval, or other service of the United States, in excess of $600........		
10. Income from advertisements, on which 3 per cent. was paid, from September 1st to December 31st, 1862, inclusive........		
TOTAL........		



I hereby certify *that the following is a true and faithful statement of the gains, profits, or income of ______________ of the ________ of ______________ in the County of ______________, and State of ______________, whether derived from any kind of property, rents, interest, dividends, salary, or from any profession, trade, employment, or vocation, or from any other source whatever, from the 1st day of January to the 31st day of December, 1862, both days inclusive, and subject to an Income Tax under the excise laws of the United States:*

	RATE.	AMOUNT.		AMOUNT OF TAX	
Income from all sources whatever, subject to	3 per cent.				
Do. do. if exceeding $10,000, subject to	5 per cent.				
Income derived from interest upon notes, bonds, or other securities of the United States, subject to .	1½ per cent.				
Income from property in the United States owned by a citizen thereof residing abroad, subject to .	5 per cent.				
Income exceeding $10,000, upon a portion of which a tax of 3 per cent. has already been paid, subject to	2 per cent.				
TOTAL					

(Signed)

Dated at ______________ this ____ day of ______________, 1863.

Sworn and subscribed before me, this ____ day of ______________, 1863.

____

Assistant Assessor.

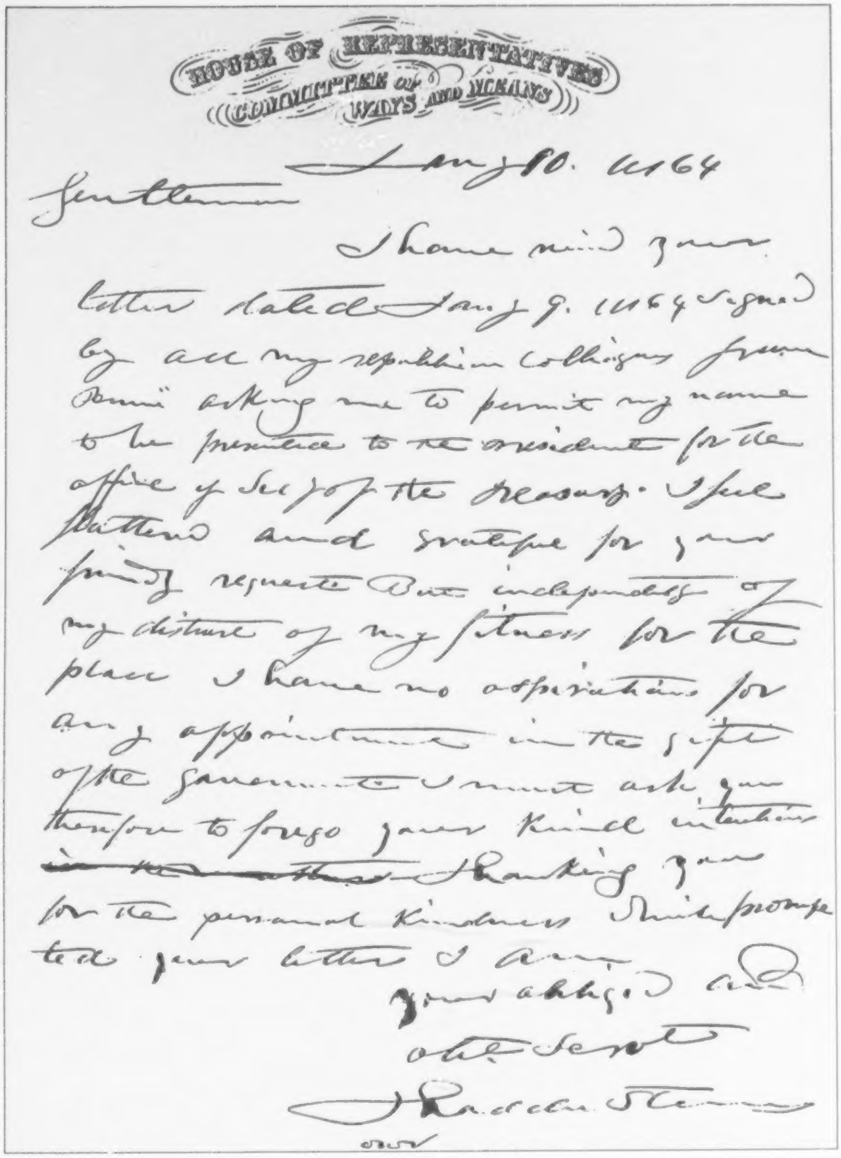
INCOME TAX REVISION OF 1864
RATES PROPOSED BY:

Committee of Ways and Means	House	Senate	Conference/ Final
5% on incomes over $600	5% over $600	5% over $600	5% over $600
	7.5% over $10,000	7.5% over $5,000	7.5% over $5,000
	10%over $25,000	10% over $15,000	10% over $10,000

less than a confiscation of property," the chairman of the subcommittee on taxation stated. "People who are taxed unequally on their incomes regard themselves as being unjustly treated, and seek all manners of ways and means to evade it," he concluded.[35]

The House amended the committee's bill to include three graduated rates: 5 percent on incomes over $600, 7.5 percent on incomes over $10,000, and 10 percent on incomes over $25,000 (the annual salary of a member of Congress was $3,000). The Senate Committee on Finance modified the rates, and the final Senate version retained the rates but lowered the upper income brackets to $5,000 and $15,000. The conference committee recommended commencing the 10 percent bracket at $10,000. The bill also included an increased inheritance tax provision recommended by the Committee of Ways and Means. The rates recommended by the conference committee as well as the increased inheritance tax were incorporated in the Income and Inheritance Tax Law of June 30, 1864.[36]

In spite of these increased taxes, Chase continued to fear that revenues would not meet the government's war needs, especially the pressing need to recruit more soldiers. In order to pay a bounty for new recruits, Morrill and the committee proposed a joint resolution imposing an income tax surcharge of 5 percent on all incomes over $600 for the previous year. The House and Senate pushed the resolution through so that it became law on July 4, 1864, the last day of the first session of the Thirty-eighth Congress. The committee under Stevens and Morrill's guidance had also increased the protective tariff rates to the highest level the nation had ever experienced. Manufacturing groups had created national organizations such as the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, the American Iron and Steel Association, and the National Manufacturers' Association to lobby Congress for higher tariffs. The resulting Tariff of 1864, which raised the average rate from 37 to 47 percent, remained in effect with only minor changes until 1883.[37]


HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMITTEE of WAYS AND MEANS

Jany 10. 1864

Gentlemen

I have recd your letter dated Jany 9. 1864 signed by all my republican colleagues from Penna asking me to permit my name to be presented to the President for the office of Secy of the Treasury. I feel flattered and grateful for your friendly request. But independently of my distrust of my fitness for the place I have no aspirations for any appointment in the gift of the Government. I must ask you therefore to forego your kind intentions ~~in the matter~~ Thanking you for the personal kindness which prompted your letter I am

Your obliged and
obt Servt
Thaddeus Stevens

over

On ornate Ways and Means stationery, the flamboyant writing of Thaddeus Stevens proclaims the disinterest of "Old Thad" in becoming Secretary of the Treasury. Stevens expressed his gratitude to Republican colleagues who wanted to put his name into consideration for the position. He wrote this letter about a month after a faction of conservative and moderate Republicans attempted unsuccessfully to remove him as chairman of Ways and Means. In 1865, Stevens took charge of the newly formed Appropriations Committee and remained its vociferous champion until his death at age 76 in 1868.

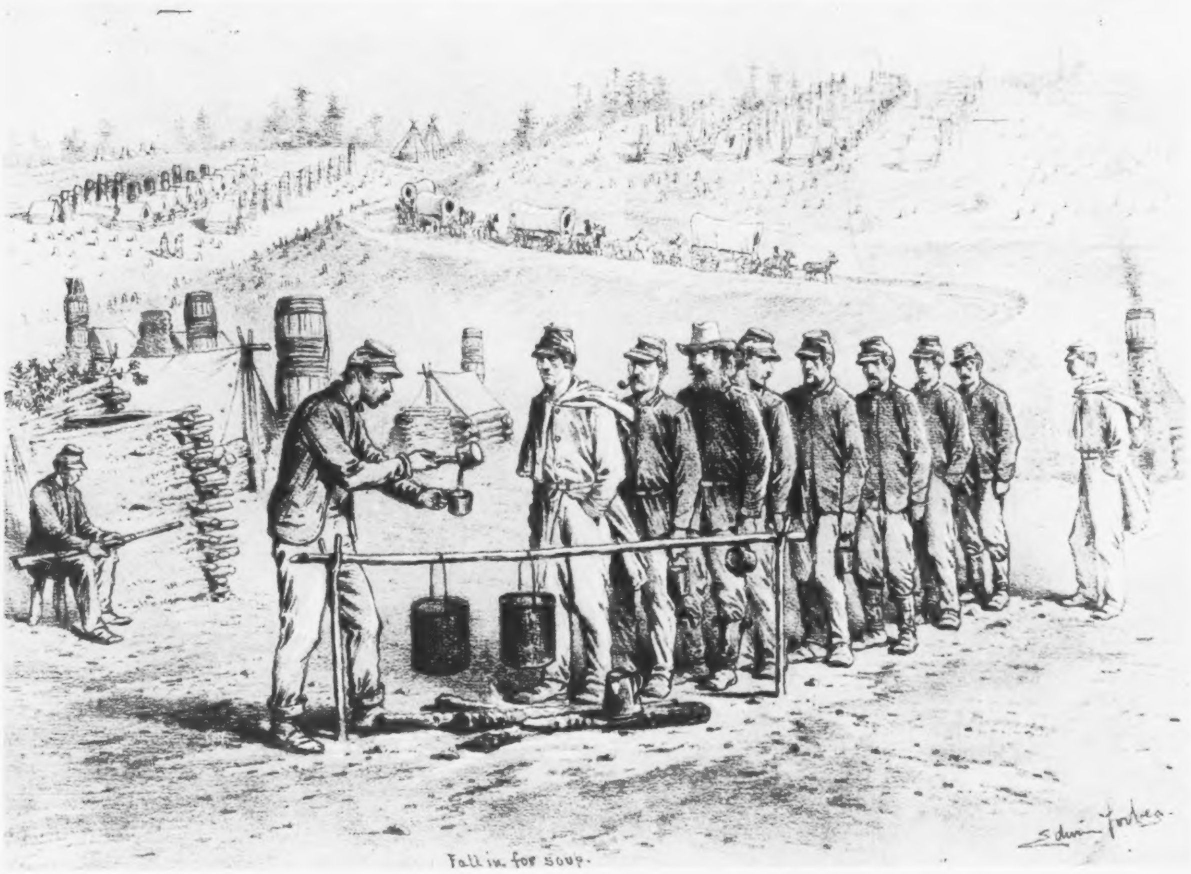
In addition to imposing higher tariffs and income taxes, Congress periodically revised the excise tax rates. Some of these changes proved to be controversial, as had always been the case with excise taxes. In January 1864, Stevens introduced a bill to raise the tax on whiskey from 20 to 60 cents a gallon, in accordance with a recommendation by Secretary Chase. Whiskey speculators, in anticipation of the higher tax, began to hoard the commodity. In protest, Fernando Wood of New York proposed an amendment that citizens with whiskey currently on hand should pay 40 cents a gallon, the difference between the old and new rates. Chairman Stevens voted with a majority of the House to omit the amendment from the final bill. A disgruntled Wood then accused Stevens of collusion with the liquor lobbyists by persuading some members to vote against his amendment. A rumor began to circulate that the chairman himself was personally "interested" in whiskey, and that he had even telegraphed information to the lobbyists when the vote was pending on the tax bill. According to Stevens' biographer, the source of this rumor was a member of the Committee of Ways and Means. Stevens confronted the member and demanded to know on what authority he was circulating this slander, an action that effectively killed the rumor.[38]

The Committee of Ways and Means not only considered the means to raise money, but also the ways to spend it. Appropriations was Chairman Stevens' personal forte. One bill the committee reported in January of 1864 caused him some minor embarrassment. The Confederate Army had destroyed much private property in Pennsylvania during the invasion that led to the fateful battle at Gettysburg in July 1863. One of the properties destroyed was Stevens' Caledonia Iron Works. The chairman was criticized by some of his colleagues when he proposed the reimbursement of Pennsylvania for losses sustained in the invasion. Stevens sold his property to avoid criticism, and he wrote a sarcastic letter to Simon Cameron, a wealthy Pennsylvanian, suggesting that "as you sometimes buy good bargains I suggest you buy my *late* Iron works." [39]

The Impact of Civil War Revenue

By the end of the Civil War, the United States government no longer relied on customs duties as its principal source of revenue. Congress had implemented a comprehensive revenue system of taxation between 1861 and 1865 based upon customs duties, income taxes, and excises. Taken together, the various war revenue acts marked a milestone in the nation's history. Although enacted as emergency measures, most of which were repealed after the war, the income taxes established a precedent of direct government intervention in the lives of American citizens to a degree that had not previously existed. The Revenue Acts of 1861, 1862, and 1864 also created a bureaucracy to administer the tax. For example, the Revenue Act of 1862 provided for the establishment of the Internal Revenue Bureau with personnel to assess and collect taxes in revenue districts throughout the United States.

In addition to its tax initiatives, the war Congresses also revamped the nation's banking system with the enactment of the National Banking Act of 1863. This statute did not originate in the Committee of Ways and Means, but it did reflect certain basic concepts first recommended by Elbridge Spaulding in a committee bill drafted


Fall in for soup.
Edwin Forbes.

in 1862 but not acted upon. The 1863 bill, drafted by the Senate Committee on Finance, was proposed largely as a means of stimulating the sale of war bonds. The act, as signed by the President on February 25, 1863, required all banks chartered under its terms to invest one-third of their capital in United States securities deposited in the Treasury Department. The National Banking Act regulated state banks, helping put an end to the wildcat banking methods prevalent before the war.[40]

The Committee of Ways and Means, though not directly responsible for the National Banking Act, had nevertheless built an enviable record of achievement by the close of the second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress on March 3, 1865. In addition to the major pieces of legislation discussed in this chapter, such as the Revenue Acts of 1861 and 1862, the Legal Tender Act of 1862, the Tariffs of 1862 and 1864, and the Income Tax Revisions of 1864, the committee had reported 126 bills in the two war Congresses, involving 3.8 billion dollars. The committee reported appropriations bills for matters as varied as establishing an assay office in Carson City, Nevada, *The human side of Ways and Means appropriations during the Civil War appears in this sketch of a Union camp. Covered wagons loaded with supplies arrive during mess. Monies raised by Ways and Means kept Union soldiers better fed, clothed, and outfitted than Confederate troops. Even so, camp life was hard. Top pay for a Union infantry private was $16 a month. He had to endure sickness, keep warm in lice-infected blankets, and eat weevil-infested biscuits harder than a "ten penny nail." War stress put Ways and Means on an overtime work schedule. The committee reported 126 Civil War bills ranging from internal improvements to outfitting the Army and the Navy. Chairman Stevens, alert for pork barrel measures disguised as military necessities, achieved economy in war expenditures.*

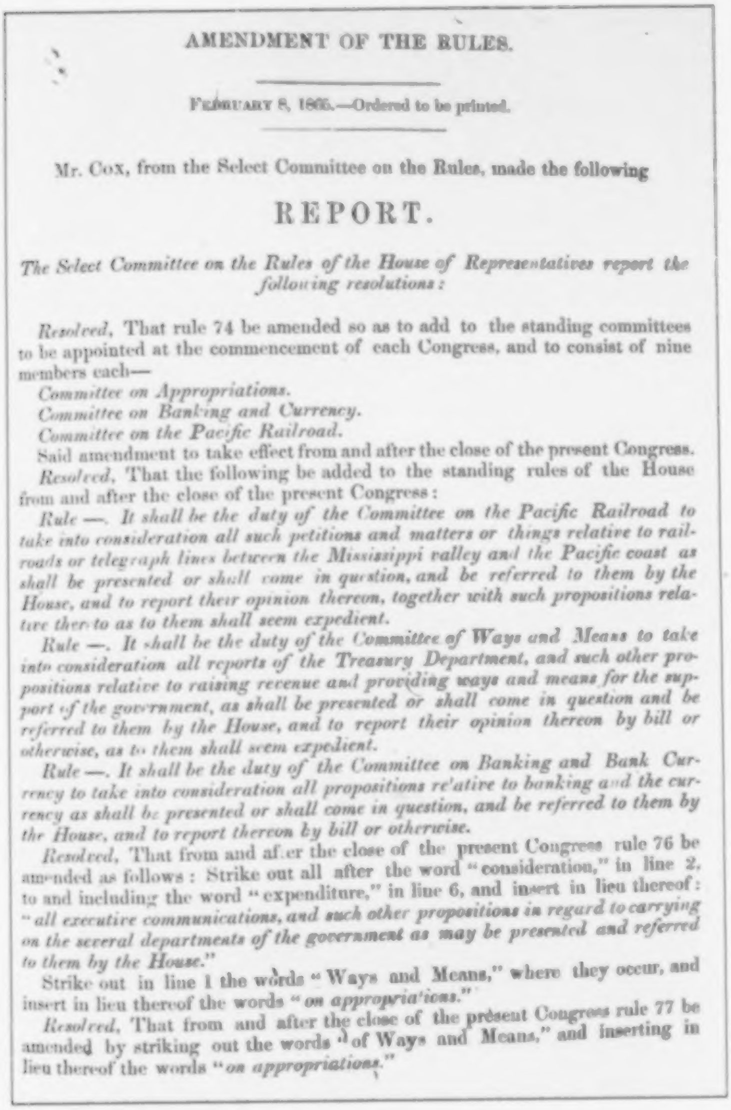
increasing the salaries of government clerks, and opening an exhibition in London, as well as the more important bills funding the Army and the Navy. The workload was correspondingly heavy. According to Morrill, the committee worked "day and night, week days and Sundays."[41] The committee's efficiency was considerably enhanced by the de facto division of responsibilities for appropriations, revenue, and currency issues among the chairman and the subcommittees. As had been the case before in the committee's history, an informal arrangement became officially recognized in the rules, in this instance when the committee was split into three standing committees along these jurisdictional lines.

The Division of the Committee, 1865

On March 2, 1865, the day before the Thirty-eighth Congress ended, the House adopted a rules revision that split the Committee of Ways and Means into three separate standing committees. Jurisdiction over appropriations and over banking and currency was granted to two new committees, with the Committee of Ways and Means retaining jurisdiction over revenue matters. Outside of its creation, this was the most momentous development in the committee's history. The reason given at the time for the division was the oppressive workload during the Civil War. Subsequent writers have repeated the claim that the increased workload was the primary motive for the split of the committee. Stevens' biographers have added that the chairman's age, 73, and his waning endurance also prompted the action.[42]

The committee's records for the two war Congresses provide ample evidence of a heavy volume of business. The petitions, correspondence, and reports contained in the records provide an insight into the breadth of the committee's jurisdictional responsibilities. The documents submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue were both useful and wide-ranging. A report from an inspector of the Internal Revenue office with suggested changes in the excise taxes was detailed and precise, for example. Similarly pertinent was a report submitted by Chase recommending a large import duty on Chinese firecrackers and palm-leaf fans. But others bordered on the ridiculous, such as one petition requesting a tax on dogs, which "would in some degree abate a universal nuisance."[43]

Many subjects competed for the committee's attention. In addition to the ubiquitous requests for tax relief, such as printed circular petitions from pharmacists and brewers, the committee also received requests for tax increases and pay raises. G. B. Lewis of the Cleveland Land Warrant Office, for example, asked that his tax be increased over tenfold, in order "to raise the standards of [the] profession" and



AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

FEBRUARY 8, 1865.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. COX, from the Select Committee on the Rules, made the following

REPORT.

The Select Committee on the Rules of the House of Representatives report the following resolutions:

Resolved, That rule 74 be amended so as to add to the standing committees to be appointed at the commencement of each Congress, and to consist of nine members each—

Committee on Appropriations.
Committee on Banking and Currency.
Committee on the Pacific Railroad.

Said amendment to take effect from and after the close of the present Congress.

Resolved, That the following be added to the standing rules of the House from and after the close of the present Congress:

Rule —. It shall be the duty of the Committee on the Pacific Railroad to take into consideration all such petitions and matters or things relative to railroads or telegraph lines between the Mississippi valley and the Pacific coast as shall be presented or shall come in question, and be referred to them by the House, and to report their opinion thereon, together with such propositions relative thereto as to them shall seem expedient.

Rule —. It shall be the duty of the Committee of Ways and Means to take into consideration all reports of the Treasury Department, and such other propositions relative to raising revenue and providing ways and means for the support of the government, as shall be presented or shall come in question and be referred to them by the House, and to report their opinion thereon by bill or otherwise, as to them shall seem expedient.

Rule —. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Banking and Bank Currency to take into consideration all propositions relative to banking and the currency as shall be presented or shall come in question, and be referred to them by the House, and to report thereon by bill or otherwise.

Resolved, That from and after the close of the present Congress rule 76 be amended as follows: Strike out all after the word "consideration," in line 2, to and including the word "expenditure," in line 6, and insert in lieu thereof: "*all executive communications, and such other propositions in regard to carrying on the several departments of the government as may be presented and referred to them by the House.*"

Strike out in line 1 the words "Ways and Means," where they occur, and insert in lieu thereof the words "*on appropriations.*"

Resolved, That from and after the close of the present Congress rule 77 be amended by striking out the words "of Ways and Means," and inserting in lieu thereof the words "*on appropriations.*"

A landmark report by a select House rules committee resolves to streamline Ways and Means in 1865 by creating separate standing committees on appropriations and on banking and currency. The excessive workload of Ways and Means during the Civil War made the need for divided duties clear. Aging Chairman Thaddeus Stevens may have agreed to split Ways and Means to silence opponents growing dissatisfied with his desire to control Reconstruction and with his leadership in general. On March 2, little more than a month before the Civil War ended, the new committees were created. Ways and Means retained jurisdiction over revenue matters, principally taxes and tariffs, a function the committee continues to exercise today.

"to keep scalawags out." Colonel B. C. Tilghman, commanding officer of a regiment of black troops, requested that his men receive a clothing allowance equal to that allocated to white soldiers. Tilghman pointed out that nine of his men killed in battle died owing the government money for their clothing and therefore forfeited pensions for their families. Other requests for appropriations were less obviously justified, such as that of President Lincoln's private secretary, John Nicolay, for the cost of a horse and carriage used to deliver messages.[44]

Many items, though necessary, were equally as minor as the matter of Nicolay's carriage. It is ironic, but nonetheless a central reality of legislative procedure, that a committee confronted with the problems of financing a war to save the Union would be compelled to consider the Capitol gardener's request for an extra horse and cart, or the Commissioner of Public Buildings' recommendations for repairs to the roof of the Library of Congress in the Capitol. Even a request for the committee to visit the Government Hospital for the Insane for dinner may not have provided a welcome respite. Whether important or trivial, all of these matters demanded the committee's attention. This diverse and demanding workload formed, if not the primary reason, at least the context within which the committee was split.[45]

Thaddeus Stevens' desire to control Reconstruction and the growing dissatisfaction of some Republicans and Democrats with his leadership may well have been another reason behind the decision to divide the Committee of Ways and Means. With the war virtually won in early 1865, the chairman's thoughts turned to the procedure by which the rebellious states would return to the Union. He was determined that Congress, not the President, would set the terms under which the seceded states would be readmitted to the Union. In order to maintain his control over the party, Stevens may well have agreed to split his committee both to appease his opponents and to provide his loyal lieutenants with their own power bases. In any event, dividing the committee's functions would allow him more time to devote to Reconstruction policies.

Toward the end of the second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress in early 1865, the committee had fallen far behind in its work. It was not able to report a tax bill until less than a month remained in the session, and then the bill did not provide all of the revenues requested by the Secretary of the Treasury. Samuel S. "Sunset" Cox, an Ohio Democrat working with a number of younger Republican members, initiated a movement to break up the Committee of Ways and Means in order to weaken Stevens' power in the House leadership. James F. Wilson (R-IA), taking advantage of the committee's failure to keep up with its workload, introduced a proposal in mid-January to revise the House rules in order to divide the committee.[46]

The debate over the rules revision bore all the signs of a carefully orchestrated effort to protect the reputations of Stevens, Morrill, and the Committee of Ways and Means. Cox asked that the House take action on the report of the Select Committee on Rules recommending the creation of standing committees on appropriations and on banking and currency. Cox presented a detailed argument in favor of the report, emphasizing that the Committee of Ways and Means had been overworked, but denying that the split was in any way a criticism of the committee or of its leadership. He denied that the action "cast any reflection upon the Committee of Ways and Means," stating that "Each member of the Ways and Means has his specialty—each Olympian." Yet, he continued, "even their powers of endurance, physical and mental, are not adequate to the great duty which has been imposed by the emergencies of this historic time." The Ohio Democrat concluded his remarks with a detailed listing of the 126 bills reported by the committee in the previous two Congresses as fitting proof that it was overburdened.[47]

Stevens and Morrill both affected an air of indifference over the proposed division. "I do not feel any interest in the matter at all," the chairman stated. He would not oppose any action the House chose to take. He did express some doubts about separating the revenue and appropriations functions, though with no great sense of conviction. Morrill likewise questioned the propriety of dividing the jurisdiction over revenue from that over appropriations. "In ordinary times . . . ," he stated, "I should deem it indispensable . . . that this committee should have the control of both subjects, in order that they might make both ends meet." [48] Both men protested just enough for the sake of appearance, but not enough to change the outcome.

James Garfield, a Republican from Ohio, presented what may be considered the concluding speech in this scenario. Garfield argued that revenue and appropriations were "quite distinct in their nature," and could easily be divided between two committees. The Committee of Ways and Means could base its revenue estimates easily enough upon the Committee on Appropriations' estimates of government expenditures. Garfield concluded by repeating Cox's assurance that the action, since it applied to future Congresses, did not imply any criticism of the current committee. With the Committee of Ways and Means' reputation appropriately recognized and reassured, the House adopted the rules revision.[49]

For such a monumental change in the committee's jurisdiction, the split into three committees had occasioned little debate and even less opposition. The degree to which the action had been predetermined was indicated when Speaker Colfax named the standing committees of the Thirty-ninth Congress in December 1865. Morrill was named to chair the Committee of Ways and Means, and Stevens was appointed to chair the Committee on Appropriations. Both actions had been outlined in Cox's speech on March 3. Theodore Pomeroy (R-NY) was named to chair the Committee on Banking and Currency, although Cox had anticipated that Samuel Hooper of Massachusetts would receive that honor. Hooper, however, was the only member appointed to both the Committee of Ways and Means and the Committee on Banking and Currency.[50]

The jurisdiction of the Committee of Ways and Means may have been diminished, but its prestige remained intact. A contemporary account of the Thirty-ninth Congress observed that the committee "has ever been regarded of the first importance." The committee's control over revenue bills, this author concluded, "gives the Committee of Ways and Means a sort of preeminence over all other committees, whether of the Senate or the House." [51]

MILESTONES IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMMITTEE 1861–1865

1861	Thaddeus Stevens (R-PA) appointed chairman
	The committee appointed Justin S. Morrill (R-VT) to chair a subcommittee on taxation; Elbridge G. Spaulding (R-NY) to chair a subcommittee on currency and loans
	Revenue Act of 1861 provided for a 3 percent tax on incomes above $800, but it was never enforced
1862	Legal Tender Act authorized Treasury Department to issue paper currency known as greenbacks
	Internal Revenue Act levied a tax on incomes
	Tariff of 1862 raised additional revenue by raising protective rates of Morrill Tariff of 1861
1864	Income and Inheritance Tax Act increased income tax rates
	Income Tax Surcharge imposed an additional 5 percent tax on incomes for 1863
	Tariff of 1864 further raised protective rates an average of 10 percent
1865	The House revised rules to restrict the jurisdiction of the Committee of Ways and Means to the major area of revenue by creating separate standing committees on appropriations and on banking and currency

Conclusion

The Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congresses marked the first major turning point in the history of the Committee of Ways and Means. In one sense, the trend toward centralization of the House's legislative authority over finance in this one standing committee reached its greatest development between 1861 and 1865, as the extraordinary wartime conditions led to fundamental changes in the federal revenue and currency system. The committee devised the means to raise revenues for vastly increased wartime expenditures not only by increasing the tariff, authorizing bonds, and imposing excise taxes, but also by the unprecedented levy of a tax upon incomes. Moreover, paper currency in the form of greenbacks was authorized to meet the demand for a circulating medium of exchange.

A significant corollary to the committee's success was the role of the chairman as the de facto majority leader of the House. Thaddeus Stevens consolidated the position to a degree unmatched in the antebellum period. His friendship with Treasury Secretary Chase, and Lincoln's lack of involvement in financial administration, lessened the occasion for conflict between the committee and the executive. The committee's dealings with the Lincoln Administration, therefore, were relatively harmonious, even though the relationship between Congress and the executive reached new heights of tension and bitterness that would culminate with the impeachment of Andrew Johnson in 1868.

The committee's internal organization also reached an unprecedented degree of sophistication. Subcommittees were formed to handle the major jurisdictional areas of revenue and banking and currency. Their formation allowed not only for greater expertise, but also for greater efficiency as the committee's workload intensified under the demands and pressures of war. These bodies were a sign of the institutional maturation that would continue in the postwar period with the routine use of hearings and the origins of the seniority system. Yet, for the Committee of Ways and Means, they also pre-figured the division of the committee at the end of the war.

The war years marked a turning point in a second fundamental sense because the House rules were revised in 1865 to divide the committee's authority over finance with the creation of two new committees. The breakup of the committee was motivated by pragmatic and political reasons, rather than by philosophical or procedural considerations. The workload was too great for one nine-member body; furthermore, in the minds of many members, too much power was concentrated in the hands of Thaddeus Stevens. The result was that the control over finances in the House was decentralized among three committees. From 1865 on, the Committee of Ways and Means would be confined to the major jurisdictional area of revenue.

1865 ★ 1890

The Gilded Age Committee

Following the creation of separate committees on appropriations and banking in 1865, the jurisdiction of the Committee of Ways and Means was primarily the area of revenue. In the postwar period, the committee was affected by the forces of modernization and professionalization. Chairmen tended to be appointed on the basis of experience and expertise. The committee began to hold hearings on a routine basis, often conducted by subcommittees, to obtain information on tax and tariff measures. It even conducted two important investigations into allegations of Gilded Age government corruption. Membership grew from nine to 13 to accommodate an increased workload as the committee was inundated with demands from lobbyists as well as private citizens. The committee's importance in the majority leadership was strengthened in 1885 when the chairman was appointed one of the three majority members of the Rules Committee.

"There are two places of interment in this House in which all legislation looking to reform in our revenue and customs duties is buried. One is the gorgeous mausoleum of the Ways and Means Committee. . . ." (Representative James A. McKenzie, 1880)[1]

The image of the United States in the postwar period has been taken from the title of an 1873 novel by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, *The Gilded Age,* in which the authors satirized the nation as a land of corruption and materialism. Accurate or not, the label has stuck. The period has become one characterized by dishonest lobbyists, weak or corrupt Presidents, and a Congress dominated by crass politicians for sale to the highest bidder. Congressman James McKenzie's 1880 criticism that the Committee on Ways and Means was a legislative mausoleum for revenue reform reflected this prevailing pessimism.

The idealism of the Civil War as a crusade to save the Union and to free the slaves was also a casualty of the conflict. Postwar America sought escape from that horrendous bloodbath through tangible material progress. Although politicians waved the "bloody shirt," and popular culture produced other examples of "patriotic gore" in the form of novels, poetry, and songs, most Americans sought to forget the painful memories of the harsher realities of war. Lincoln's plea that the dead shall not have died in vain was answered with bigger factories and more railroads. The cynicism of Twain, Warner, and McKenzie about business and politics was a result of the changed cultural atmosphere. Society and government were not as corrupt as those critics thought, but both were convinced that Americans saw economic success as both a personal and a social panacea.

Congress in the Gilded Age

Historian Henry Adams, a contemporary observer, once described congressional government in the Gilded Age as "poor in purpose and barren in results." In fact, Adams noted, "one might search the whole list of Congress, Judiciary, and Executive during the twenty-five years 1870–1895 and find little but damaged reputations." [2] Adams' cynicism about Congress was shared by scholars, journalists, and even by some representatives themselves. During these years the House chamber, nicknamed the "Bear Garden" because of its raucous and contentious atmosphere, was plagued by periodic political scandals, bogged down by outdated legislative procedures, and hampered in its effectiveness by the obstructionist tactics of minority members from both parties. By the late 1870s the popular image of the legislature as a corrupt and inefficient institution had become so widespread that humorist Mark Twain was prompted to remark: "It could probably be shown by facts and figures that there is no distinctly American criminal class except Congress." [3]

In spite of such a negative public image, the period was not without its accomplishments. The organizational experience gained through the mobilization of the Union Army carried over to the professionalization of government service. All aspects of American life, from industrial combinations to labor unions, participated in the organizational revolution of the postwar period. Change was accompanied by the usual abuses, and some areas lagged behind, including congressional procedure, which necessitated reforms in the 1880s and '90s. Traditionally, for example, government employees had obtained their positions through the patronage of members of Congress or the President. A number of public scandals, most notably the corruption of many Grant Administration officials, aroused a movement to reform the Civil Service. During the Hayes and Arthur Administrations (1877–1885), the liberal wing of the Republican Party led the reform effort that culminated in the passage of the Pendleton Civil Service Act of 1883, which established competitive entrance examinations for prospective government employees. By the turn of the century the act had been amended several times to improve its enforcement provisions. Congress also recognized the need to regulate certain industrial practices with the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. This statute, enacted during the Democratic Cleveland Administration, created a five-member commission whose primary function was to regulate railroad rates. Congress also approved the appointment of several presidential commissions to evaluate the nation's tax structure. The

PARTY RATIOS IN THE COMMITTEE AND THE HOUSE
1865–1890

CONGRESS	COMMITTEE	HOUSE	PRESIDENT
Thirty-ninth (1865–1867)	7 R–2 D	149 R–42 D	Johnson (R)
Fortieth (1867–1869)	7 R–2 D	143 R–49 D	
Forty-first (1869–1871)	7 R–2 D	149 R–63 D	Grant (R)
Forty-second (1871–1873)	6 R–3 D	134 R–104 D [5]	
Forty-third (1873–1875)	8 R–3 D	194 R–92 D [14]	
Forty-fourth (1875–1877)	7 D–4 R	169 D–109 R [14]	
Forty-fifth (1877–1879)	7 D–4 R	153 D–140 R	Hayes (R)
Forty-sixth (1879–1881)	8 D–5 R	149 D–130 R [14]	
Forty-seventh (1881–1883)	8 R–4 D [1]	147 R–135 D [11]	Garfield (R) Arthur (R)
Forty-eighth (1883–1885)	8 D–5 R	197 D–118 R [10]	Arthur
Forty-ninth (1885–1887)	8 D–5 R	183 D–140 R [2]	Cleveland (D)
Fiftieth (1887–1889)	8 D–5 R	169 D–152 R [4]	

R—Republican D—Democrat

[Numbers in brackets refer to independents or members of third parties.]

most significant was the Tariff Commission of 1882, which held hearings throughout the country and presented a comprehensive report to President Arthur. Several of the commission's recommendations were subsequently incorporated in the Mongrel Tariff of 1883.[4]

The forces of modernization and professionalization also affected the structural evolution of Congress in the quarter-century following the Civil War. Four developments reflected the first halting steps toward the modern Congress: 1) the rudimentary beginnings of a seniority system, 2) the increasingly routine use of legislative hearings to gather information, 3) the institution of subcommittees to allow for greater specialization, and 4) the professionalization of lobbying as an adjunct to congressional procedure. None of these characteristics emerged fully developed in this period, but their appearance suggested that more was at work in the Gilded Age Congress than greed and corruption.

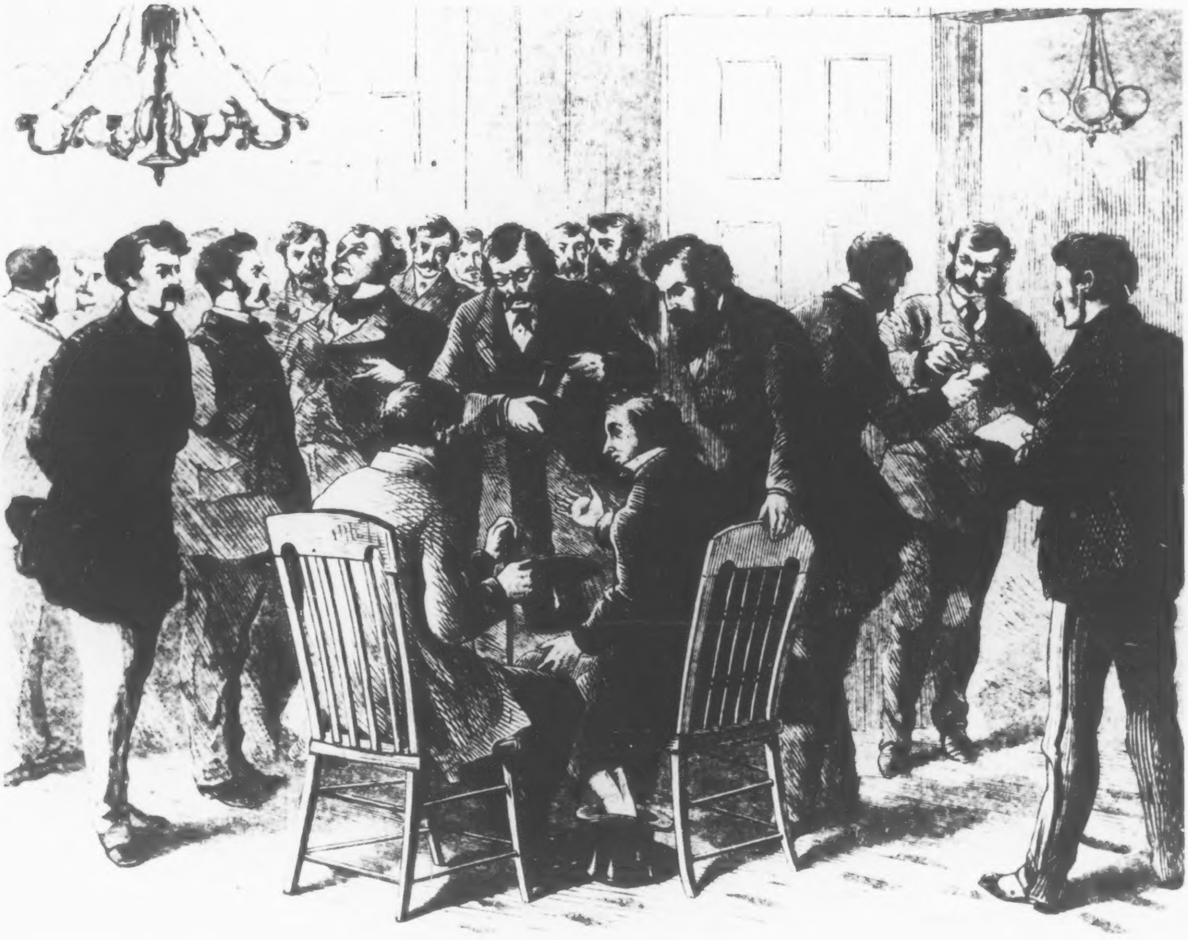
The seniority system had developed in the Senate before the 1870s. This system allowed members to remain on a committee as long as they wished, and gave committee chairs to the member with the longest consecutive service. While the House lagged behind the Senate, by the last two decades of the century, seniority accounted for nearly two-thirds of all committee chair appointments. Moreover, there was a slight but decided movement toward longer tenure of congressional service. There had been a high turnover rate in congressional membership during the antebellum era. After the war, length of service increased, suggesting a growing orientation among members toward a career in congressional service. Members who entered the House in the 1850s and 1860s, for example, averaged only two terms of service, while those who entered in the 1870s averaged three, and those in the 1880s averaged four.

This tendency toward professionalization was counterbalanced by institutional growing pains in both chambers. Federal jurisdiction had expanded into unprecedented areas during the Civil War, creating new administrative complexities. The House of Representatives also grew in size from 212 to 325 members between 1870 and 1890. Many of the existing House rules and procedures, originally devised for a smaller legislative body, had not yet undergone extensive revision. Consequently, for much of this 25-year period, effective management of legislation and floor debate were beset by difficulties stemming from outmoded rules.[5]

Both the House and the Senate made tentative efforts to modernize internal operations. Committees began to conduct legislative hearings on a regular basis. This practice was based upon the authority of both Houses to call for persons or papers to assist in their deliberations. In the 18th century the House's investigative function was largely confined to the consideration of disputed elections and breaches of conduct by public officials, but it also included legislative oversight, a concept formalized through the annual budgetary review process. The House originally conducted most of its hearings in the Committee of the Whole House, but gradually delegated this task to standing committees. In the decades immediately following the Civil War, most House hearings concerned ethics violations. As the period progressed, standing committees routinely held hearings on individual bills and employed methods of gathering testimony and presenting information similar to those utilized by presidential commissions.[6]

Although the growing significance of congressional hearings is well documented, the role of subcommittees is more conjectural. During the Civil War, for example, the Committee of Ways and Means

Lobbyists in an 1860 magazine illustration swarm outside a congressional committee room. The business of influencing government officials by representatives of special interest groups reached professional status during the Gilded Age. At times, the technical information that lobbyists supplied to Congress actually enhanced the efficiency of government during this era. Entrusted with power over revenue matters, Ways and Means was a prime target for lobbying.



had used jurisdictional subcommittees—those with regard to the broad areas of revenue, appropriations, and banking and currency—but the division of the committee in 1865 removed the need for such bodies. In the 1870s and '80s there are references to select subcommittees for purposes such as hearings on specific topics. It could be argued that the division of the committee in 1865 along the lines of its three subcommittees reflected the same concern for specialization that prompted the creation of subcommittees. This was especially true in the area of finance. Not only did the House divide financial jurisdiction among the Committee of Ways and Means, the Committee on Appropriations, and the Committee on Banking and Currency, but the Senate also created a separate Committee on Appropriations in 1867. In the 1880s, the House further subdivided the appropriations function among several standing committees, to the point that by 1900 the control that once had been exercised by the House Committee of

Ways and Means and the Senate Committee on Finance had been distributed among nearly 20 committees.[7]

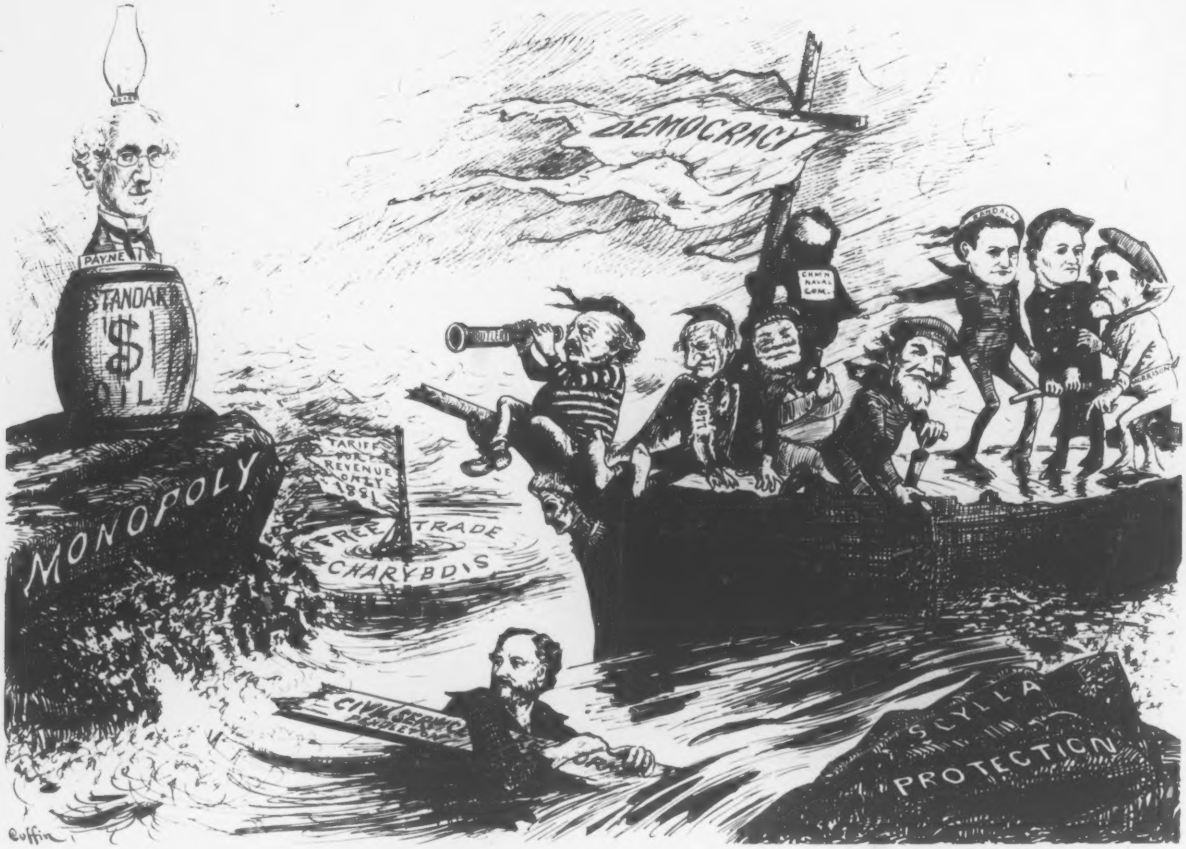
Lobbying

As congressional hearings became more commonplace and committee functions ever more specialized, the activities of lobbyists, the so-called "Third House" of Congress, underwent a significant change. Representatives of special interests had sought to influence legislation from the earliest days of the republic, but these efforts accelerated as the government grew in size and scope. In the postwar era, lobbyists descended upon the Capitol in ever increasing numbers at the beginning of each session. The story of Gilded Age congressional politics is punctuated by the sometimes scandalous methods, including bribery and sexual favors, that some lobbyists employed to inform, persuade, influence, or even buy support.

The contemporary public image of lobbying was synonymous with corruption and greed. One popular novelist depicted lobbyists as unsavory influence peddlers: "Men of unwholesome skins, greasy garments, brutish manners, filthy minds, and sickening conversation . . . decayed statesmen, who were now, indeed, nothing but unfragrant corpses." [8] Another contemporary observer argued that lobbying was "legitimate and honorable." This journalist emphasized that most of the agents seeking to influence Congress "would not think of trying to buy votes." [9] In spite of this negative image, lobbying was a necessary, legitimate, and at times beneficial function. There were occasional instances of bribery and corruption, but lobbyists performed a needed informational role by serving as a means of communication between private interest groups and Congress. Governmental efficiency was actually enhanced by the developing technical expertise and statistical information supplied by the more circumspect lobbyists.[10]

The most notorious lobbying scandals occurred during the Grant Administration (1869–77). The worst scandal was the Crédit Mobilier (1872), in which 18 members of Congress, including Speaker of the House Schuyler Colfax and Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means Henry L. Dawes, were alleged to have accepted gifts of stock to influence contracts for the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad. (Dawes and several of the others were absolved.) Another scandal involved allegations that the Pacific Mail Steamship Company had engaged in bribery to obtain a federal subsidy. The Committee of Ways and Means investigated the case in 1875, and as a result, Ellis H. Roberts (R-NY) reported the committee's bill to create the first system ever to regulate lobbying. The committee's plan required all "agents and attorneys prosecuting claims or demands before Congress and the Executive Departments" to register with the clerks of the House

Democracy passes through dangerous waters in an 1880s cartoon that portrays Ways and Means Chairman William R. Morrison of Illinois and Appropriations Chairman Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania tugging the helmsman of the ship of state in opposite directions. Morrison advocated tariff reform, steering the nation away from the shoals of a protectionist tariff (Scylla). Randall steered a course toward protectionism and away from the whirlpool of free trade (Charybdis). Monopoly poses another peril ahead, while civil service reform lies adrift. Throughout the period, issues of revenue and tariff were prime concerns of Ways and Means.


PAYNE
STANDARD $ OIL
MONOPOLY
TARIFF FOR REVENUE ONLY 1881
FREE TRADE
CHARYBDIS
DEMOCRACY
CHM'N NAVAL COM.
RANDALL
1881
MORRISON
CIVIL SERVICE
PENDLETON
SCYLLA
PROTECTION
Coffin

and the Senate, as well as the clerks of the committees with which they dealt. Moreover, the bill required lobbyists—although that term was conspicuously avoided—to disclose their expenditures. The Roberts bill was adopted by the House, 113 to 31, on the last day of the Forty-third Congress, but the Senate had no time to act upon it. The House adopted a resolution the following year to require agents and attorneys to register, but it applied only to the House; it was limited to the duration of the Forty-fourth Congress; and it did not require financial disclosure. Congress did not adopt a system of registration as sweeping as that recommended by the Committee of Ways and Means until 1946.[11]

The Speaker and Committee Chairmen

In addition to the origins of seniority, the development of legislative hearings, and the growing sophistication of lobbying, the postwar decades also witnessed a consolidation of the Speaker's powers and the

CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
1865–1890

Justin S. Morrill (R-VT)	Thirty-ninth Congress, 1865–1867
Robert C. Schenck (R-OH)	Fortieth—Forty-first Congresses, 1867–1871
Samuel D. Hooper (R-MA)[1]	Forty-first Congress, 1871
Henry L. Dawes (R-MA)	Forty-second—Forty-third Congresses, 1871–1875
William R. Morrison (D-IL)	Forty-fourth Congress, 1875–1877
Fernando Wood (D-NY)	Forty-fifth—Forty-sixth Congresses, 1877–1881
John R. Tucker (D-VA)[2]	Forty-sixth Congress, 1881
William D. Kelley (R-PA)	Forty-seventh Congress, 1881–1883
William R. Morrison (D-IL)	Forty-eighth—Forty-ninth Congresses, 1883–1887
Roger Q. Mills (D-TX)	Fiftieth Congress, 1887–1889

[1] Schenck resigned on January 5, 1871, to accept a diplomatic appointment to Great Britain. Hooper, the ranking majority member, served the remainder of the term.

[2] Wood died in office on February 13, 1881. Tucker served as chairman until the end of the session on March 3.

increasing importance of committee chairmen. These latter two developments worked at cross purposes. The increased number of committees and the power of their chairmen seemingly decentralized congressional procedure, which was counteracted by the control exercised by the Speaker.

The consolidation of party leadership in the speakership somewhat overcame the inertia and decentralization attendant to the committee structure. Candidates for the speakership were selected by the party caucuses; the Speaker was subsequently elected by ballot in the House chamber. Through his continued power of appointment, the Speaker was able to appoint members who were sympathetic to his policies to important committees, and thereby influence the content of legislation.

Most of the Speakers in this period were competent leaders. Schuyler Colfax (R-IN, 1865–71), James G. Blaine (R-ME, 1871–75), Samuel J. Randall (D-PA, 1877–81), John G. Carlisle (D-KY, 1883–89), and Thomas Brackett Reed (R-ME, 1889–91) were all able parliamentarians and party leaders. Only Michael Crawford Kerr (D-IN, 1875–77) and J. Warren Keifer (R-OH, 1881–83) were disappointments. During the 1880s the efforts of Randall, Carlisle, and Reed to revise the House rules resulted in a strengthening of the majority's ability to control the flow of legislation and to command party loyalty in committee and on the House floor. These reforms were particularly aimed at the minority's delaying tactics, including the "disappearing quorum," a procedure to prevent floor action by refusing to answer quorum calls.

The influx of new members and territories as well as the presence of administrative details left over from the war prompted the creation of additional committees. Thirteen new standing committees were established and the jurisdiction of some of the existing ones were changed to meet new needs. This development streamlined House procedure to a certain extent, but it also had the effect of creating jurisdictional rivalries between committees.

Some contemporary observers, such as Woodrow Wilson in his pioneering study *Congressional Government* (1885), saw only decentralization resulting from the changes in the standing committee system. "Power," Wilson wrote, was "divided up, as it were, into forty-seven seignorities, in each of which a Standing Committee is the court-baron and its chairman lord-proprietor. These petty barons . . . exercise an almost despotic sway within their own shires." Wilson concluded that chairmen were prevented from cooperating by their mutual jealousies.[12]

House committees were not at their productive peak in this period. Compared to the Civil War and the early years of Reconstruction, when standing committees had operated effectively and produced much substantive legislation, committees during the 1870s and early '80s were hindered by territorial chairmen, obstructionist minority tactics, and outmoded procedures. Committee chairmen had the ability to pigeonhole legislation they opposed or to expedite measures they favored. In addition, because the rules made them floor managers of their bills, chairmen controlled the House debate on all legislation emanating from their committees. Thus the "little legislatures" acquired a reputation as "legislative cemeteries" where chairmen accumulated personal power to the detriment of the parent body.

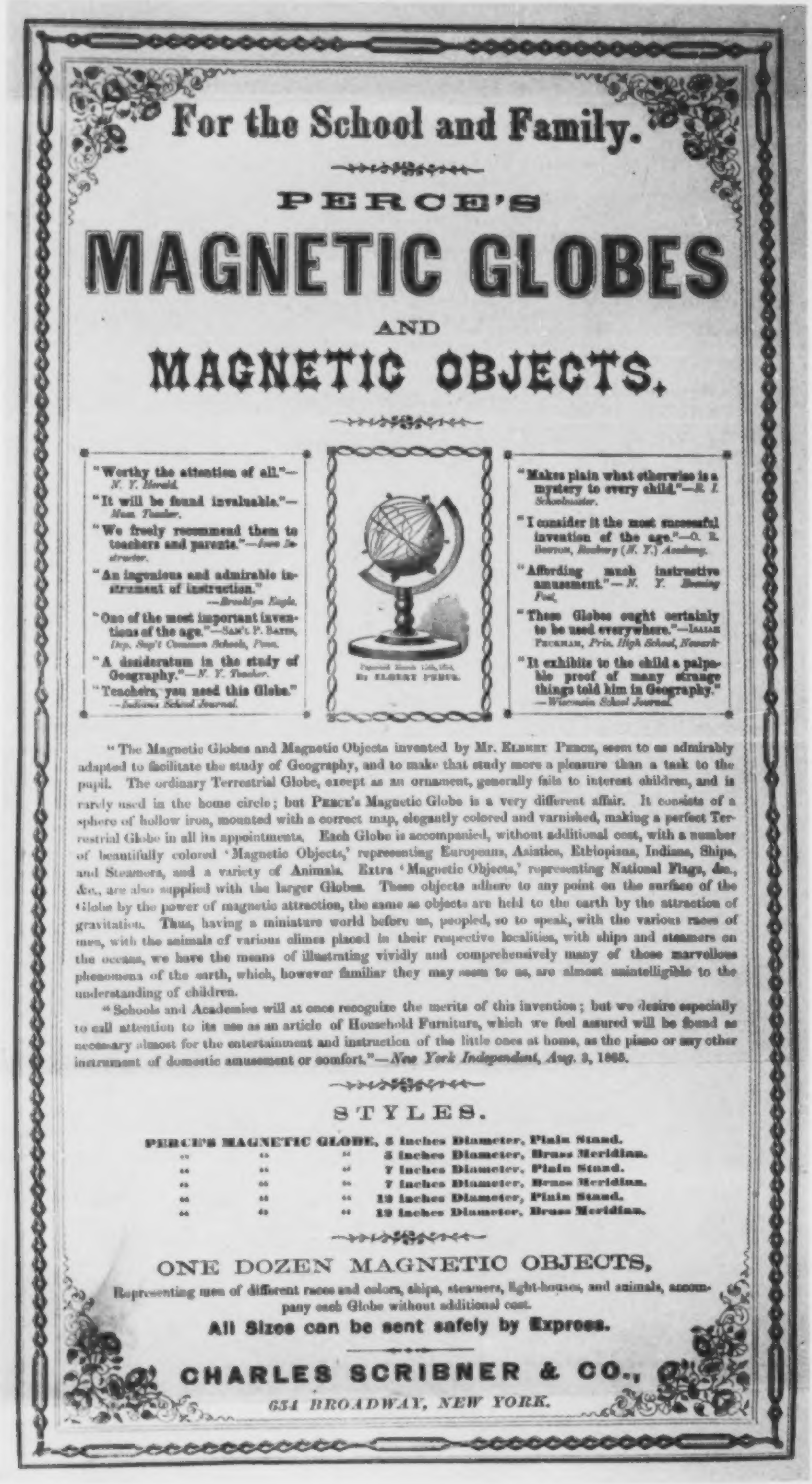
For legislative cemeteries, standing committees were appropriately housed in mausoleum-like rooms in the Capitol. New House and Senate wings had been constructed in the late 1850s and completed during the war. Key committees were given conveniently situated rooms near their respective chambers. Although the Senate rooms were more gaudily and lavishly ornamented by European artisans, including Italian-American artist Constantino Brumidi, the House committee rooms were also appointed in the grand style. The Committee of Ways and Means, for example, met in two rooms that are today the Speaker's office (H-209 and H-210). Located just outside the House chamber on the East Front of the second (principal) story of the Capitol, the committee's rooms had originally been intended for the House Post Office and the Sergeant at Arms. The committee occupied H-210 in 1867 and H-209 from 1870 to 1908. From 1901 to 1908 the committee had both rooms. These rooms were constructed as fireproof masonry vaults with fireproof cast iron trim and encaustic tile floors. Rococo-style marble mantels and intricately painted ceilings with shields, emblems, and other decorative designs adorned the room. Illuminated by gas lighting, these rooms understandably evoked funereal images. It was probably only coincidental that a former member, Thomas Brackett Reed, collapsed and later died in 1902 shortly after meeting with his old colleagues in the committee room.[13]

The secluded location of these club-like sanctuaries protected members from the chaotic commotion of the House chamber and halls crowded with lobbyists, journalists, office seekers, and curious constituents. Since the House did not construct a separate office building until the early 1900s, most congressmen conducted business at their desks in the House chamber or in committee rooms. As length of service increased, a spirit of camaraderie developed, at times bizarrely manifested. During the 1880s, for example, the death of a member occasioned a funeral party characterized by expensive meals and heavy drinking. A train was chartered to carry the deceased home, accompanied by a select delegation of his colleagues, liberally lubricated with champagne. Both the funerals and the funeral junkets were held at government expense. The bills for silk scarves and gloves for the pallbearers, caskets, and undertakers, as well as the trip and its refreshments, were scattered throughout the miscellaneous expenses of the House to conceal the total amount.[14]

These congressional funeral processions provided an apt metaphor for the Gilded Age. On the surface they might have appeared scandalous, just as so much of government and society seemed marked by corruption. But on a deeper level, the death of a colleague was to a congressman—like the deaths of so many thousands during the Civil War had been for the nation—a numbing reality from which a recourse to material pleasures was a welcome escape. If congressmen seemed obsessed with career, organization, and material gain, both individually and collectively, it should not have come as a surprise—so was almost everyone else.

Beneath the veneer of corruption and materialism, Congress was an institution in transition. Hearings, lobbying, rules changes, and the increasing specialization of membership and committees indicated an institutional response to changed circumstances. In addition, the Republican domination of the House ceased with the end of Reconstruction in the mid-seventies. An active two-party system characterized the remainder of the period, providing a further dimension to the history of Congress and its committees.

An elaborate advertisement sent to Ways and Means attests to the pride businessmen took in their products during the Gilded Age. In this period, big business flowered under the protection of high tariffs. Ways and Means received many letters, petitions, and ads from companies eager to praise the committee's Republican majority for its support of American industry.



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MAGNETIC GLOBES

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"Worthy the attention of all."—*N. Y. Herald.*

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"An ingenious and admirable instrument of instruction." —*Brooklyn Eagle.*

"One of the most important inventions of the age."—SAM'L P. BATES, *Dep. Sup't Common Schools, Penn.*

"A desideratum in the study of Geography."—*N. Y. Teacher.*

"Teachers, you need this Globe." —*Indiana School Journal.*

[illegible]
By ELBERT PERCE.

"Makes plain what otherwise is a mystery to every child."—*R. I. Schoolmaster.*

"I consider it the most successful invention of the age."—O. R. BURTON, *Roxbury (N. Y.) Academy.*

"Affording much instructive amusement."—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

"These Globes ought certainly to be used everywhere."—ISAIAH PECKHAM, *Prin. High School, Newark.*

"It exhibits to the child a palpable proof of many strange things told him in Geography." —*Wisconsin School Journal.*

"The Magnetic Globes and Magnetic Objects invented by Mr. ELBERT PERCE, seem to us admirably adapted to facilitate the study of Geography, and to make that study more a pleasure than a task to the pupil. The ordinary Terrestrial Globe, except as an ornament, generally fails to interest children, and is rarely used in the home circle; but PERCE'S Magnetic Globe is a very different affair. It consists of a sphere of hollow iron, mounted with a correct map, elegantly colored and varnished, making a perfect Terrestrial Globe in all its appointments. Each Globe is accompanied, without additional cost, with a number of beautifully colored 'Magnetic Objects,' representing Europeans, Asiatics, Ethiopians, Indians, Ships, and Steamers, and a variety of Animals. Extra 'Magnetic Objects,' representing National Flags, &c., &c., are also supplied with the larger Globes. These objects adhere to any point on the surface of the Globe by the power of magnetic attraction, the same as objects are held to the earth by the attraction of gravitation. Thus, having a miniature world before us, peopled, so to speak, with the various races of men, with the animals of various climes placed in their respective localities, with ships and steamers on the oceans, we have the means of illustrating vividly and comprehensively many of those marvellous phenomena of the earth, which, however familiar they may seem to us, are almost unintelligible to the understanding of children.

"Schools and Academies will at once recognize the merits of this invention; but we desire especially to call attention to its use as an article of Household Furniture, which we feel assured will be found as necessary almost for the entertainment and instruction of the little ones at home, as the piano or any other instrument of domestic amusement or comfort."—*New York Independent, Aug. 3, 1865.*

STYLES.

PERCE'S MAGNETIC GLOBE, 5 inches Diameter, Plain Stand.
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All Sizes can be sent safely by Express.

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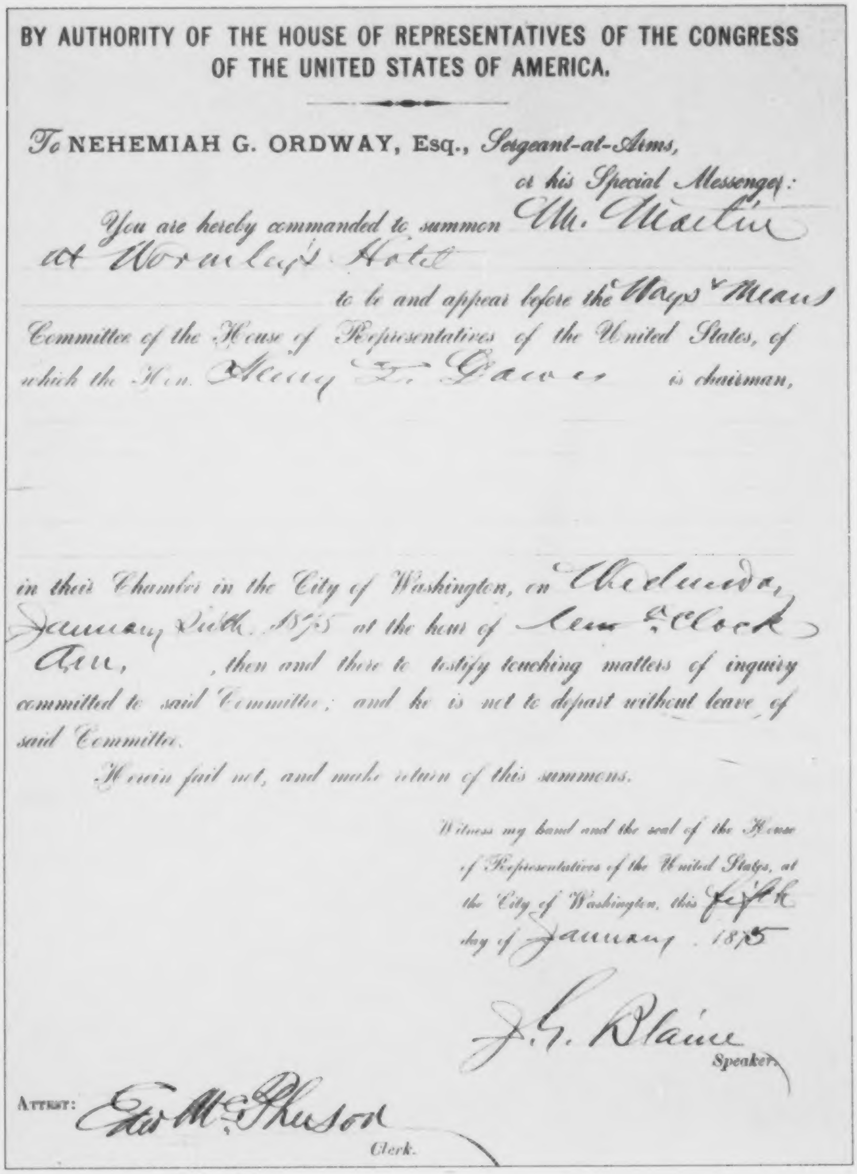


BY AUTHORITY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

To **NEHEMIAH G. ORDWAY, Esq.,** *Sergeant-at-Arms,*
or his Special Messenger:

You are hereby commanded to summon Wm. Martin at Wormley's Hotel *to be and appear before the* Ways & Means *Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, of which the Hon.* Henry L. Dawes *is chairman,*

in their Chamber in the City of Washington, on Wednesday, January Sixth 1875 *at the hour of* ten o'clock a.m., *then and there to testify touching matters of inquiry committed to said Committee; and he is not to depart without leave of said Committee.*

Herein fail not, and make return of this summons.

Witness my hand and the seal of the House of Representatives of the United States, at the City of Washington, this fifth *day of* January 1875

J. G. Blaine
Speaker.

Attest: Edw McPherson
Clerk.

A congressional summons signed by the Speaker and the Clerk of the House commands a businessman named Martin to appear before the Ways and Means Committee on January 6, 1875. During the Gilded Age, Ways and Means began to hold hearings on a routine basis. The committee listened to testimony from witnesses and traveled around the country to gather information on tax and tariff measures. Also during this period, Ways and Means conducted two hearings to examine the conduct of government officials and employees. In the early 1870s, the committee rooted out malfeasance in the Treasury Department and inquired into alleged bribery of congressmen by lobbyists.

The Committee in the Gilded Age

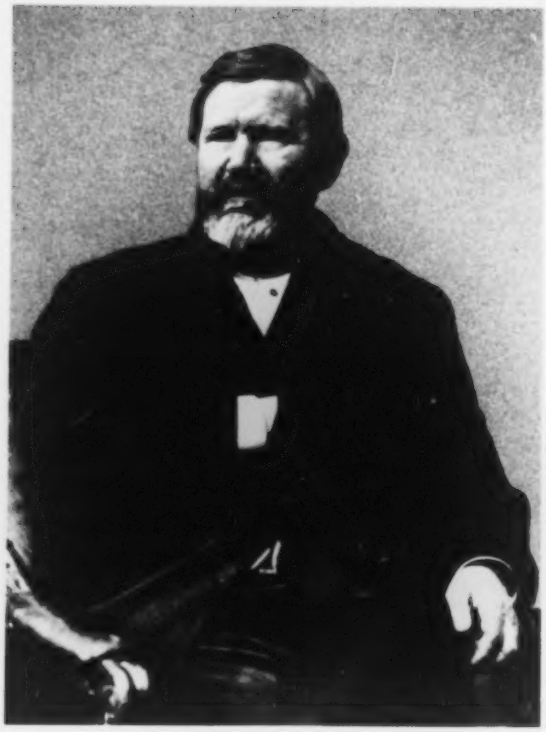
The forces at work in the development of the House were also evident in the evolution of the Committee on Ways and Means in the Gilded Age. Although the committee's functions were reduced by the creation of separate committees with jurisdiction over appropriations and banking and currency, the original committee was now able to specialize in revenue matters. The size of the committee expanded as the workload increased, and it regularly held hearings to obtain needed technical tax and tariff data. Chairmen, though not strictly appointed because of seniority, did tend to possess greater fiscal expertise than some of their antebellum counterparts. All of the chairmen in this period played a significant role in majority party leadership, some as floor leaders and others as members of the Rules Committee.

Although the committee surrendered some of its jurisdiction, it lost little prestige. In 1865, both the Committee of Ways and Means and the Committee on Appropriations, for example, were granted the privilege of reporting bills at any time for consideration by the Committee of the Whole House. The 1880 rules revision further granted precedence to revenue and appropriations measures over other bills. The chairman of the Committee on Appropriations tended to become floor leader of the House in the period from 1865 to 1896. The floor leader, or the majority leader, was not an official position, but rather a function usually performed by the committee chairman presenting the most pressing legislation, either in terms of quantity or importance. The Speaker, by virtue of his appointment of chairmen, thus also selected the floor leader.

Before the Civil War, the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means had performed that function. But after the creation of the Committee on Appropriations, Thaddeus Stevens in effect took the majority leadership with him when he became chairman of the new committee. Subsequently, the majority leadership alternated between the two chairmen in this period. Chairmen of the Committee on Ways and Means who served as floor leader included William R. Morrison (1875 and 1883), Fernando Wood (1879), William D. Kelley (1881), and Roger Q. Mills (1887).[15]

In 1880, Speaker Samuel J. Randall appointed a standing Rules Committee consisting of five members (three majority, two minority). This committee had previously been a select body appointed at the beginning of each Congress to report changes in House rules and procedures. Speaker John G. Carlisle in 1885 appointed the chairmen of the Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Appropriations to serve with him as the majority members on the Rules Committee. This bolstered the status of the revenue committee chairman as a key majority party leader. By packing this committee, the Speaker and the two most powerful chairmen were able to control the flow of legislation on the floor, as well as influence the revenue and appropriations process.[16]

The composition of the Committee on Ways and Means also underwent several changes, not the least of which was the name of the committee itself. Before the 1870s, its title had always been the Committee of Ways and Means. In the '70s, "of" was often replaced with "on" in committee reports and documents. The rules revision of 1880 standardized the names of all standing committees by the use of "on."



Thus, for example, the Committee of Accounts became the Committee on Accounts, and likewise the Committee of Ways and Means became the Committee on Ways and Means.[17]

With its name standardized, the committee's membership was also altered to accommodate a growing workload and the increased membership of the House. Membership increased from the nine of the Civil War period to 11 in 1873 and to 13 in 1879. The Northern and Republican domination likewise evaporated. The Republican Party controlled the House and the committee for only half of the 12 Congresses from 1865 to 1889. The first Southern member since before the Civil War, Lionel A. Sheldon (R-LA), did not take his seat until 1873, but in the following Congress the new Democratic majority included three members from the states of the former Confederacy. The majority party continued to maintain comfortable majorities on the committee, no matter how slim their margin was in the House. The Republicans in 1881, for example, had an overall majority of only 12 seats in the House, but named eight of the 13 members to the Committee on Ways and Means.[18]

Committee appointments remained in the hands of the Speaker in the postwar period. In 1882, the House considered a proposal presented by Representative Godlove S. Orth (R-IN) to entrust a standing board of 11 members chosen by party caucuses with the nomina-

Prominent Republicans Robert C. Schenck of Ohio (far left), James A. Garfield, also from Ohio (left), and Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts (right) sat on Ways and Means after the Civil War and guided programs to strengthen the nation's war-ravaged financial structure. Nicknamed "Poker Bob" for his expertise at cards, Schenck served as chairman of Ways and Means from 1867 to 1871. Destined for the Presidency, Garfield enjoyed an 18-year career in Congress. He hungered to be Ways and Means chairman, but to his dismay the post repeatedly went to others. In 1871, the Speaker of the House bypassed Garfield and named Dawes chairman.

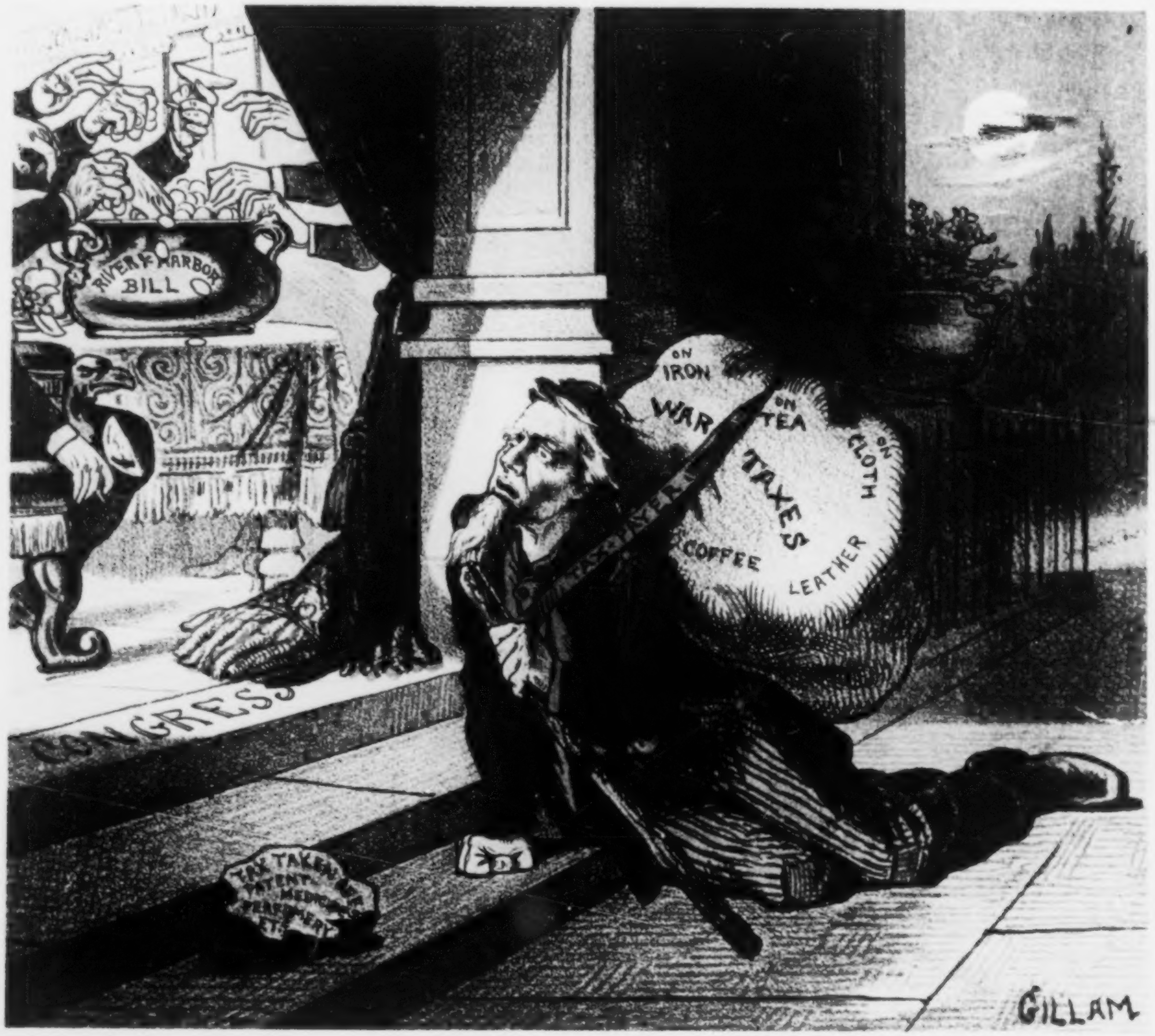
tion of all committee members. The proposal was defeated by a wide margin, but committee selection criteria shifted noticeably as experience and specialization in a particular field became more important. The chairmanship of the Committee of Ways and Means before the Civil War had been an honor customarily reserved for the runner-up in a speakership contest, or as a reward for a key supporter. Most of the ten chairmen who served between 1865 and 1890, on the other hand, were primarily known for their expertise in tax issues. William D. Kelley (R-PA), who chaired the committee from 1881 to 1883, was a good example of the rule of specialization and expertise. He served on the committee for an unprecedented 20-year period (1869–1889) as a strong advocate of protective tariffs, especially for the iron industry of his home state. Nicknamed "Pig-Iron" Kelley, he had a monomania about the tariff, a subject he had studied his entire life. "Mr. Kelley thinks tariff, talks tariff, and writes tariff every hour of the day;" one journalist noted, "a roommate of his tells me that he mumbles it over in his dreams during the night." [19] The appointment of Henry L. Dawes (R-MA) in 1871 was the exception that proved the rule. Dawes had not served on the committee, and he had no special claim to expertise. He wrote to Speaker Blaine: "I cannot believe that you will put me on the Committee of Ways and Means against my wishes. . . . I have earned the right to decline a service so against my wishes—against my habits of thought, and so outside of all my experience in Congress that I shall surely fail." [20]

The future careers of several chairmen reinforced the expertise that they either had brought with them or that they had acquired as a result of their service. Two of the three chairmen of the Senate Finance Committee during this period, for example, were former chairmen of the House committee. John Sherman, who had headed the Committee of Ways and Means before the Civil War, chaired the Senate committee from 1864 to 1865 and from 1867 to 1877. Justin S. Morrill, the first postwar chairman of the House committee, chaired the Senate Finance Committee for all but two Congresses between 1877 and 1898.[21] This heightened emphasis on expertise as an important criterion for the chairmanship of the House's revenue committee further illustrated the general trend in the House toward professionalization of legislative service.

The committee did not escape the Gilded Age with its reputation untarnished. Two chairmen in particular were linked with corruption. Robert C. Schenck (R-OH, 1867–70) earned the nickname "Poker Bob" after he left the committee to accept a diplomatic assignment in Great Britain. His expertise in cards impressed an English duchess to whom he wrote a letter describing the game of poker. The letter was subsequently published, but far more embarrassing was the use of his name in the sale in Great Britain of stock in a Nevada silver mine. Although a congressional investigating committee uncovered no evidence of wrongdoing, it criticized such endorsements by diplomats. Schenck resigned and returned to Washington, where he published *Draw Poker* in 1880. Fernando Wood (D-NY), who chaired the committee from 1877 to 1881, was even described by a sympathetic biographer as "unquestionably" corrupt. Wood had begun his political career in New York City's notorious Tammany Hall Democratic machine. He was elected mayor three times, but broke with the Tweed Ring to found his own rival organization, Mozart Hall. Graft prevailed in city government in the 1850s and '60s, and Wood and his brother benefited from city contracts. One building he owned was leased to the city for offices, which remained empty but which were then rented on the open market. Wood may have been corrupt, but he was also competent. As a member and as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, he consistently defended the interests of the New York merchants and financiers he represented.[22]

Until the formal establishment of the seniority system in the 20th century, there appears to have been no set system guiding the appointment of chairmen. As in the "non-system" of the Jacksonian period, in some instances a close political or personal relationship with the Speaker made a difference, but this factor did not necessarily secure success. Some able and powerful representatives were disappointed in their efforts to become chairman. Perhaps the most inter-

A post-Civil War cartoon depicts a haggard Uncle Sam as he carries the taxpayer's burden while congressmen, wined and dined by lobbyists, merrily grant tax breaks to manufacturers and pass such pork barrel appropriations as the river and harbors bill. As idealism turned to cynicism after the war, the public began to cry out against corruption in Congress. This cartoon captures that public mood; an 1873 novel by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, The Gilded Age, *gave the era of excessive materialism its name.*



RIVER & HARBOR BILL
CONGRESS
ON IRON
WAR
ON TEA
ON CLOTH
TAXES
COFFEE
LEATHER
TAX TAKEN OFF PATENT MEDICINES PERFUMERY ETC.
GILLAM

esting and revealing example in Gilded Age politics was that of James A. Garfield of Ohio.

Garfield began his long House tenure in the Thirty-eighth Congress (1863–65). After just two terms of service, Garfield evidently considered himself a choice candidate for the chairmanship of the Committee of Ways and Means, yet he declined to actively campaign for the position. Unfortunately, Garfield's hard money stance on currency issues and his lack of parliamentary expertise ultimately removed him from consideration. When committee appointments were handed out at the start of the Fortieth Congress, Speaker Colfax appointed Schenck to the post and put Garfield at the head of the

Military Affairs Committee. Garfield, who considered himself "greatly wronged" by Colfax's decision, nevertheless acquitted himself well as chairman.[23]

Garfield's next opportunity came during the Forty-first Congress (1869–71). After Colfax left the House to become Vice President under Grant, James G. Blaine of Maine assumed the speakership. Garfield now had every reason to expect that the chairmanship of the vaunted Committee of Ways and Means would be his. The Ohio congressman had even struck a gentleman's agreement with Blaine that he would be named chairman in exchange for his support in the speakership contest. Blaine nevertheless once more bypassed Garfield in favor of Schenck. One year later, Garfield's prospects again brightened when Schenck was defeated in the midterm congressional elections and the chairmanship of the committee was once again vacant. For an entire year, Garfield actively lobbied for the position until he was "about as certain as he could be" of the appointment. The seat remained open until the beginning of the Forty-second Congress. In spite of Garfield's confidence, and although his friends applied pressure upon Speaker Blaine, the chairmanship went to Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts. Garfield was appointed chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. He was finally appointed to the Committee of Ways and Means in the Forty-fourth Congress—although as a minority member.

Committee Hearings

The committee began to hold hearings in this period on a routine basis, appointing subcommittees, subpoenaing witnesses, taking testimony, and even traveling around the country to gather information. An undated newspaper clipping in the committee's records, for example, states that Schenck's committee traveled from Sacramento to Omaha on the Pacific Railroad "with as much comfort, convenience and sense of safety as they ever traveled over any road in the Eastern states." The article, by committee clerk George Bassett, also reported that four subcommittees had been appointed to consider tariff duties on various classifications of goods.[24]

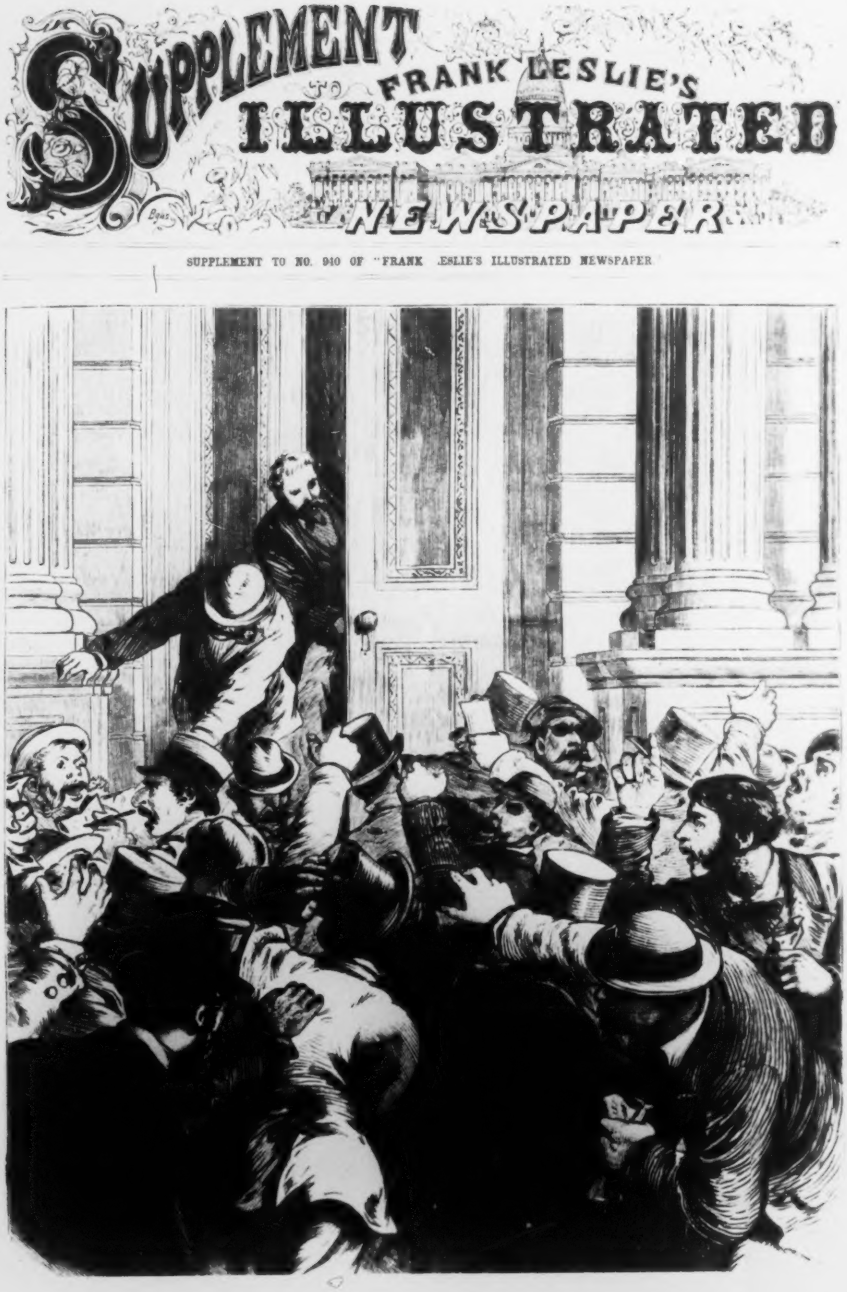
Although most hearings dealt with customs duties, two important investigations into government corruption were conducted by the Committee of Ways and Means in the 1870s. In 1873, the committee investigated the moiety system of the Treasury Department. The moiety system, which had existed since the 1790s, authorized informers to collect a percentage of delinquent customs revenues recovered through their efforts. The practice was repealed in the Forty-second Congress (1871–73), but the Secretary of the Treasury was allowed to appoint three persons to assist the government in cases of tax evasion

SELECTED COMMITTEE HEARINGS
1874-1886

1874	Customs Revenue Laws
1878	Refunding and Savings Deposits
1879	Tariff on Sugar
1880	Duty on Hoop Iron
	Duty on Paper and Wood Pulp
	Duty on Steel Rails
	Internal Revenue
	Refunding the National Debt
1881	Duties on Sugar
1882	Adulteration of Wine
	Drawback on Flour
	Duty on Jute and Manufactures Thereof
	Duty on Barley and Malt
	Hoop Iron and Cotton Ties
	Oleomargarine
1884	Morrison Tariff Bill
	Woolen Manufactures
	Metals and Metal Ores
	Manufactures of Cotton
	Wool
	Pottery and Glass
	Refunding the Bonded Debt
	Internal Revenue
	Tobacco and Fruit Brandy
1886	Hawaiian Treaty
	Tariff Revision
	Mackerel Fishing
	Bonded Warehouse System
	Pottery
	Iron and Steel
	Pig Iron and Iron Ore
	Flax
	Bituminous Coal, etc.

and delinquency. One of the agents appointed by Secretary William A. Richardson was John D. Sanborn, who collected over $400,000 and pocketed a commission of approximately $200,000. The House instructed the Committee of Ways and Means to investigate the revenue laws, the moiety system, and Sanborn's contract with the Treasury Department, which the committee determined violated the spirit of the law. Sanborn not only assisted in the recovery of revenue, he even collected funds, a practice the repeal of the moiety system prohibited.[25]

The committee examined Sanborn, Richardson, and others implicated in the case. The Treasury Secretary disclaimed responsibility: "I


SUPPLEMENT
TO
FRANK LESLIE'S
ILLUSTRATED
NEWSPAPER
SUPPLEMENT TO NO. 940 OF "FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER

Doors of the New York Stock Exchange close in the face of stockholders during the Panic of 1873. Failure of several northeast investment firms touched off the crisis, which ushered in a five-year depression, one of the worst yet suffered by the nation. The hard times fueled demand for inflationary monetary policies, and Congress responded. Legislators approved the circulation of an additional 18 million dollars in greenbacks. Later, the Resumption Act sanctioned unlimited circulation of national bank notes and the gradual reduction of greenbacks. Ways and Means reported tax and tariff legislation in this period designed to help soften the blow of the depression.

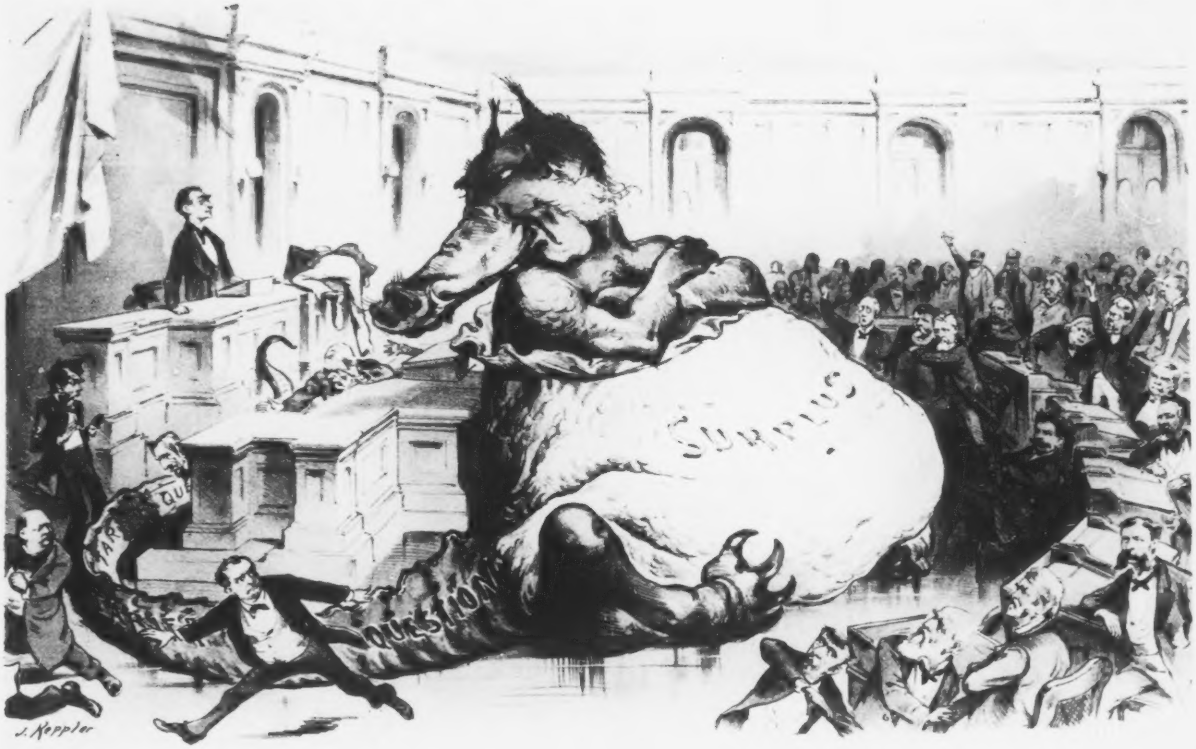
do not know the least thing about it any more than about ten thousand other things that are done in the different divisions of the Department. . . . I sign without reading." [26] The committee condemned the Sanborn contract, but it did not discover any evidence of criminal intent. Two of Richardson's subordinates resigned, and President

Grant appointed the Treasury Secretary to the Court of Claims.

The following year the House instructed the committee to investigate allegations that the Pacific Mail Steamship Company had bribed members of Congress to secure a lucrative mail subsidy. A subcommittee, chaired by Horatio C. Burchard (R-IL), conducted hearings at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York City from December 28, 1874, to January 2, 1875, before returning to Washington to continue the investigation. The committee discovered that the company had disbursed through its agent, Richard Irwin, over $800,000 in his lobbying effort. Of that sum, $125,000 had been paid to William S. King, the postmaster of the House of Representatives. Although King denied that he had received any money, it was believed that he had channeled it to members of the House to influence their votes. King sought refuge in Canada, and the president of the company remained on an extended vacation in Europe. Since Irwin steadfastly denied any wrongdoing, the committee was unable to make a case against any of the principals, but it did recommend tighter restrictions upon lobbying. The authority of congressional committees to conduct similar hearings was curtailed by the Supreme Court, which ruled in 1880 that Congress was not empowered to investigate the affairs of private citizens unless information was provided necessary to enact a law.[27]

Most hearings concerned customs duties. In 1880, for example, the committee held hearings on the duty on steel rails. Several representatives of railroads testified, including Henry A. Poor, editor of the *Railway Manual*, who appeared on behalf of the Illinois Central "and a large number of other railroad companies." William H. Grace, on the other hand, prefaced his testimony with the statement: "I have the honor to appear before you, not as the professionally retained attorney of any railroad or corporation, but as the unpaid advocate of the workingmen of America." [28] Most of the testimony in these hearings were arguments for or against protective tariffs, often accompanied by statistical evidence. Some testimony was simple, direct, and informative, such as that provided by Isaac Cook of St. Louis on a proposed tax on native wines to prevent the production of adulterated wine. Cook presented a detailed description of how to make adulterated champagne through the use of alum, gelatin, and carbonic acid, "which have the effect of disorganizing alike the wine and the consumer's stomach. Nausea and headache are among the ill results." The committee promptly concluded its report with the recommendation that the bill "do pass." [29]

The committee's clerk handled the administrative details accompanying the hearings. He arranged for travel when necessary, took notes on the meetings, and corresponded with witnesses. The committee continued to employ one permanent clerk in this period, who was appointed by the chairman, subject to the approval of the committee, and paid at public expense. Sometime between 1880 and



1907, an assistant clerk and a stenographer were added to the staff. To judge from the noticeable improvement in the quality of committee records in the Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses (1885–89), this development probably took place in the late '80s.

The clerkship was a political appointment. When party control of the committee changed, the previous clerk was dismissed or resigned to be replaced by the new chairman's selection. In January 1876, Chairman William Morrison (D-IL), the first Democratic chairman since before the Civil War, appointed Dr. James P. Hambleton to replace George A. Bassett. Some members of the committee objected to the choice since Hambleton had served as a surgeon in the Confederate Army, but Morrison insisted that Bassett be dismissed. The chairman argued that Bassett had sold confidential information about the committee's proceedings to a correspondent of the *New York World*. Hambleton, however, was forced to resign within a few weeks when it was alleged that he had named a son after John Wilkes Booth, the assassin of President Lincoln.[30]

The committee's clerk also acted as the chairman's personal secretary. In this era before congressional office buildings, the chairman used the committee room in the Capitol as his office. The existing committee records contain several items that illustrate the clerk's

The specter of federal surpluses grows into a dragon-size problem for Congress in this Puck *magazine cartoon of the early 1880s. With the public till embarrassingly fat, it became harder for congressmen to convince voters of the need for high tariff duties. The possibility of federal surpluses and the potential headache of trying to justify them alerted Ways and Means in the 1870s to begin reevaluating the nation's tax structure. Initiatives by the committee moved Congress to repeal the Civil War inheritance tax. The committee's proposals to reduce income tax rates met heavy resistance. Eventually, in 1872, Congress allowed the legislation authorizing the income tax to expire.*

function. George Bassett, the clerk appointed in 1860, continued in his position through Dawes' chairmanship (1871–75). Bassett took dictation in shorthand from the chairman and transcribed his correspondence as both congressman and committee chairman. The clerk was obviously overworked. The files contain items that do not pertain to the committee, such as the chairman's letters to his constituents on patronage matters, and even the clerk's own personal correspondence. One letter to Bassett from an ailing friend thanked him for a bottle of whiskey. "It came very opportunely," the friend wrote, "as the Dr had ordered milk punch, and *good* whiskey is *the* essential ingredient." [31]

If the clerk was overloaded, so too was the committee. The volume and sophistication of demands increased in the Gilded Age. Not only were private petitions from individuals and printed circular petitions still received, but the committee was also flooded with telegrams, advertisements, and pamphlets, all requesting that attention be given to a particular subject. The aftermath of the war provided the impetus for much of the correspondence. Schenck, for example, like all members of Congress, was inundated with requests for government jobs by former Union soldiers. He answered one request, "on file among hundreds of others," by cautioning the veteran that the horde of job seekers was "far beyond the number of places to be supplied." [32] An advertising pamphlet from Jewett's Patent Artificial Leg Company, submitted to support extra duties on artificial limbs, was equally moving—and more pertinent to the committee's function. Every soldier who had lost a limb in the war was entitled to an artificial one at government expense. Since the recipient had to bear the cost of repair or replacement, the pamphlet argued that their product deserved protection because of its superior design, durability, and ease of maintainence.[33]

The telegraph allowed witnesses and lobbyists to stay in close touch with the committee. Several examples are included in the committee's records. One witness telegraphed the chairman in 1868, for example, to urgently ask: "Have not heard from you. When will I be wanted?" [34] A U.S. attorney in Brooklyn asked the committee to excuse a witness whom he had subpoenaed as a witness in a court case.[35] And the treasurer of the Boston Elastic Company, concerned over a tariff provision on "webbing, gallouses etc.," followed up a morning telegram with a longer letter claiming that the measure would bring "utter ruin to the elastic weaving industry." [36]

Most of the correspondence from companies was similar—self-confident, even boastful, both in form and content. The very stationery that companies used indicated their pride—in large bold letterheads often featuring impressive engravings of the company's factory or headquarters. The traditional deferential language of petitions—"your petitioner prays [or begs] the attention of"—disappeared in the Gilded Age, replaced by more businesslike statements of economic self-interest. Emor E. Smith, manufacturer and sole proprietor of Smith's Greenback Bitters, an alcoholic tonic, pointed out the inconsistency of taxing him as a distiller—or rectifier—when all he did was to add ingredients to previously distilled spirits. "I don't rectify," Smith protested, "I only mix." [37] Businessmen felt little reluctance to offer their opinions, even on issues unrelated to their industries. Frank Adams, President of the Akron Sewer Pipe Company, for example, wrote to Garfield on the match tax and the stamp tax on bank checks. "Undoubtedly you have your mind made up what in your judgment ought to be done with both," he stated, "but I propose to give *my* ideas, which may possibly clash with yours." [38]

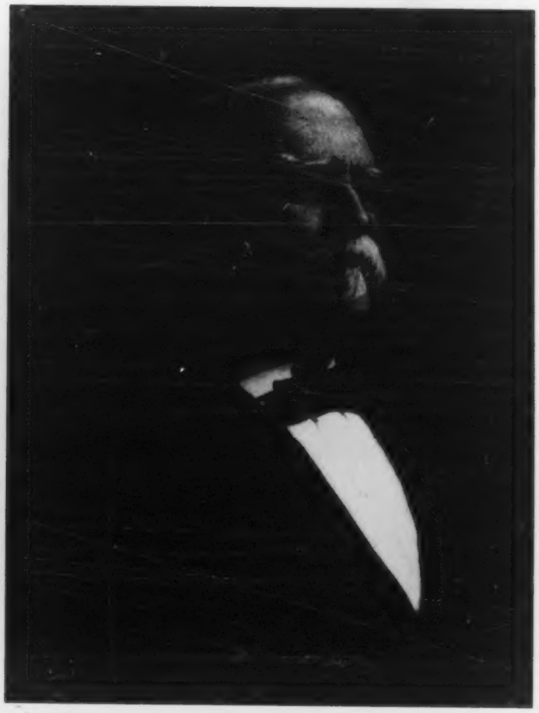
These few examples can provide only a sampling of the informational overload that descended upon the committee from hearings, lobbying, and correspondence. It was ironic that although the committee's jurisdiction had been reduced, its workload had increased. Even as the Committee on Ways and Means considered the revenue and tariff issues of the Gilded Age, it was confronted with the internal obstacles of its own workload and lack of adequate staffing. The committee, moreover, had to function within the framework of the House, and increasingly in this period, it was compelled to react to a more active Senate in revenue matters.

John G. Carlisle of Kentucky (immediate right) drew praise for his knowledge of parliamentary law. Speaker of the House from 1883 to 1889, and later Secretary of the Treasury, Carlisle served as ranking minority member on Ways and Means in the Fifty-first Congress (1889–1891). As Speaker, he and fellow Democrat and Ways and Means Chairman Roger Q. Mills (far right) fought hard but in vain to thwart Republican protectionists with the Mills bill of 1888. Carlisle's penchant for fairness in an age of extreme partisanship supports his reputation as one of the ablest Speakers of the House.

Postwar Financial Reconstruction

Between 1865 and 1879, the House of Representatives wrestled not only with the terms and procedures for the reconstruction of the Union, but also with restoring the nation's finances. The House Committee of Ways and Means was deeply involved in the latter campaign in the early postwar period. Congress inherited a complex and problematic financial legacy from the Civil War. The postwar debt in March 1865 amounted to approximately 2.9 billion dollars in a bewildering variety of notes and bonds. The primary issue associated with the debt was how to refinance the many forms of indebtedness at equitable terms without creating a shortage in federal gold reserves. As government expenditures declined after the war, legislators also faced the prospect of lowering the public's tax burden while raising enough revenue to meet its immediate needs. Finally, Congress had to decide how best to restore the nation's currency on a sound basis. The public debt, federal revenues, and currency matters were all interwoven into this tangled financial web.

The committee's first postwar initiatives concerned revenue. After 1865, the question of tax reduction became an important political issue. In 1866 federal revenues from customs duties and internal taxes imposed during the war amounted to 558 million dollars. Congress authorized a Special Commission on the Revenue in 1865 to study the



problems of postwar taxation. In 1866, Congress authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to appoint a special commissioner of the revenue to report to Congress on the existing tax structure. David A. Wells, who had chaired the 1865 commission, was named commissioner. During the life of his office (1865–70), Wells issued a series of four reports recommending a reduction in tariff duties and excise and internal taxes. Although Congress did not lower customs duties substantially, it did pass several internal revenue acts between 1866 and 1870 in which the income tax and most of the excise taxes imposed during the war were either repealed or substantially reduced.

The Republican majority on the Committee of Ways and Means favored the continuation of a protective tariff policy. Subsequently, tariff rates generally remained high, with some downward revision in articles such as pig iron, coal, coffee, tea, and molasses. The early postwar legislation reflected the interests of manufacturers, who favored high duties because they afforded protection to domestic industries. On the other hand, Western farmers were especially hurt by high rates imposed on manufactured articles such as textiles and machinery. While sentiment in favor of tariff reform did not emerge in the House until 1872, as early as the mid-1860s the high tariff policies of a group of representatives from the Eastern manufacturing states stirred opposition among Western members of both parties.

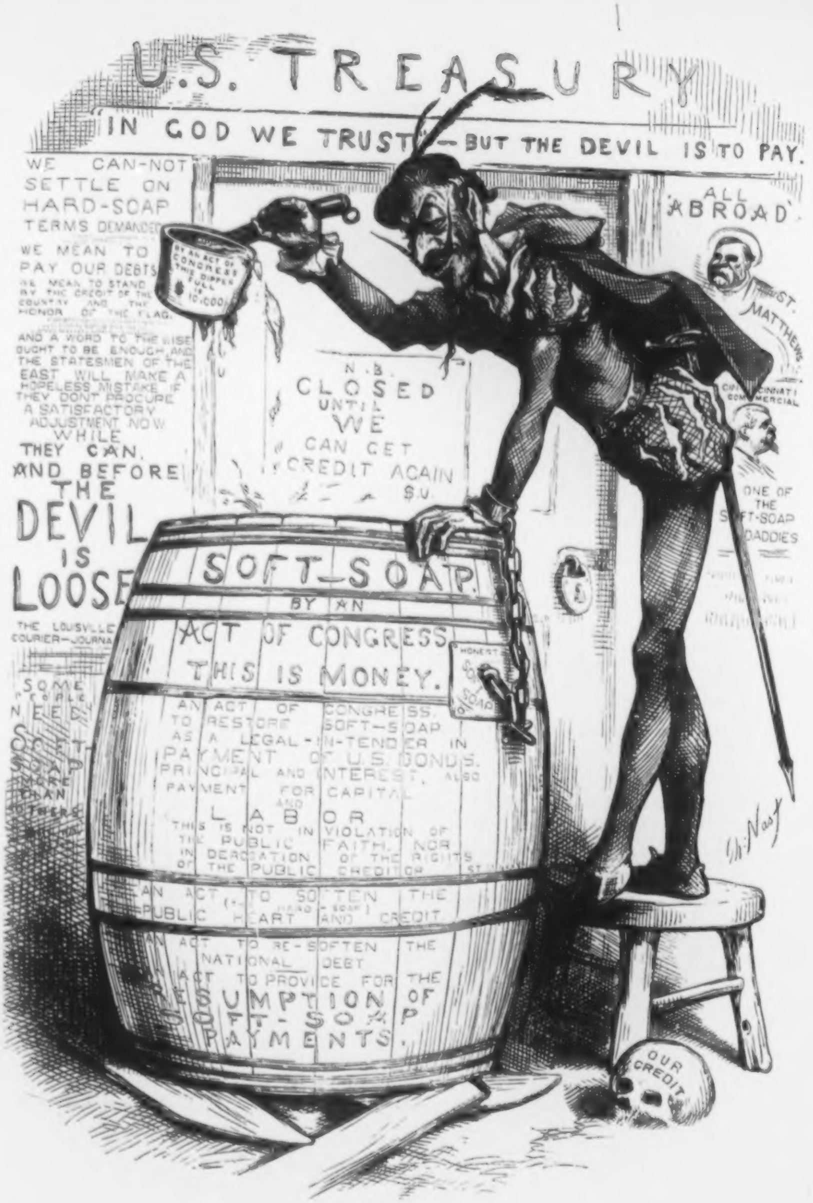
The continuance of the income tax was also complicated by controversy. During the war the income tax had been enormously unpopular throughout the nation. Later, Americans were divided over its future. Eastern manufacturers, who favored the benefits accrued by high tariffs, pressured the government to repeal the income tax. Lower income groups, on the other hand, largely from the West and South, favored retention of the income tax because of tax breaks the legislation provided to incomes below a certain level. As in the case of the tariff, the income tax issue tended to polarize Congress by region as much as, if not more than, by party.

The first congressional income tax battle occurred in April 1866, when Chairman Justin Morrill (R-VT) introduced a bill to remove the graduated provisions contained in the 1864 Revenue Act. Morrill, a fiscal conservative and a vigorous champion of protectionism, was a moderate on the income tax. While favorable to high tariffs as a means of protecting domestic industry, Morrill, unlike other more extreme protectionists, did not advocate the repeal of the income tax. He had opposed the principle of progressive tax rates—higher percentage rates on higher incomes—when the tax had been originally imposed, and he seized upon this opportunity to urge the abolition of graduated rates. In his remarks on the bill, Morrill argued that a graduated tax was unfair because it distributed the tax burden unevenly among the general population. As an alternative, the chairman proposed a flat 5 percent tax on all incomes over $1,000.[39]

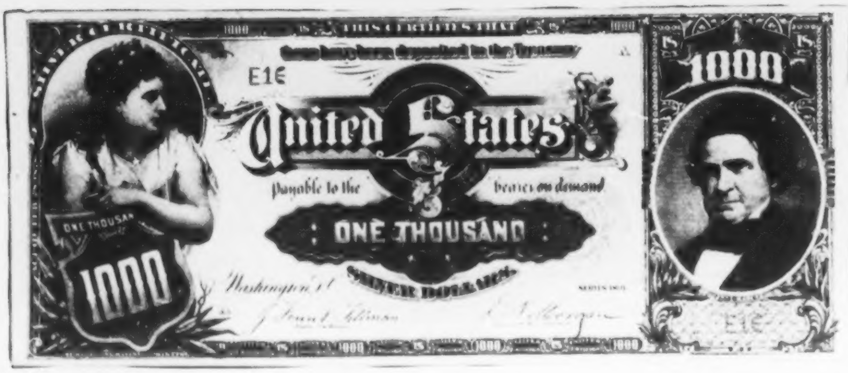
Morrill's tax proposal did not reflect the current majority sentiment of the House. His plan was opposed by Democrats and by Radical Republicans who wanted to place the tax burden more heavily upon the upper income brackets. The most extreme proposal along these lines was one offered by Lewis Ross (D-IL), who favored a progressive tax scale with a maximum rate of 25 percent on incomes exceeding $60,000. The House finally compromised by passing a bill incorporating a plan advanced by Republican Frederick Pike of Maine. Pike's plan taxed incomes between $1,000 and $5,000 at 5 percent and imposed a maximum rate of 10 percent on incomes exceeding $5,000. Morrill strenuously opposed this proposal, arguing that the principle of progressive taxation "can only be defended on the same ground the highwayman defends his acts," but the bill was amended and passed in spite of his objections.[40] In July 1866, the Senate Finance Committee reported to the House that since time was running out in the current session and the bill required many changes, the income tax should remain in its current form. The House agreed to the Senate's recommendation, and the tax, with only a few minor changes, was continued until 1870.

In November 1866, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue recommended that the amount of exemption be raised from $600 to $1,000. Morrill introduced the committee's bill in February of the fol-

Controversy over currency inspired noted cartoonist Thomas Nast to pen this drawing. It implies congressional soft-soaping of issues behind the Resumption Act of 1875. The legislation stemmed from a struggle between inflationists who wanted to keep greenbacks in circulation and those who wanted to place currency on a sound specie basis. The Resumption Act gave Secretary of the Treasury John Sherman, former chairman of Ways and Means, authority to pay hard currency for any greenback worth under $50. The public preferred greenbacks because they were easier to obtain than coin. Fears that the redemption value of paper currency would be less than money backed by specie subsided in 1879 after Sherman built up the nation's gold reserves and brought the greenback to par.


U.S. TREASURY
"IN GOD WE TRUST"—BUT THE DEVIL IS TO PAY.
WE CAN-NOT SETTLE ON HARD-SOAP TERMS DEMANDED
WE MEAN TO PAY OUR DEBTS
WE MEAN TO STAND BY THE CREDIT OF THE COUNTRY AND THE HONOR OF THE FLAG.
AND A WORD TO THE WISE OUGHT TO BE ENOUGH AND THE STATESMEN OF THE EAST WILL MAKE A HOPELESS MISTAKE IF THEY DONT PROCURE A SATISFACTORY ADJUSTMENT NOW WHILE THEY CAN, AND BEFORE THE DEVIL IS LOOSE
THE LOUISVILLE COURIER—JOURNAL
SOME PEOPLE NEED SOFT-SOAP MORE THAN OTHERS
BY AN ACT OF CONGRESS THIS DIPPER FULL IS $10,000
N.B. CLOSED UNTIL WE CAN GET CREDIT AGAIN $.U.
ALL ABROAD
ST. MATTHEWS
CINCINNATI COMMERCIAL
ONE OF THE SOFT-SOAP DADDIES
SOFT-SOAP. BY AN ACT OF CONGRESS THIS IS MONEY.
HONEST SOFT SOAP
AN ACT OF CONGRESS TO RESTORE SOFT-SOAP AS A LEGAL-IN-TENDER IN PAYMENT OF U.S. BONDS. PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST. ALSO PAYMENT FOR CAPITAL AND LABOR
THIS IS NOT IN VIOLATION OF THE PUBLIC FAITH, NOR IN DEROGATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PUBLIC CREDITOR
AN ACT TO SOFTEN THE (HARD-SOAP) PUBLIC HEART AND CREDIT.
AN ACT TO RE-SOFTEN THE NATIONAL DEBT
ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE RESUMPTION OF SOFT-SOAP PAYMENTS.
OUR CREDIT
Th. Nast

lowing year, again stressing the necessity of lowering taxes. The bill proposed a flat 5 percent rate on incomes over $1,000. The elimination of the progressive taxation principle, it was estimated, would reduce government revenue by more than 36 million dollars. Several amendments were introduced to restore graduated rates, but none succeeded. Garfield perhaps best illustrated the House's changing mood. Previously a champion of the Civil War measure, he now argued that the progressive income tax was unethical, unsocial, and



A silver certificate from the Gilded Age recalls the push of cheap-money advocates and silver producers to restore the free coinage of silver. Gold proponent John Sherman backed a compromise, the Bland-Allison Act of 1878. Its provisions included the nation's first subsidies for silver producers, called for limited coinage of silver, and allowed exchange of the coin for silver certificates valued at $10 or higher.

unconstitutional because it discriminated between rich and poor. The Senate experienced a similar transformation and passed the bill in less than three days on March 2, 1867.[41]

The Committee of Ways and Means was also preoccupied with currency matters during the Thirty-ninth Congress. The currency was part of the committee's responsibilities by virtue of its connection to Treasury bonds and the federal debt, subjects remaining under the committee's jurisdiction. During the Civil War, the federal government had authorized the issue of nearly 450 million dollars in paper currency. The value of this currency was less than that of coin or currency backed by gold. Paper money was popular with the general public because it was easier to obtain for liquidating debts. On the other hand, fiscal conservatives favored withdrawal of the greenbacks from circulation to restore the national currency standard to a specie basis, a policy known as contraction. The resumption of specie payments by the Treasury Department and the redemption of the federal debt in gold were measures favored by holders of high-interest-bearing government bonds and by bankers, who, under the existing system, regulated the flow of currency.[42]

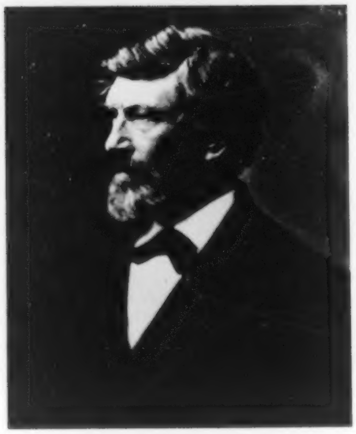
The postwar currency controversy began in 1866 when Congress granted Treasury Secretary Hugh McCulloch wide discretionary powers over the debt. McCulloch favored a policy of contraction and resumption. The first postwar refunding measure, prepared at the Treasury Department, gave McCulloch the power to convert short-term securities into long-term bonds and also provided for the partial withdrawal of greenbacks from circulation. The House defeated the bill in its original form and referred it to the Committee of Ways and Means for further consideration. The committee reduced the amount to be withdrawn from circulation, and in this form the House passed the bill. The Senate also agreed to the measure over the objections of Senate Finance Committee Chairman John Sherman, who thought that it gave McCulloch excessive power to disrupt the nation's flow of currency. The Refunding Act was signed into law on April 12, 1866.[43]

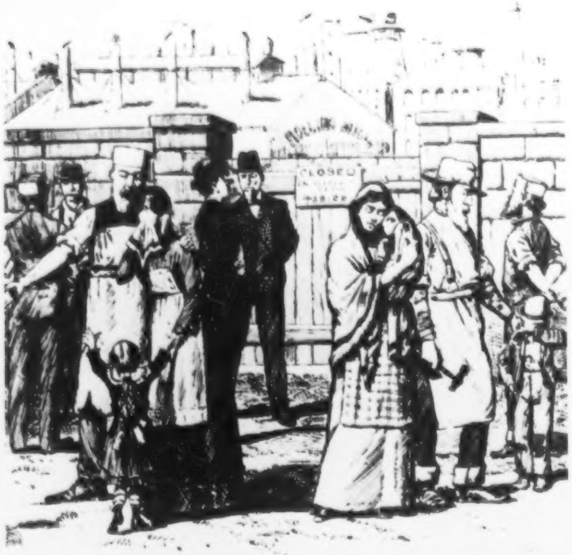
Shortly after the passage of the Refunding Act, the Committee of Ways and Means led a congressional revolt against Secretary McCulloch's policies. During the first session of the Fortieth Congress (1867), Chairman Schenck reported a bill to prohibit the Secretary from any further contraction of the currency by retiring greenbacks from circulation. The bill passed the House by an overwhelming majority and met very little resistance in the Senate. This bill was supplemented by other Refunding Acts, one reported by the Senate Finance Committee in 1868 and the other by the Committee of Ways and Means in 1869. These measures provided means to refund the debt on the specie standard without having to resort to contraction of the currency.[44]

By the start of the Forty-first Congress, the national debt was steadily declining and federal revenues, bolstered by high protective tariffs, were steadily increasing. The prospect of a Treasury surplus prompted Congress once again to evaluate the tax structure. A surplus created many problems for the federal government. First was the obvious dilemma of justifying to voters the continuation of high tariff duties and other taxes in a time of budget surplus. Second was the problem of how to spend a surplus. During the postwar era, proposals for distribution to the state governments resurfaced, but none were seriously considered. Instead, Congress preferred to allocate funds through generous veterans pension bills and through pork barrel legislation. Finally, a few politicians argued that Congress was obligated to make the surplus directly accessible to the public, either through the sale of government bonds or through general circulation as currency. Owing to the complex nature of federal banking and the political volatility of the currency question, it was not surprising that the House steered away from this option as well.

Two important sources of federal revenue, the income and inheritance taxes, were scheduled to expire in 1870. As the expiration date approached, opposition to the taxes increased. Fearful that Congress might renew the income tax, banking and manufacturing groups organized an Anti-Income Tax Association, which lobbied for an immediate repeal. The *New York Tribune* reflected this growing repeal sentiment in a February 5, 1869, editorial: "The Income Tax is the most odious, vexatious, inquisitorial, and unequal of all our taxes."[45]

Chairman Schenck introduced a bill in May 1870 to reduce some internal taxes and to repeal the wartime inheritance tax. The latter move met with almost universal support, but the committee's income tax recommendations were more hotly debated. Schenck proposed that the tax be lowered by raising the minimum exemption to $1,500 while retaining the flat 5 percent rate. Several members of Congress argued that the income tax could be abolished altogether. One of the strongest repeal advocates was Pig-Iron Kelley, who reasoned that the revenue lost from the repeal of the income tax would provide an even

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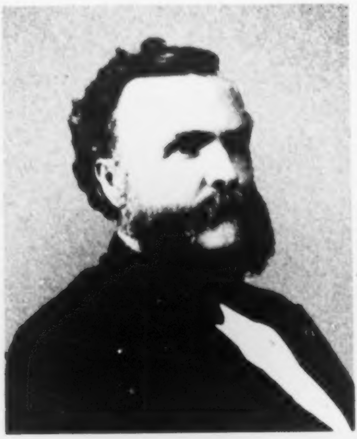


stronger case for the necessity of a high tariff to supply revenue. The House nevertheless retained the income tax, though further lowering it to a 3 percent rate on incomes above $2,000.

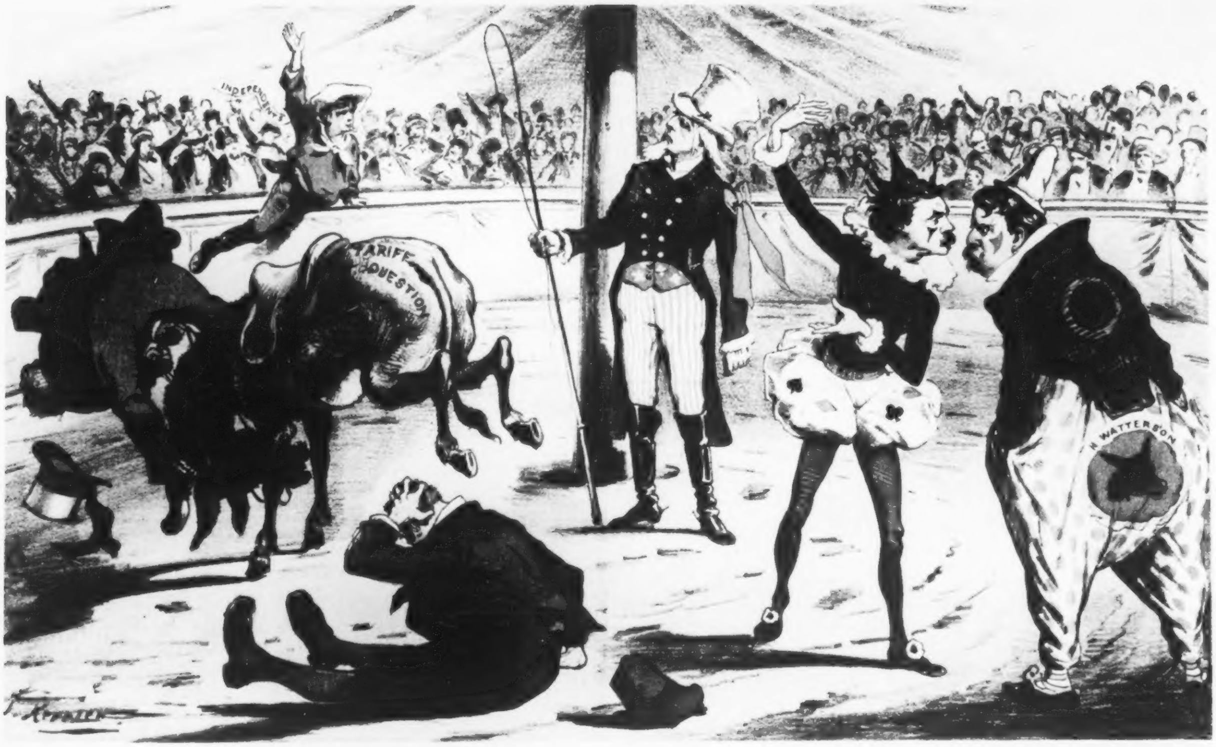
The tax bill then moved on to the Senate, where it was endorsed by the Finance Committee but was stalled on the floor by Roscoe Conkling (R-NY) and Charles Sumner (R-MA). Conkling hoped to eliminate the income tax completely and managed to persuade the Senate to strike out any reference to it in the bill. Eventually, after parliamentary manueverings back and forth, the Senate voted 26–25 to reconsider the vote against the income tax. In the final debate on the bill, Senator Sherman made an eloquent appeal for the tax and swayed some crucial undecided votes. The tax was salvaged, but in an amended version that further reduced the tax rate to 2.5 percent on incomes over $2,000. The final version of the bill incorporated this provision and also stipulated that the tax would be expressly limited to the years 1870 and 1871, "and no longer."[46]

By 1871, the nation's finances were improving so rapidly that the income tax lay open to further repeal initiatives. During the third session of the Forty-first Congress (1870–71), the antitax forces launched yet another campaign, and this time their efforts succeeded. The Grant Administration was divided on the income tax. The President's choice for Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Gen. Alfred Pleasonton, recommended repeal in a letter to Samuel Hooper (R-MA), who had succeeded Schenck as chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. The Secretary of the Treasury, George S. Boutwell, contradicted Pleasonton in another letter to Hooper, arguing that repeal would seriously disrupt the government's revenue. The chairman and the committee recommended the repeal of the income tax on February 7, 1871, but the House refused by a vote of 117–91 to suspend the rules to allow for consideration of the bill.[47]

The Senate in the meantime had considered its own repeal proposal in the second session of the Forty-first Congress. On July 14, 1870, the next to last day of the session, the Senate passed a bill to repeal the income tax by a vote of 26–25. The House refused to consider the bill, simply returning it to the other body on the grounds that under the Constitution revenue measures could not originate in the Senate. With no income tax legislation adopted in 1871, the income tax was allowed to expire in 1872.[48]

After the expiration of the income tax, the currency once again became a hotly contested political issue. The Panic of 1873 and a subsequent depression increased popular agitation for inflationary monetary policies. Viewing the currency issue as a means for partisan gain, congressional Democrats also became more unified in their demands to stop further contraction of the currency. Faced with a choice between contraction and the resumption of specie payments, the Senate Finance Committee presented a measure in 1874 that provided for

Protectionists and reformers squared off on the tariff issue during the 1870s and '80s. Democrat Samuel J. Randall (top, far left) and Republican William D. Kelley (top, left), both of Pennsylvania, spoke out for a high tariff. Randall, later Speaker of the House, served on Ways and Means from 1881 to 1883. Kelley chaired Ways and Means during the Forty-seventh Congress. Democrats William R. Morrison of Illinois (below, far left) and Roger Q. Mills of Texas (below, left) championed reduced duties and tariff reform. Morrison headed Ways and Means in 1884 when the committee presented its first important postwar tariff measure under Democratic leadership. The bill, calling for a 20 percent cut in rates, failed. Mills succeeded Morrison as Ways and Means chairman and unsuccessfully worked to move a tariff reduction bill through Congress. Throughout much of this era, Republicans controlled the House, and their protectionist views prevailed. The cartoon portrays their fears of low duties and free trade: Cheap foreign goods drive down prices, close factories, and put the working man out on the street.



the circulation of an additional 18 million dollars in greenbacks. Soon after this bill was enacted, the Republicans lost control of the House and maintained a narrow majority in the Senate. In the lame duck session of the Forty-third Congress, the Republicans engineered passage of the Resumption Act, which sanctioned the unlimited circulation of national bank notes and the gradual reduction of greenbacks to 300 million dollars. After January 1, 1879, greenbacks worth under $50 would be redeemable in coin.

In 1877, President Rutherford B. Hayes appointed John Sherman as Secretary of the Treasury. Sherman's primary task was to prepare for the resumption of specie payments. He did so by building up the nation's gold reserves and by selling newly issued Treasury bonds. But Hayes and Sherman had to deal with a House of Representatives with a 153–140 Democratic majority. In the Forty-fifth Congress, a bill to repeal the Resumption Act nearly passed. Opposition to resumption lessened after passage of the Bland-Allison Silver Purchase Act of 1878. This statute authorized the government to purchase a limited quantity of silver for general circulation. On January 2, 1879, resumption by the government of payments for Treasury notes in gold was finally achieved.

"Who Can Ride the Mule?" asks Uncle Sam in a cartoon from an 1883 issue of Puck *magazine. The sketch lampoons the tariff question, a bucking issue that has thrown both Democrats and Republicans. The frustration of trying to saddle-break the tariff along party lines pinches the faces of two humorless clowns. Glaringly at odds, the caricatures represent tariff protectionist and editor of the Republican* New York Tribune, *Whitelaw Reid, and tariff reformer and editor of the Democratic* Louisville Courier-Journal, *Henry Watterson.*

The Committee of Ways and Means and the Tariff, 1870–1888

The tariff in the 1870s and '80s reemerged as the controversial political issue that it had been before the war. The Panic of 1873 and the resulting economic depression provided the Democratic Party with the opportunity to offer alternatives to the prevailing Republican economic policies. Downward tariff revision, many Democrats argued, would both stimulate domestic consumption and encourage other nations to lower their tariff barriers.

The Committee of Ways and Means' jurisdiction over tariffs was complicated not only by partisan politics, but also by the Senate's more aggressive role in the Gilded Age. A sense of greater prestige had always been attached to service in the Senate, but not perhaps to the degree stated by former chairman Justin Morrill, who spent the last 21 years of his life there. "There is no gift, no office to which I could be appointed," Morrill remarked, "that I would accept in preference to a seat in the United States Senate. I consider that the highest honor that could be bestowed on me, and its duties the highest function I could perform."[49] In part because of the Finance Committee's greater stability—it had only two chairmen for 25 out of the 31 years between 1867 and 1898—the Senate was more assertive in amending revenue bills, even on at least two occasions substituting its own bill for the House measure.

The House had refused to act upon the Senate-drafted version of the income tax repeal in 1871. In 1872, the House similarly opposed the Senate's attempt to dictate tariff policy. The Committee of Ways and Means, chaired by Dawes, had introduced two bills, one on tariff duties generally, and a second repealing duties on tea and coffee. Both bills passed the House, but the Senate Finance Committee reported only the latter measure, with its own comprehensive tariff bill tacked on in the form of amendments designed to reduce rates by 10 percent. A bill that had left the House only four lines long, returned with 20 pages of amendments. The House erupted in outrage at the Senate's action. Dawes offered a resolution, overwhelmingly adopted, that the substitution of a new measure exceeded the Senate's constitutional authority to amend revenue bills. Incredibly, the House by a parliamentary manuever then recommitted its own bill to Dawes' committee with an amendment incorporating the 10 percent reductions of the Senate bill. It was this bill that the House passed and that became the Tariff of 1872.[50]

The Republicans were able to quiet the demand for tariff revision with the meager reductions of the 1872 act, but the Panic of 1873 created the need to increase federal revenues. Dawes, still chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, introduced a bill in February 1875 to repeal the 10 percent reductions and to increase rates on several items. The Senate made no amendments to the House bill, and it was signed by the President on March 3, 1875.

There was no significant tariff legislation from 1875 to 1883 in spite of the fact that the Democrats controlled the House for six of those eight years. Moreover, the Democratic chairmen, William R. Morrison (IL) and Fernando Wood (NY), were both champions of downward revision. The Senate, however, remained Republican for four of the six years of the Democratic House. The Democrats were also far from united behind tariff reform, as several important Eastern leaders favored protectionism.

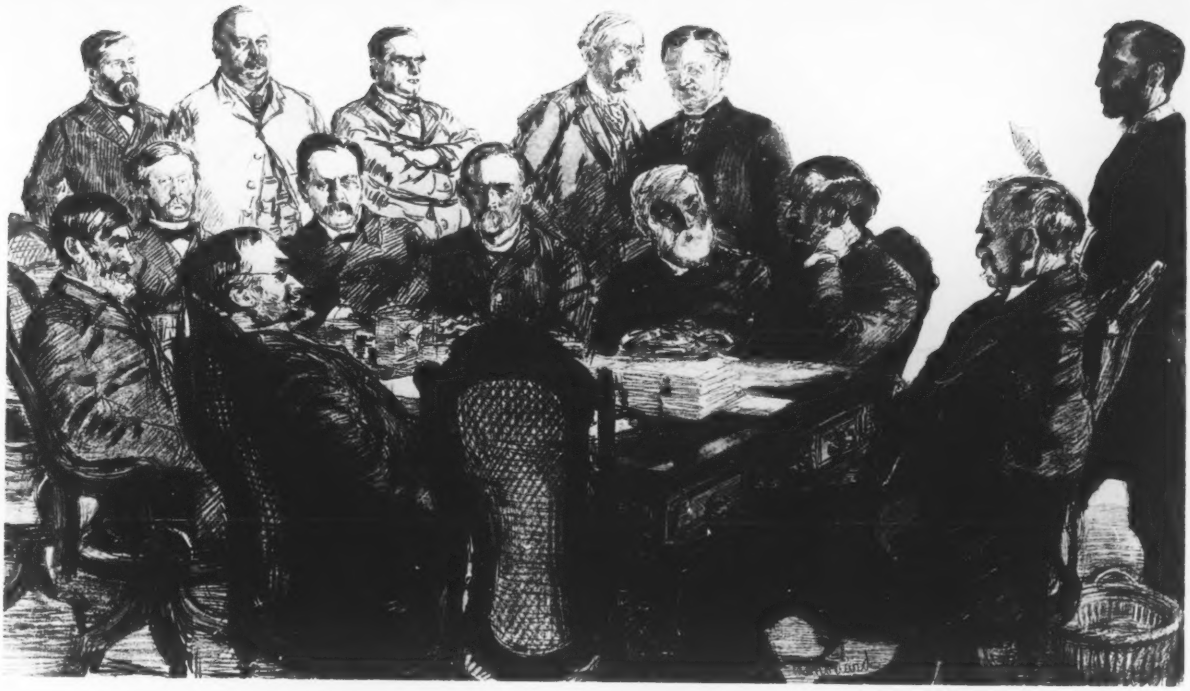
Morrison's attempt to reduce rates failed in the Forty-fourth Congress (1875–77), as did Wood's efforts in the following session. Roger Q. Mills (D-TX), who would chair the committee from 1887 to 1889, introduced a resolution in the Forty-fifth Congress "that the Committee of Ways and Means be instructed to so revise the tariff as to make it purely a tariff for revenue, and not for protecting one class of citizens by plundering another." [51] Although this particular resolution failed because of its wording, Wood's committee prepared a reduction of the tariff. The chairman, according to one source, initiated the practice of assigning responsibility for preparing tariff bills to a subcommittee composed of the majority party members of the full committee. The bill failed to pass the House, even though Wood defended it as an effort "to resuscitate American commerce." [52]

The nation's finances were on a more stable basis by the end of the Hayes Administration in 1881. The debt was refunded, the currency question was temporarily resolved through specie resumption, and the sluggish economy of the 1870s had been stimulated by an upswing in industrial productivity. As a result, federal surpluses again reached embarrassing proportions. These surpluses prompted a campaign for reform in which the tariff resurfaced as the nation's preeminent political issue.

The reform element was represented in Congress by Democrats, primarily from Southern and Western states, and by the liberal wing of the Republican Party. Both protectionists and reformers agreed on the need to reduce federal surpluses, but differed over the nature and degree of those reductions. Politicians and the public were not the only groups interested in the outcome of tariff legislation. Each time a revenue measure was to be considered, lobbyists swarmed around the Committee of Ways and Means' room "like flies on a molasses barrel." [53]

The first major tariff battle of the postwar era occurred during the Forty-seventh Congress. In 1882, President Chester A. Arthur appointed a Tariff Commission whose duties were "to take into consideration and to thoroughly investigate all of the various questions relating to the agricultural, commercial, mercantile, manufacturing, mining, and industrial interests of the United States, so far as the

The Committee on Ways and Means in session, as illustrated in an 1888 Harper's Weekly, *conveys the clublike atmosphere of committee rooms during the Gilded Age. In the House, this was an era of powerful committee chairmen who had the ability to bury legislation they opposed or to expedite measures they favored, causing such panels as Ways and Means to earn reputations as "legislative cemeteries." One representative, peeved by dilatory tactics, humorously referred to Ways and Means as "a gorgeous mausoleum." The illustration is of today's Room H–209, located directly off the House Chamber. Among those pictured here with Chairman Roger Q. Mills, seated at far right, are: a future Speaker, Thomas B. Reed; a future President, William McKinley, standing at center; a future chairman, William Wilson; and a past chairman, William Kelley.*



same may be necessary to the establishment of a judicious tariff, or a revision of the existing tariff, upon a scale of justice to all interests." The commission was empowered to hold hearings and to report its findings by the first Monday of December 1882, when Congress would begin its short session. The Tariff Commission was headed by John L. Hayes of Massachusetts, Secretary of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers. Several other commissioners had a personal interest in a protected industry, and all favored high tariffs, at least in principle.[54]

In its report, the Tariff Commission reaffirmed protectionism. The document recommended a reduction in duties, but did not substantially alter existing schedules on manufactured articles. Instead, the commission suggested lower duties on raw materials and on some commonly consumed articles such as sugar and molassses. Not surprisingly, the report not only failed to satisfy tariff reformers, but it also managed to offend extreme protectionists. When the report reached Congress, the Republican majority members on the Committee of Ways and Means, led by Chairman William D. Kelley, roundly denounced its findings and drafted an alternative tariff measure.

The Senate Finance Committee had been considering its own tariff measure at the same time. In a repeat performance of the 1872 episode, the Senate tacked on its bill in the form of 103 pages of amendments to a three-page House bill reducing some internal revenues. In spite of constitutional objections, the House was compelled to consider the Senate bill when it could not bring the Committee of Ways and Means' measure to a vote.

The tariff situation in Congress was further complicated when the Republicans lost their House majority in the fall congressional elections. In January 1883, House Democrats tried to block passage of a last-minute protectionist measure by initiating a filibuster against the Committee of Ways and Means' bill. At this juncture, Thomas Brackett Reed (R-ME), a member of the Rules Committee, engaged in some adroit procedural manuevering. The Senate bill was currently tabled in the House. Reed routed the Democrats by securing recognition from Speaker Keifer to submit a privileged Rules Committee report on the Senate amendments, forcing a majority vote and thereby terminating debate on the House committee's bill. The minority party had to agree to send the pending bill to a conference committee controlled by protectionist members from both Houses of Congress—the House delegation was headed by Chairman Kelley. The conference committee bill made some minor reductions but remained highly protectionist in its overall provisions. On the last day of the Forty-seventh Congress, the President signed the bill, now known as the Mongrel Tariff because the effort at tariff reduction ended in a reaffirmation of protectionism.[55]

The Democratic Party, which was generally more receptive to tariff reform, controlled the House between 1883 and 1885. In the Forty-eighth Congress, the reform wing of the party, led by John G. Carlisle of Kentucky, Morrison, and Mills, elevated Carlisle to the speakership. He subsequently appointed Morrison chairman and Mills as the second-ranking member of the Committee of Ways and Means, with the aim of enacting a complete revision of the existing tariff structure. Kelley remained as the ranking minority member on the committee.

In spite of the leadership's efforts, reformers were unable to secure substantive results. Part of the problem lay with a lack of party unity on the tariff. The sectional character of the issue rendered the majority leadership's efforts to enact a reform measure that was agreeable to all Democrats difficult at best. In the Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses, an able antireform Democratic element, led by feisty protectionist Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania, frustrated several attempts to pass new tariff measures. Inefficient House machinery as well as the obstructionist tactics employed by the minority party also thwarted the majority's efforts. Bills were sometimes delayed in committee or buried in the House calendar, a device commonly used to stall legislation. Representative James A. McKenzie (D-KY), a tariff reformer, cleverly summed up the situation when he remarked:

MILESTONES IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMMITTEE
1865–1890

1865	Committee of Ways and Means granted privilege to report bills at any time
1866	Refunding Act converted war debt into long-term bonded debt
1870	Income tax reduction provided for abolition of tax in two years
1872	Tariff of 1872 reduced rates by 10 percent
1873	Hearings on the moiety system and the Sanborn contracts scandal
1875	Hearings on the Pacific Mail Steamship Company scandal
1880	Rules revision granted precedence to revenue and appropriations bills
1883	Chairman of the committee appointed to the Rules Committee to strengthen majority leadership
1883	Mongrel Tariff reinforced protective rates
1888	Mills bill to reduce tariff failed

> There are two places of interment in this House in which all legislation looking to reform in our revenue and customs duties is buried. One is the gorgeous mausoleum of the Ways and Means Committee . . . and the other is the Calendar of this House. A member introducing a bill here can decide whether he prefers to have it buried with that sort of splendid interment which the Ways and Means affords, or that it should go to the Calendar, which is the potter's field of legislation. . . . When an ambitious member drafts a measure looking to revenue reform and presents it to the House . . . it is no stretch of the imagination to say that he can detect the dolorous notes of the "Dead March in Saul" as the Clerk sings out, "Ways and Means, and printed." [56]

In 1884, the Committee of Ways and Means presented its first important postwar tariff measure under Democratic leadership. The bill was introduced by Chairman Morrison, and provided general reductions of 20 percent. Morrison advocated across-the-board tariff reductions, which earned him the nickname "Horizontal Bill" among his colleagues. His measure was opposed by protectionists from both parties who favored maintaining the existing tariff schedules. This bill was ultimately defeated in the House by a five-vote margin provided by Republicans and the antireform wing of the Democratic Party headed by Randall.[57]

After the defeat of the Morrison bill, radical tariff reformers in the House demanded that Carlisle remove Randall from his chairmanship, but the Speaker resisted this course of action. Instead, he allowed Morrison to introduce several rules amendments intended to deprive Randall of some of his influence as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. The amendments included partial distribution of annual appropriations jurisdiction to several committees, a proposal that was subsequently approved.[58] Morrison, the loser in the tariff fight, had at least obtained some measure of revenge against Randall. However, the Pennsylvania congressman still managed to muster enough votes to defeat two more tariff measures sponsored by the Committee of Ways and Means in the Forty-ninth Congress.

A Democrat was elected President in 1884 for the first time in over a quarter of a century. Grover Cleveland favored an extensive revision of the tariff system, but the House did not pass a reform measure until late in his administration. During the Fiftieth Congress, Cleveland surprised the nation by devoting his entire annual message to the Treasury surplus and to the pressing need for tariff reform. Cleveland called protective tariffs a "vicious, unequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation," and he proposed to dispose of the surplus through tariff reduction and the removal of duties on raw materials. These remarks spurred the otherwise "Do Nothing" Congress into prompt action. In 1888, the Committee on Ways and Means drew up a reform measure under the leadership of Roger Q. Mills, who had succeeded Morrison as chairman. Mills continued the practice begun by Wood of excluding the minority from any role in drafting tariff legislation. There were even allegations that this particular bill was framed in a subterranean chamber of the Capitol with no opportunity given to manufacturers to testify. According to Republican protectionists, the Democratic majority allowed free trade pamphleteers and Treasury Department clerks to draft the bill. Mills, on the other hand, claimed that he outlined most of the bill himself. "I worked for six months at home by myself to prepare a bill," the chairman stated.[59] Only after he had presented it to the committee had he realized the need for revisions. Only four House Democrats voted against the Mills bill in July, an improvement in party unity over the two preceding Congresses. While the House considered this bill, the Senate drafted a staunchly protectionist measure, again reflecting the sentiment of its Republican majority.[60]

Congress adjourned before the Senate could consider the House bill. When it reconvened later in the year, Cleveland had lost the Presidency to Republican Benjamin Harrison. Encouraged by this development, the Senate Finance Committee substituted its own bill for the House measure and in this form the "amended" Mills bill, now altered beyond recognition, was returned to the House, where it was recommitted to the Committee on Ways and Means. Chairman Mills later reported a resolution declaring the Senate's action unconstitutional. Mills also demanded that the bill be returned to the Senate, but these recommendations were never considered by the House. The Mills bill subsequently expired without a formal jurisdictional confrontation between the House and the Senate over the proper origin of revenue bills. The following Republican-controlled Congress would once again reimpose protective rates in the McKinley Tariff of 1890.

Rules Changes and the Chairmanship of the Committee, 1880–1890

During the 1880s the House implemented important rules changes. These revisions had the dual effect of strengthening the power of the Speaker and eliminating some dilatory practices that had impeded the transaction of legislative business. The principal actors in the reform process were the Speaker and the majority members of the Rules Committee, which, from 1885 to 1891 included the chairmen of the Committee on Ways and Means.

Beginning in 1858, the Speaker of the House had been appointed a member of the Rules Committee. The postwar proliferation of standing committees also increased the Speaker's power because of his continued control over committee assignments. By choosing his committee leaders wisely, the Speaker could acquire a group of faithful lieutenants to implement the policies of the majority party. This system made sense in principle, but the flow of legislation in practice was often interrupted by the obstructionist tactics of the minority.

In 1885, Speaker Carlisle appointed the chairmen of the Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Appropriations to become, with him, the three-man majority of the five-member Rules Committee. As a majority member on Rules, the chairman of Ways and Means was subsequently involved in the creation of important procedural precedents affecting the House as a whole. The Rules Committee was also authorized in 1883 to report special orders governing the consideration of other committees' bills. Special orders allowed the Rules Committee to set the time and method for consideration of a particular bill, but this power was not exploited until after Thomas Brackett Reed became Speaker in 1889.

The most notable example of the involvement in House operations of the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means was that of Republican William McKinley of Ohio. Along with Speaker Reed and Joseph B. Cannon of Illinois, McKinley assisted in mapping out a floor strategy in the Fifty-first Congress to eliminate some of the dilatory tactics that had long hindered the House's ability to enact the majority's legislative agenda. Reed masterminded these initiatives and employed his two colleagues on Rules as floor managers. A minority

A powerful orator and innovative Speaker of the House, Thomas Brackett Reed of Maine served as part of the three-man majority of the House Rules Committee along with the chairmen of Ways and Means and Appropriations. In the Fifty-first Congress (1889–1891), Reed threw the House into turmoil. He arbitrarily replaced the traditional "disappearing quorum" with the "counting quorum." Previously, a House member had to cast his vote to be considered present. A group of obstructionists, therefore, could withhold their ballots and halt progress on a bill due to lack of a quorum. The Speaker's bold action eliminated this ploy. In 1896, Reed lost the Republican presidential nomination to William McKinley, the man he had started on the road to the White House by his appointment to the chairmanship of Ways and Means. Reed himself served on the committee in five Congresses.

member of the Rules Committee could not expect to be consulted. As former minority member Benton McMillin (D-TN) recalled:

> The Speaker would send for me and say, "Well, Mac, Joe [Cannon] and McKinley and I have decided to perpetrate the following outrage, of which we all desire you to have full notice." Whereupon he would read and give me a copy of whatever special order had been adopted by the majority of the committee. . . . He never tried to catch us napping; but I can assure you that the Committee on Rules was never a debating society . . . .[61]

The most important Rules Committee campaign of this Congress was launched against the "disappearing quorum," a tactic traditionally used by the minority to obstruct the operations of the House. The House could not conduct its business without a quorum—50 percent of the membership plus one. Since absenteeism was high in this period, members of the minority party could delay House action by simply refusing to vote, thereby preventing a quorum. They would appear on the House floor when a quorum call was issued, but they would not answer—disappear—when the vote on the bill in question was taken.[62]

In 1890, Speaker Reed and his lieutenants on the Rules Committee decided to eliminate this obstacle to the majority's ability to legislate. Their opportunity came on a divided vote in a disputed West Virginia election. For three days, Reed, with able floor assistance provided by Cannon and McKinley, upheld the presence of a quorum by simply counting as present all members in the chamber, in spite of persistent efforts by the Democrats to obtain a point of order against the Speaker's actions. According to one reporter, the House was in a state of bedlam with "such disorder that many words of the participants could not be heard and chronicled by even the official stenographers on the floor, much less by those in the press gallery." [63] Eventually, Reed prevailed and the procedures for counting quorums were rewritten in the rules. Such reforms helped the House to operate more efficiently, and dramatically increased the power of the Speaker and the chairmen of the Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Appropriations in their roles as members of the Rules Committee.

Conclusion

With its jurisdiction reduced to revenue- and tariff-related areas, the Committee of Ways and Means helped to revise the Civil War income and inheritance taxes, which were ultimately repealed or allowed to expire in the 1870s. The committee's tariff legislation reflected the protectionist leanings of Congress. Democratic-inspired efforts to reduce the prevailing high tariff rates failed in the mid-70s and again in 1888. Republican protectionists quieted demands for more drastic revision in 1872 with a symbolic 10 percent reduction, but the party's Mongrel Tariff of 1883, which continued in effect for the remainder of the decade, was strongly protectionist.

Congress was the dominant branch of the federal government in the postwar period. Consequently, the House and the Senate, not the President and Congress, were the principal contestants in disputes over revenue. The Senate exercised a more active role in creating tax policy in the Gilded Age by not only amending House bills, which it had often done in the past, but also by originating entirely new revenue legislation in the form of amendments to often unrelated House revenue bills. While the House opposed this development as a violation of its constitutional prerogatives, it did not consistently curb Senate revenue initiatives during the 1870s and '80s. The content of revenue legislation, especially in the late 1880s, was dictated at times more by the Senate Finance Committee than by the Committee of Ways and Means.

Between 1865 and 1890, the House moved haltingly toward improved methods of administration and legislative procedure. Some changes, especially the evolution of routine legislative hearings, helped the Committee on Ways and Means to operate more efficiently, while rules reforms instituted in the 1880s reinforced the traditional role of the committee's chairman as a party leader. In addition to strengthening the ability of the majority party to govern, these procedural revisions spurred opposition from those who feared that concentrating power in the Speaker and the majority leadership would infringe upon the rights of the minority. These concerns increased during the 1890s, and set the stage for further reforms in the Progressive Era.

* * *

1890 ★ 1933

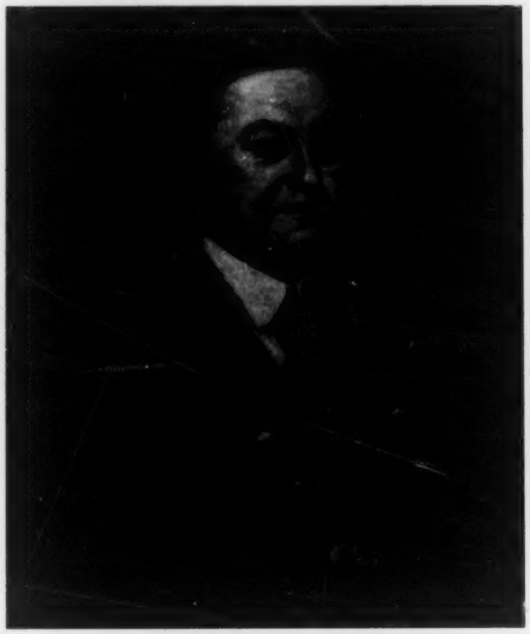
Reform and Revenue

Between 1890 and 1933, the Committee on Ways and Means was most continuously involved with the tariff, producing seven major tariff statutes during the period. In 1910, the committee's power was enhanced by reforms in the Democratic Party's procedures for selecting members to standing committees. Under these reforms, Democratic members of the Committee on Ways and Means would serve as the party's Committee on Committees to make House standing committee assignments. The chairmanship of the committee as an instrument of party leadership was also enhanced, reaching its peak during the tenure of Oscar W. Underwood (1911-1915). Underwood served both as floor leader and, by virtue of his position as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, as chairman of the Democratic Committee on Committees, emerging as the most powerful figure in the House of Representatives. In this period, the Committee on Ways and Means also drafted revenue measures to finance two wars—the Spanish-American War and World War I—and presided over the institution of corporate and personal income taxes in 1913.

"This is not a battle over percentages, over this or that tariff schedule; it is a battle for human freedom." (William L. Wilson, 1894)[1]

The period from 1890 to 1915 was an era in our nation's history in which reformers attacked privilege and autocracy. This reform impulse was first manifested against the existence of trusts and high tariffs in the business community, and later burgeoned into a comprehensive reform movement known as Progressivism. Changes were also wrought in Congress when a group of representatives rebelled against the Speaker's rigid control over the legislative process that had existed since the early 1880s. In different ways, both factors enhanced the position of the Committee on Ways and Means. The importance of tariff reform focused attention upon the committee, and congressional reform strengthened its leadership role.

The congressional revolt against Speaker Joseph Cannon in 1910 was engineered by a group of Insurgent Republicans and members of the Democratic Party. Its most significant result was to bar the Speaker from membership on the important Rules Committee and to divest him of the power to appoint that committee's members. When the Democrats gained a majority in 1911, the party caucus transferred authority over all committee assignments to a Committee on Committees composed of the Democratic members of the Committee on



As chairman of Ways and Means, Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama was one of the most powerful members of the House. By virtue of his chairmanship, he also served as Democratic majority leader and chaired the Democratic Committee on Committees, a body of fellow Ways and Means party members who controlled committee appointments. Thus in the Sixty-second and Sixty-third Congresses he governed the flow of all legislation, not just revenue bills. In 1913, he introduced the Underwood Tariff. The reform bill broke 52 years of Republican protectionism and provided for the first federal income tax levied under the newly ratified 16th Amendment.

Ways and Means and chaired by that committee's chairman. Because the majority floor leader typically chaired the Committee on Ways and Means, the control over assignments remained in the party leadership's hands, not solely in those of the Speaker. Accordingly, the real power in the House during the Sixty-second and Sixty-third Congresses (1911–1915) was Committee on Ways and Means Chairman Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama. Although the caucus also adopted a rule prohibiting members from serving on more than one of the 14 major House committees, Underwood and his Democratic colleagues were able to influence the Rules Committee's composition through a high turnover rate of appointments.

The Republicans created a separate party Committee on Committees to determine House committee assignments in 1917. The party caucus dictated that the floor leader could no longer chair a legislative committee—in effect severing the connection with the chairmanship of the Committee on Ways and Means—and that no committee chairman could sit on the Rules Committee. The Democrats soon adopted similar rules, and by the 1920s both parties applied the seniority principle with greater regularity. Both parties also designated the Committee on Ways and Means (along with the Committee on Appropriations and the Rules Committee) as an exclusive committee, whose members were prevented from serving on any other committee. These changes permitted committee chairs once again to become independent of the Speaker's control, if not quite the baronial masters of independent fiefdoms described by Woodrow Wilson in 1885.

The Committee and the House, 1890–1930

The process of modernization begun in the post-Civil War Congress accelerated between 1890 and 1930. The history of the House of Representatives was characterized in these four decades by three important developments: 1) the evolution of a formal leadership structure, 2) the decline of the Speaker's discretionary power to make standing committee appointments, and 3) the gradual emergence of seniority as the sole criteria guiding standing committee appointments. These developments shifted the focus of power and influence from the Speaker, who had emerged in the post-Civil War Congresses as the dominant figure in the House, to the party leadership. In 1910, the role of the Committee on Ways and Means as an instrument of party leadership was bolstered by reforms in existing procedures for committee assignments. Subsequently, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means would become a key player in the House's leadership structure by virtue not only of his continuing role as floor leader, but also because of his new role in the committee selection process.

The political and legislative influence of the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means was institutionalized during the chairmanship of Oscar W. Underwood (1911–1915). The Alabama Democrat not only chaired the committee, but he also served simultaneously as majority leader and chairman of the Democratic Committee on Committees. Underwood used these three roles to influence all legislation, not just revenue bills.

Underwood was confirmed as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means by the party caucus in January 1911. When asked by a reporter if he thought his position was more important than Speaker Champ Clark's, he succinctly replied, "It is." [2] As chairman of the party's Committee on Committees, he assigned committee posts with diplomacy and tact. He kept a large map on the wall of his office marked with the congressional districts in order to maintain some sectional balance in his selections, although he most often chose chairmen on the basis of seniority. Underwood also opposed the interference of the party's titular leader, three-time presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan. Representative Ollie James (D-KY), a friend of Bryan's, suggested that the Nebraska orator and former member of the Committee on Ways and Means be allowed to sit in on the committee's organizational meetings, but Underwood succeeded in defeating the resolution.

Underwood proved to be an aggressive majority leader. Although he was not a member of the Rules Committee, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means was able to influence the other committee's composition through his power over assignments. Moreover, Underwood remained on good terms with the Rules Committee's chairman, Robert L. Henry (D-TX). As floor leader, Underwood also used the Rules Committee in tandem with the party caucus to schedule the legislative agenda of the majority party. In fact, the party caucus was the real key to Underwood's power. No Democratic-controlled committee could report a bill without caucus approval. The Alabama congressman encouraged spirited debate in caucus and a united front once a decision had been reached by a two-thirds majority. Furthermore, all Democrats were pledged to support bills from his Committee on Ways and Means. Although the party caucus did not always follow Underwood's lead, it did often enough that complaints of Cannonism were replaced with references to Underwoodism. Subsequent chairmen lacked the influence of Underwood. In the 1920s, party caucus rules prohibited the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means from also serving as House majority leader. Democratic chairmen of the Committee on Ways and Means continued to chair their party's Committee on Committees, but they had to share leadership with the majority leader and the Speaker.

The Committee on Ways and Means assumed much of its modern shape and function during this period. At the beginning of the Fifty-second Congress (1891–1893) the committee consisted of 15 members, ten from the majority party and five from the minority. As the technical complexity of issues increased and as the overall size of the House grew from 325 in 1890 to 435 in 1930, the committee slowly expanded in size. Nineteen members (12 majority, seven minority) were appointed to the committee for the Sixtieth Congress (1907–1909). The committee was expanded to 25 members in the Sixty-sixth Congress (1919–1921). The committee remained at this number until it was increased to 37 members in the Ninety-fourth Congress (1975–1977). During the 1920s, the 25 members were normally divided into 15 from the majority and ten from the minority, except for the Sixty-seventh Congress, when the split was 17–8.[3]

The selection of chairmen of the Committee on Ways and Means increasingly corresponded to the seniority principle in this period, whereby the majority member with the longest consecutive service on the committee was named chairman. Seniority governed virtually three-quarters of all chair appointments by the turn of the century, and by the 1920s it was dictating practically all appointments to House standing committees. At the beginning of this period, the runner-up in the party caucus for the speakership was named floor leader and chair of the Committee on Ways and Means. Two exceptions were the selections of William Springer (D-IL) in 1891 and Claude Kitchin (D-NC) in 1915. Speaker Charles F. Crisp bypassed his rival in the caucus, and the former chairman of the committee, Roger Q. Mills, to name Springer, who was more sympathetic to the Speaker's policies, and who had bartered his support for Crisp in return for the chairmanship. Such a departure from seniority was not uncommon in 1891, but it was much more unusual in 1915 when Speaker Champ

CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
1890–1933

William McKinley (R-OH)	Fifty-first Congress, 1889–1891
William M. Springer (D-IL)	Fifty-second Congress, 1891–1893
William L. Wilson (D-WV)	Fifty-third Congress, 1893–1895
Nelson Dingley, Jr. (R-ME)[1]	Fifty-fourth–Fifty-fifth Congresses, 1895–1899
Sereno E. Payne (R-NY)	Fifty-sixth–Sixty-first Congresses, 1899–1911
Oscar W. Underwood (D-AL)	Sixty-second–Sixty-third Congresses, 1911–1915
Claude Kitchin (D-NC)	Sixty-fourth–Sixty-fifth Congresses, 1915–1919
Joseph W. Fordney (R-MI)	Sixty-sixth–Sixty-seventh Congresses, 1919–1923
William R. Green (R-IA)[2]	Sixty-eighth–Seventieth Congresses, 1923–1928
Willis C. Hawley (R-OR)	Seventy-first Congress, 1929–1931
James W. Collier (D-MS)	Seventy-second Congress, 1931–1933

[1] Dingley died January 13, 1899, in the third session of the Fifty-fifth Congress. Payne served out the remainder of the session until March 3, 1899.

[2] Green resigned from Congress on March 31, 1928, just prior to the conclusion of the first session of the Seventieth Congress. Hawley served as chairman for the second session.

Clark bypassed ranking member Dorsey Shackleford to choose Kitchin, who was considered more fit for the post of majority leader that accompanied the chairmanship of Ways and Means.

Seniority was a sign of the maturation of the House as an institution. As congressional service came to be seen as an end in itself—a career—congressmen came to expect rewards and promotions on the basis of prior service. In part, seniority also came to be the rule in the selection of chairmen, because demonstrated interest and ability in the subject area increasingly became the key criteria governing the appointment of rank and file members, whether nominated by the Speaker or chosen by the Committee on Committees of either party. This was perhaps more true of the Committee on Ways and Means than other committees. Years of service were needed to gain mastery over the technical details of tariff and revenue issues. The men chosen to chair this committee from 1890 to 1930 were often characterized as experts in the field. Dingley, Payne, Underwood, and Fordney were particularly noted for their command of detailed statistical material. Since the committee's primary jurisdiction remained tariff and revenue issues following the creation of the Committee on Appropriations in 1865, this knowledge of complex revenue data provided the chairmen with distinct advantages in leading committee deliberations on its bills and their subsequent consideration by the House.

The criteria for rank and file appointments to the Committee on Ways and Means remained the same, whether the choices were made by the Speaker (before 1911) or by the Committee on Committees of each party. Those who had served an apprenticeship in Congress, performed other assigned committee tasks with diligence, and who were sound on party policy tended to be favored. Prior congressional service became a far more important criterion in this period. Before the Civil War, the appointment of first-term members had not been uncommon. Forty-six freshmen members were appointed between 1820 and 1865 alone, and ten between 1865 and 1900. None were named between 1900 and 1920, however, and only two freshmen—one a replacement member—were named in the 1920s. The fact that the overwhelming number of new members were in their second, third, or fourth term meant that appointments were reserved for those who had demonstrated legislative competence and party loyalty.

Seniority also provided a remarkable degree of continuity to the committee's membership. In the 1870s, for example, slightly less than half (49.6 percent) of the members of the Committee on Ways and Means carried over from one Congress to the next. In the 1880s, this figure only rose to slightly over half (55.5 percent). Yet, from 1890 through 1930, the percentage of continuity never dropped below 65 percent, and reached a high of 87.6 percent for the 1920s. This increased stability was even more significant in view of the fact that party control of the committee changed hands five times in this period.[4]

The increasing stability of membership as well as the expanded size of the committee made it possible to divide the workload and to provide for specialization of function. Subcommittees were perhaps the most notable sign of increasing specialization within the committee. Although no evidence suggests the existence of a permanent subcommittee system in this period, the committee continued and expanded upon the previous practice of utilizing select subcommittees. On August 30, 1893, for example, the committee adopted a resolution stating that it was authorized to "conduct any inquiries relating to the subjects under its jurisdiction, by sub-committees or otherwise, that it might deem necessary." The resolution specifically addressed subcommittees for the task of tariff revision, since the previous week the committee had authorized Chairman William Wilson (D-WV) to appoint "the usual subcommittees."

Turn-of-the-century swivel chairs denote the 17 members who once pulled up to this table in the Ways and Means Committee Room, as it looked around 1905. The chamber, now designated H209, stands on the principal floor of the House wing in the Capitol. From 1870 to 1908, the room served as the office of the Ways and Means chairman. Members of the committee would retire to this sanctuary to deliberate away from the commotion of public crowds in the hallways of the Capitol. Floral medallions and classical motifs embellish panels in each corner of the room; lavish shields, emblems, cornucopia, and other decorative designs adorn the ceilings. Today, H209 and the adjoining room are used by the Speaker of the House.

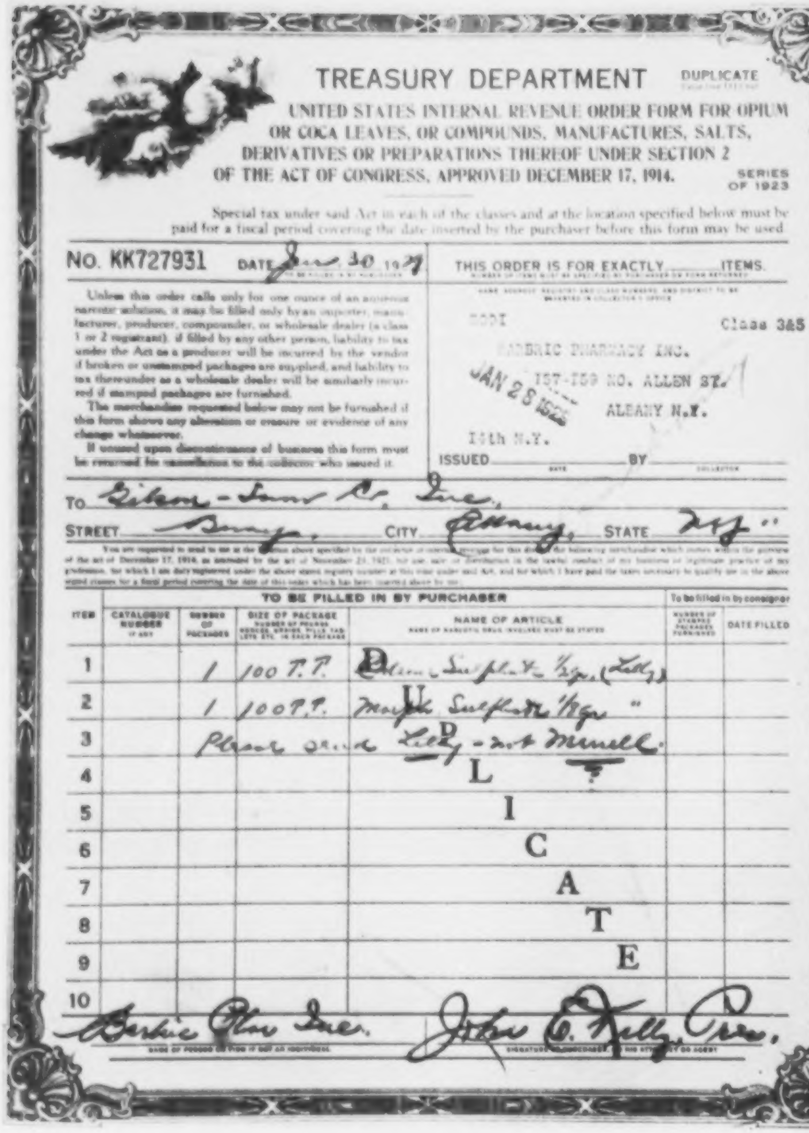
On August 29, the chairman had announced the lists for subcommittees on customs, internal revenue, administration of customs laws, the public debt, and reciprocity and commercial treaties—which, by that time, evidently were the usual subcommittees. Each panel consisted of five members, three Democrats and two Republicans. When the committee actually drafted controversial legislation, such as tariffs, the majority party members often met as a caucus. Chairman Wilson, for example, called the entire committee together on November 27, 1893, to announce, according to the committee minutes, "the placing of the tariff bill, just completed by the majority, before the minority." [5] The growth of specialization was indicated in 1913 when the Committee on Ways and Means divided into 17 subcommittees to draft the schedules of the Underwood tariff bill.

The practice of holding hearings to solicit information on revenue and other topics also expanded during this period. Chairman McKinley in 1890 and Chairman Wilson in 1893 made quite an issue out of holding open public hearings to avoid the criticism caused by the closed hearings held for the Mills bill in 1888. These public hearings were mainly exercises in public relations; Wilson actually held secret sessions to draft his tariff bill. If hearings became routine, they were dispensed with in times of emergency. Chairman Kitchin, for example, held no hearings to draft the Revenue Act of 1917, citing the emergency of the war.

Though members might complain that hearings were simply the "usual rubbish," they did fulfill two necessary goals. Hearings offered groups affected by revenue bills the opportunity to state their cases, and the hearings also helped to provide the committee with needed information, though in many instances it was more information than any committee could digest. The Progressive Era's emphasis upon rational and scientific planning contributed to the usefulness of the data supplied through the hearings. The expert advice of Treasury Department officials, the staff of the Tariff Commission, and scholars in the fields of economics and political economy provided a solid base of information.

By 1930, tariff hearings procedure had settled into a routine pattern, as exemplified by those held between January 7, 1929, and February 27, 1929. The committee, chaired by Willis C. Hawley (R-OR), organized and conducted the hearings on a schedule-by-schedule basis. On December 5, 1928, the committee gave public notice of its intention to hold hearings on the tariff. The public notice specified the time and place of the hearings and informed interested parties of the procedure to be followed in applying to testify, as well as the prescribed form in filing briefs. The committee made no effort to circulate the notice among those who might be affected by tariff revision, nor did it attempt to screen the applicants. As a result, more than 1,100 persons sought a hearing before the Committee on Ways and Means, creating over 11,000 pages of testimony and briefs taken in 43 days and five nights.[6]

The chairman and the members expedited the hearings by proceeding methodically, paragraph by paragraph, through the schedules, and by minimizing irrelevant questions and answers. Chairman Hawley interrupted questioners and witnesses alike to remind them to keep to the point. "I do not think we can go into a discussion of tariff principles at this time," he observed. "We have 288 witnesses [yet to hear]." [7] The chairman indeed made frequent computations of the number of witnesses to speed up the proceedings. "We have spent an hour and a half on eight witnesses," Hawley observed on one occasion. "We have 19 more to hear. At this rate we will not get through until midnight." When his patience wore thin, he was more direct: "Hurry it up, and get right down to the point. Do not drift about. What is it?" [8] In spite of Hawley's efforts and the rule of relevancy, the hearings took whatever direction the witnesses wished. Questions were gentle, more like bargaining between equals, and little effort was



TREASURY DEPARTMENT

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SERIES OF 1923

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1		1	100 T.T.	Heroin Sulphate 1/12 gr. (Lilly)		
2		1	100 T.T.	Morphine Sulphate 1/4 gr. "		
3		Please send		Lilly – not Merrell.		
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DUPLICATE

Beric Pharmacy Inc. John E. Kelly, Pres.

In 1914, the passage of the Harrison Narcotic Drug Act required importers, manufacturers, and dealers in narcotic drugs to fill out this Internal Revenue form before they could order, sell, or transfer their merchandise. The legislation evolved from the alarm sounded by scientists and physicians who saw a link between the easy flow of unregulated opium and cocaine and the rising crime wave in America. Ways and Means held hearings on the drug issue, since the proposed legislation to outlaw nonmedical use of opium and its derivatives contained a revenue provision. Chairman Underwood later voiced his regret for supporting the measure. Once the Harrison Act labeled drugs criminal, he claimed, the outlawed substances became major items of commerce for the underworld.

made at uniformity. Finally, the committee urged witnesses to file briefs in lieu of oral testimony. Many witnesses feared that their briefs would not be read and insisted upon a hearing.

As a result of the need to expedite the proceedings, an average of one witness was heard every 12 minutes, with 48 pages of testimony taken every hour. The committee's clerk and two assistants accorded some organizational help, as did experts from the Tariff Commission, but the committee was handicapped by the haste with which the hearings had to be administered. The Tariff Commission assigned its experts to assist the committee's members with the technical language of tariff legislation and jurisprudence, as well as to help analyze the statistical information the commission had collected. This expert advice helped, but it is understandable that one contemporary student of congressional procedure concluded that the hearings demonstrated that Congress had become "a great, sluggish court of review," overwhelmed by "the mass of microscopic material which it is powerless to survey." [9] The primary function performed by hearings was political. They allowed a semblance of access to concerned individuals and groups. Hearings also afforded publicity to controversial topics.

Through its revenue jurisdiction and hearings procedure, the committee became involved in two particularly controversial social issues in this period—the legislative movements to regulate the narcotics trade through taxation and to remove tariff restrictions on the importation of birth control devices. The movement to control narcotics was one of many efforts to purify American society in the Progressive Era. Opium, the most prevalent narcotic drug before the turn of the century, was easily available as a pain reliever and relaxant. Only after heroin and cocaine became more widely used in the early 1900s did the identification of drug use with criminality and sexual deviancy develop. In 1910, David Foster (R-VT), chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, introduced three measures to eliminate the nonmedical use of narcotics. Together, the bills amended previous legislation prohibiting the importation and use of opium and other narcotics for nonmedical use by imposing taxes and new regulations on their manufacture and distribution. Because the bills were revenue measures, they were referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. The committee held hearings at which Dr. Hamilton Wright, the leading opponent of the international drug trade, linked drugs with crime and sex.[10] Although the Foster measure died, the Democratic Sixty-third Congress passed an antidrug bill in 1914. The Wilson Administration and Majority Leader Underwood supported passage of the Harrison Anti-Narcotics Act to regulate the sale of opium. All persons engaged in the importation, manufacture, or sale of narcotics were required to register and to pay an occupational tax as well as a commodity tax on drugs imported or manufactured in the United States.

Although Underwood supported the Harrison Act, he later regretted having forced the drug market into the criminal underworld. One dealer, he observed, could hide thousands of dollars worth of drugs under his coat to sell to children on the street.[11] The alarming criminal trade in narcotics prompted the committee to take action again in 1922. The federal grand jury of Seattle, Washington, warned the committee that "immediate action" was necessary "to suppress a rapidly growing evil that would quickly undermine the manhood and womanhood of America." [12] The Commonwealth of Massachusetts likewise asked for the committee's help, since the state was unable to

PARTY RATIOS IN THE COMMITTEE AND THE HOUSE 1890–1933

CONGRESS	COMMITTEE	HOUSE	PRESIDENT
Fifty-first (1889–1891)	8 R–5 D	166 R–159 D	Harrison, B. (R)
Fifty-second (1891–1893)	10 D–5 R	235 D–88 R [9]	
Fifty-third (1893–1895)	11 D–6 R	218 D–127 R [11]	Cleveland (D)
Fifty-fourth (1895–1897)	11 R–5 D	244 D–105 D [7]	
Fifty-fifth (1897–1899)	11 R–6 D	204 R–113 D [40]	McKinley (R)
Fifty-sixth (1899–1901)	10 R–6 D	185 R–163 D [9]	
Fifty-seventh (1901–1903)	11 R–6 D	197 R–151 D [9]	Roosevelt, T. (R)
Fifty-eighth (1903–1905)	11 R–6 D	208 R–178 D	
Fifty-ninth (1905–1907)	12 R–6 D	250 R–136 D	
Sixtieth (1907–1909)	12 R–7 D	222 R–164 D	
Sixty-first (1909–1911)	12 R–7 D	219 R–172 D	Taft (R)
Sixty-second (1911–1913)	14 D–7 R	228 D–161 R [1]	
Sixty-third (1913–1915)	15 D–7 R	291 D–127 R [17]	Wilson (D)
Sixty-fourth (1915–1917)	14 D–8 R	230 D–196 R [9]	
Sixty-fifth (1917–1919)	13 D–10 R	216 D–210 R [6]	
Sixty-sixth (1919–1921)	15 R–10 D	240 R–190 D [3]	
Sixty-seventh (1921–1923)	17 R–8 D	301 R–131 D [1]	Harding (R)
Sixty-eighth (1923–1925)	15 R–10 D	225 R–205 D [5]	Coolidge (R)
Sixty-ninth (1925–1927)	15 R–10 D	247 R–183 D [4]	
Seventieth (1927–1929)	15 R–10 D	237 R–195 D [3]	
Seventy-first (1929–1931)	15 R–10 D	267 R–167 D [1]	Hoover (R)
Seventy-second (1931–1933)	15 D–10 R	220 D–214 R [1]	

R—Republican D—Democrat

[Numbers in brackets refer to independents or members of third parties.]

curb the drug trade "without further assistance from the Federal Government." [13] The resulting Narcotic Drugs Import and Export Act of 1922 authorized the Commissioner on Narcotics to determine the legitimate levels of imports needed for medical and scientific purposes, and prohibited all other imports, especially of opium that could be used for smoking or for the manufacture of heroin. Tougher Treasury Department regulations, however, provided greater controls on illegal drug trafficking.[14]

Although all legislative efforts to legalize the distribution of birth control information and devices failed during this period, the hearings given to the subject provided a national forum for a controversial issue. Margaret Sanger, the President of the American Birth Control League, attempted to attract congressional support in the early 1930s for the repeal of the federal Comstock Law, which prohibited the mailing, interstate transportation, and importation of contraceptive materials and information. Sanger's efforts, however, were handicapped by her political inexperience and her self-righteous faith in the cause. The first congressional sponsor of birth control legislation was Senator Frederick H. Gillett (R-MA), who in 1930 was completing his first term in the Senate. Although he had served with distinction for 16 terms in the House, including three as Speaker, he was a lame-duck Senator without power or influence.

In the Democratic Seventy-second Congress, the bill was sponsored in the House by a second-term member, Franklin H. Hancock (D-NC), who provided little support when he commented that he had no definite opinion on its merits. Since the bill was written as an amendment to the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930 to permit the importation of birth control devices and information, the measure was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, where Congressman John W. McCormack (D-MA) prevailed upon the committee not to hold hearings. Sanger's outraged followers inundated the committee with appeals to grant them a hearing.[15] The letters came from sources as widely varied as two poor black women in Pennsylvania and historian Will Durant, who informed the committee that the current laws "decree that America shall be peopled hereafter almost exclusively by those families that are lacking in prudence, and that have neither the ability nor the means to transmit our cultural heritage." Many of the letters questioned the opposition of McCormack and the Catholic Church on religious grounds. Adele A. S. Brown, a New York City social worker, wrote, ". . . being a perfectly good Presbyterian, I object to the *damn* Catholic opponents being able to get their way. . . . Yet, they, the Catholics, are the people bringing the high number of *undesirable* citizens into the United States." [16]

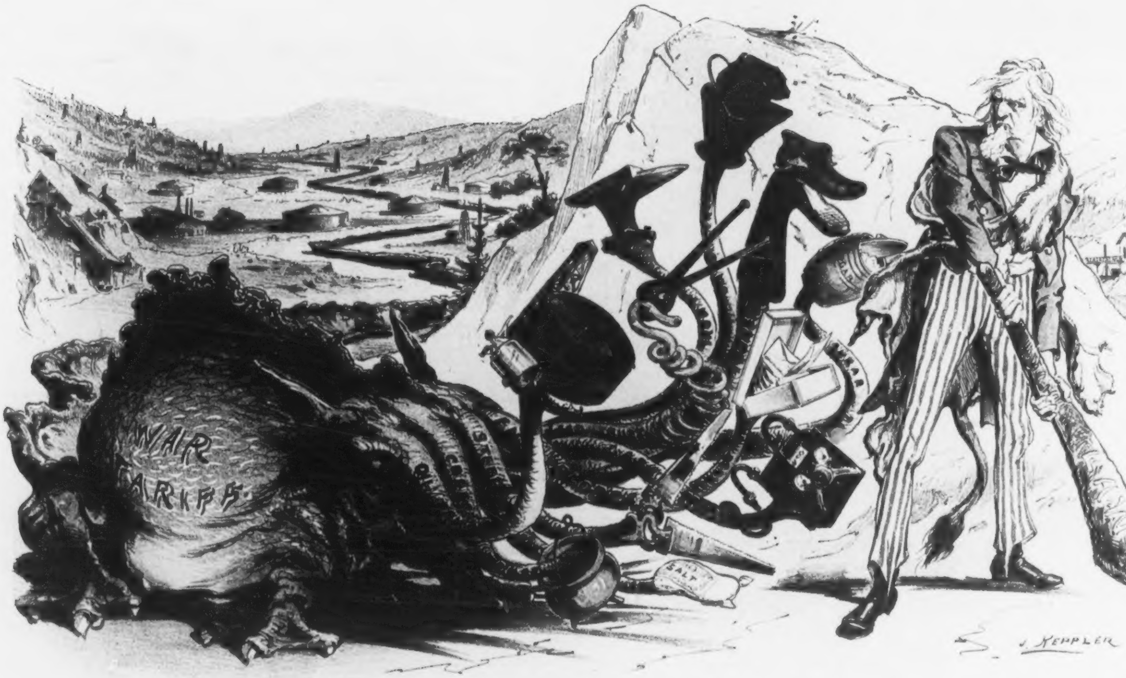
When the committee bowed to public pressure and held hearings on the Hancock bill in 1932, the testimony was notable only for McCormack's clashes with witnesses he found hostile to the Catholic

Church. The bill died in committee, as did a similar measure in the Senate. Federal restrictions on birth control were not officially eased until after a Supreme Court decision in 1936 removed the final obstacles to the dissemination of contraceptive information and devices through physicians.[17]

For its many duties connected with hearings, the committee's staff remained small—a clerk and two assistants. The staff arranged hearings, processed applications, transcribed testimony, and filed briefs and relevant correspondence. The staff also maintained a library for the members consisting of a complete set of the *Congressional Globe* and *Congressional Record*, as well as *U.S. Statutes at Large* and other books pertinent to the committee's work. One retiring clerk, Kuter W. Springer, reported to the committee in 1893 that he had found the library in a sad state due to "the borrowing of books and failure to return them." He had replaced missing volumes at his own expense and had filled in the remainder of the shelves with "dummy" books turned upside down "to prevent confusion." Like all good librarians, he had stamped the books on both covers and inside and out with the committee's imprint. The clerk had also collected some 1,200 to 1,500 items from the previous summer's Columbian World's Exposition in Chicago to assist the committee in its tariff considerations. The committee accepted the clerk's final report and tendered its appreciation "for his care of and interest in the work of the committee." [18]

The committee was more open to executive branch policy initiatives in this period than it had been during the post-Civil War period of congressional government. The Wilson bill in 1894 reflected President Grover Cleveland's initiative in tariff reform. President McKinley likewise called a special session of Congress to revise the tariff in 1897, and restored presidential leadership in the process. President Woodrow Wilson, who viewed himself as the leader of his party in Congress, directly influenced the Underwood Tariff and the War Revenue Acts. The Committee on Ways and Means maintained legislative autonomy by rejecting executive recommendations on several occasions. The committee refused to include Taft's request for a corporate income tax provision in the Payne tariff bill, and Kitchin raised the rates of the excess profits tax requested by Wilson. In the 1920s, Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon provided the policy initiatives, but the committee exceeded even his requests for tax reduction.

This period also brought some semblance of order to the committee's relationship with the Senate, but one that was not particularly welcome to supporters of the House's prerogative to originate revenue bills. The late-19th-century dominance of the Senate continued well into the 20th century, which can be seen in the fate of the committee's tariff bills. The Senate Finance Committee freely used the amending process to alter House bills beyond recognition. As examples, 496 amendments were made to the McKinley bill, 634 to the



A HYDRA THAT MUST BE CRUSHED—AND THE SOONER THE BETTER

Wilson bill, 872 to the Dingley bill, and 847 to the Payne bill. The Senate Finance Committee even met in 1897 to draft a tariff bill before Congress convened and the House had considered the Dingley bill. The Senate tended to be dominated by protectionists, such as Aldrich and Gorman, who raised the tariff schedules in House bills. The routine situation was that described by one student of Congress in 1912: "The Senate committee of finance by its hearings and deliberations has acquired as important a position in tariff legislation as the House committee on ways and means." [19]

The conference committee was the final battleground for revenue bills. The House contingent in conference was usually led by the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means and often included other key committee members. During the 1890s, the Senate prevailed most often in conference. Some 272 of the 496 Senate amendments to the McKinley tariff bill were accepted in conference, as were four-fifths of the 872 amendments to the Dingley tariff in 1897. An observer in the second decade of the 20th century concluded: "[the conference committee] has of late years been the place for the actual conflict of forces; theoretically it considers only points of disagreements; in practice it strikes out some non-conscientious matter and inserts new quarrels. Hence the bill, when it once more comes to the House . . . represents no harmonious principle." [20]

A beleaguered Uncle Sam battles the tentacles of trusts and big business that stem from the body of protectionist tariff policies in force since the Civil War. This cartoon appearing in Puck *magazine underscores the complex tariff issues that confronted Ways and Means from the McKinley Tariff of 1890 to the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930. During this period, progressives of both parties vainly attacked protectionism (with the single exception of the Underwood Tariff in 1913). They argued that high duties benefited such trusts as copper, oil, steel, and rubber at the expense of the consumer.*

Revenue Policy, 1890–1930

The 19th-century American economy was characterized by boom-and-bust cycles. Eras of prosperity were periodically interrupted by panics and depressions—in 1819, 1837, 1857, 1873, and 1893. The Republican Party traditionally argued that high protective tariffs were necessary for continued prosperity. High tariffs, they reasoned, protected American labor from cheaper foreign competition and also kept farm prices high to benefit agriculture. The party's protectionist policy during the Civil War sanctified and legitimized high tariffs. The party responded to opposition by altering specific methods and by tinkering with rates on various commodities, but it never abandoned the principle of protectionism.

The Democratic Party in the late 19th century developed a free-trade philosophy associated with President Cleveland and chairmen of the Committee on Ways and Means, Roger Q. Mills, William Morrison, and William L. Wilson. They argued that a lowered tariff, along with the free coinage of silver and the issuance of greenbacks, would eliminate the boom-and-bust cycles. Their tariff policy, while not strictly free trade, envisioned a tariff rate low enough to provide both revenue and mild protection to American business. The Democratic Party also contained a group of high-tariff leaders, such as Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania and Arthur Pue Gorman of Maryland, who frustrated the tariff reform efforts of the 1880s and 1890s. By the turn of the century, no real reform effort in Congress had succeeded. Economic historians have found no evidence to suggest that high or low rates had a great impact upon economic conditions. The tariff debate was more "an exercise in political rhetoric and partisan faith" than anything else.[21]

With the return of prosperity, the tariff debate focused upon who profited most from protectionism. Progressives of both parties argued that high tariffs benefited the trusts and big business more than consumers. The tariff, they argued, was a regressive tax upon basic commodities that took proportionately more from those least able to pay. Reformers within each party called for tariff reform, though they used different terminology and methods. Republicans recommended that customs duties equalize the differences between the cost of production at home versus overseas costs so that domestic and foreign goods could compete on an equal basis. The competitive tariff advocated by Democratic reformers was essentially the same concept in different rhetorical garb. The Republican effort at tariff reform, the Payne-Aldrich Act of 1907, was blocked by traditional protectionist Republicans in the Senate.

The Payne-Aldrich Act did contain a provision calling for an income tax. Since the tariff provided most of the federal revenue, no real reduction was possible without an alternative source of funds.

"The foremost champion of protection" is William McKinley reported the press in 1894. The congenial Republican replaced fellow Ohioan James Garfield on Ways and Means in 1880. Nine years later, losing a race for the Speaker's job, he took over Ways and Means and authored a new tariff bill. The McKinley Tariff of 1890 inaugurated the highest protectionist rates in history to that time. It also included America's first tariff reciprocity provision. Voters upset over the high tariff turned McKinley out of Congress. After serving as governor of Ohio, McKinley was brought back to national office in 1897 as the 25th President.

The Democratic reform effort, in the form of the Underwood Tariff of 1913, accomplished a major reduction in customs duties and the institution of a tax on personal and corporate income.

Republican majorities in the 1920s returned to the protectionist principle with the Fordney-McCumber and Smoot-Hawley Tariffs. The tariff controversy in this decade centered on the issue of reciprocity initially raised in the McKinley Tariff of 1890. Republican isolationists in the 1920s were unwilling to acknowledge the effects of tariff policy on international trade. Rather, they constructed a high tariff barrier around the United States in an effort to insulate the nation from international economic conditions.

The tariff had become an ever more time-consuming and technical issue by the end of the 1920s. As the number of items covered by import duties multiplied, the amount of legislative work mushroomed. For example, the Tariff of 1816, the first protective tariff, had only covered four-and-a-half pages in the statute book. The Morrill Tariff of 1861 had increased to 20 pages, but even it was dwarfed by the expansion between 1890 and 1930. The McKinley Tariff of 1890 consisted of 50 pages; the Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909 covered 100 pages; and the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930 was over 190 pages long. The sheer volume of tariff legislation became a major impetus for the adoption of the reciprocity principle, whereby tariff rates would be determined through agreements negotiated by the executive branch. Secretary of State James G. Blaine had first suggested reciprocity in the 1880s, and a few experiments were subsequently made with American possessions such as Hawaii and the Philippines as well as with Latin American countries, but reciprocity did not fully succeed until it was adopted during the New Deal in the 1930s.

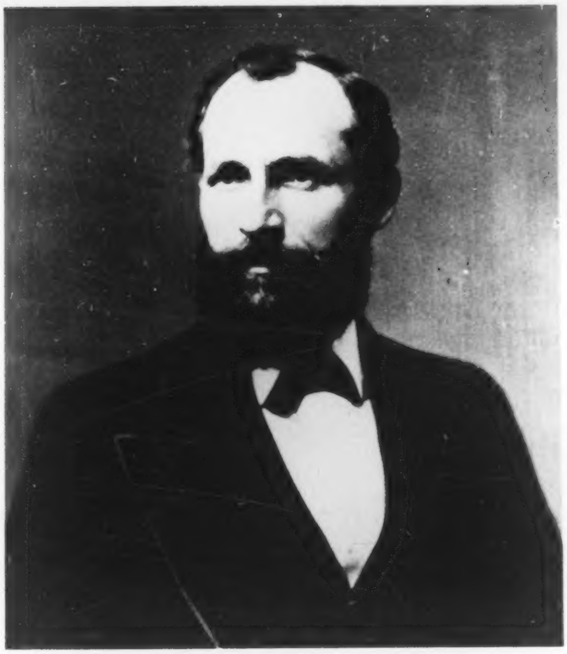
The Committee on Ways and Means and the McKinley Tariff of 1890

When William McKinley (R-OH) was named chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means by Speaker Thomas Brackett Reed on December 9, 1889, the future 25th President of the United States had already developed a reputation as a strong protectionist. During debate in the previous Congress on the Mills bill, McKinley had argued that a protective tariff was a righteous patriotic duty. "Let England take care of herself," he declared, ". . . but in God's name let Americans look after America." [22] The chairman's popularity and political influence were evident when he lost the party caucus contest for the speakership by a single vote to Reed. The brilliant and sarcastic new Speaker then rewarded his colleague with a seat on the important Rules Committee, as well as the chairmanship of the prestigious Committee on Ways and Means. Included among the Republican majority of the 13-member committee were future chairmen Nelson Dingley of Maine and Sereno E. Payne of New York. Democratic members were led by the able John G. Carlisle of Kentucky, former Chairman Roger Q. Mills, and Benton McMillin of Tennessee.

President Benjamin Harrison's first annual message to Congress in December 1889 recommended tariff revision, but once again the real impetus came from Congress. The process of creating the McKinley Tariff followed the familiar pattern of tariff legislation in the late 19th century. Originating in the Committee on Ways and Means, the bill was substantially altered by the Senate Finance Committee before a conference committee resolved differences between the two versions. Though known as the McKinley Tariff, the final bill was quite different from the one recommended by the Ohio congressman.

The McKinley committee's first venture into tariff revision in 1890 came with the drafting of a bill to reform customs administration. The bill, signed into law on June 10, 1890, created a Board of General Appraisers to determine a more uniform valuation of goods at different ports. One principal object of the law was to create a means to protect the government from having to refund large sums declared to have been collected illegally.[23]

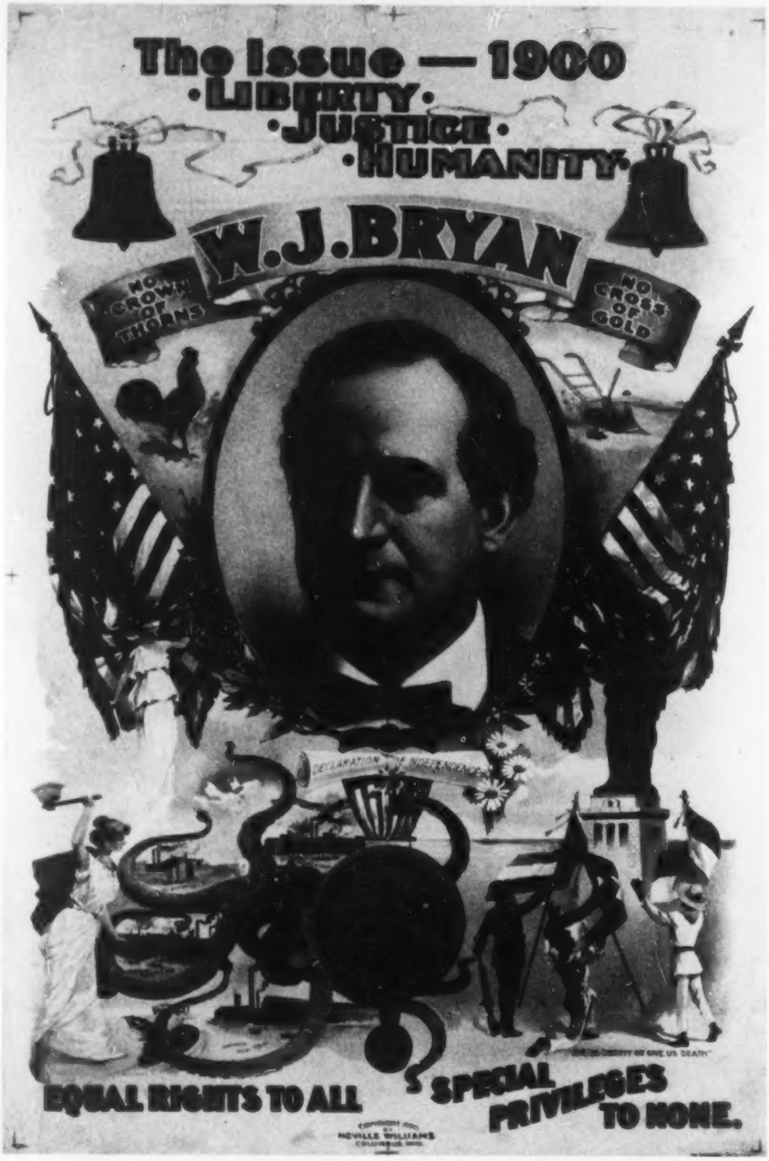
The committee held extensive public hearings on tariff revision. McKinley and his fellow Republicans had criticized the previous



Affable but uninspiring, Democrat William M. Springer of Illinois gained the chairmanship of Ways and Means in 1891 as a prize for helping House member Charles F. Crisp win the election for Speaker. Springer pushed through several minor tariff revisions during the Fifty-seventh Congress, but overall, his preoccupation with parliamentary rules and procedures of debate rather than with the issues irritated many of his colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

Democratic committee chaired by Mills for holding secret tariff hearings in the Fiftieth Congress, and they were anxious to avoid similar complaints. They were of course unsuccessful, but one Democratic member of the committee did admit that "I do not know of a single manufacturer or laborer who desired to be heard that has not been accorded a full and free hearing." [24] The chairman reported the committee's bill on April 16, 1890. It passed the House on May 21 by a vote along party lines of 164–142. The Senate, whose Finance Committee was chaired by the powerful Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island, added 496 amendments to the McKinley bill; the House accepted 272, and the two bodies compromised on 173.[25] The Senate amendments were largely of a technical nature, raising many of the rates proposed by the House bill, but with the exception of a reciprocity provision, the Senate did not fundamentally alter the protectionist nature of the bill as prepared by the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Tariff of 1890 included a number of new features. It was the first tariff to include a complete schedule of protective duties upon agricultural products. The purpose of these duties was purely a political ploy by the Republican Party to undercut the argument that manufacturers were protected from foreign competition at the expense of farmers. As Democratic opponents of the bill pointed out, it was absurd to levy duties to protect American agriculture from nonexistent foreign competition.


The Issue — 1900
·LIBERTY·
·JUSTICE·
·HUMANITY·
W. J. BRYAN
NO CROWN OF THORNS
NO CROSS OF GOLD
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
EQUAL RIGHTS TO ALL
SPECIAL PRIVILEGES TO NONE.
NEVILLE WILLIAMS

Campaign poster touts William Jennings Bryan and his populist views during the 1900 presidential campaign. A commanding orator from Nebraska who spoke for the common people against the power of wealth, he ran unsuccessfully for President three times on the Democratic ticket (1896, 1900, 1908). The poster recalls his famous words from the 1896 race. Favoring the unlimited coinage of silver, Bryan exhorted the proponents of gold: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." As a Ways and Means member, Bryan drafted an income tax provision for a reform tariff. The proposed tax would have replaced the revenue lost by lowering duties and shifted the burden of levies from the working people to the wealthy. A Republican Senate altered most of Bryan's tariff reforms but kept his income tax provisions. The amended bill became law as the Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894.

The repeal of the duty on sugar was also a bid for popular support for the tariff. Under the existing sugar duty, some 55 million dollars had been collected in the fiscal year 1888–1889, nearly one-quarter of total customs receipts. By repealing the sugar duty, the committee removed what was in effect a tax upon a commodity that formed a considerable part of the household budget. Curiously, McKinley did not capitalize upon this as a tax-relief measure, perhaps because the committee had added to it a provision for a bounty to be paid to domestic sugar producers. As the chairman tried to explain, "the Com-

Scholarly foe of high tariffs, William Wilson of West Virginia became chairman of Ways and Means in 1893. Leading the battle for tariff reform, Wilson delivered an inspired free-trade speech on the House floor in 1894. His logic held a jaded audience enthralled and won riotous applause. William Jennings Bryan and other supporters hoisted Wilson to their shoulders in triumph. The protectionist Senate, however, mutilated the so-called Wilson bill and passed its amended version, the Wilson-Gorman Tariff. Broken in spirit, Wilson left Congress after one term as chairman. (He served in the House from 1883 to 1895.)

mittee on Ways and Means . . . wishing on the one hand to give the people free and cheap sugar, and desiring on the other hand to do no harm to this great industry in our midst, have recommended an entire abolition of all duties upon sugar, and then . . . turn about and give to this industry two cents upon every pound of sugar produced in the United States." [26] Not surprisingly, the stock of the American Sugar Refining Company tripled in the next three years.

The Senate inserted a reciprocity provision at the suggestion of Secretary of State James G. Blaine. This provision permitted the executive to negotiate reciprocal tariff reductions, primarily with Latin American countries. The main feature of the tariff, initiated by the Committee on Ways and Means and confirmed and extended by the Senate, was its endorsement of protectionism. The tariff raised the average rate to 50 percent, and increased duties on items including wool and woolen goods. Opponents of the tariff argued that it would raise prices to consumers for everything from pearl buttons to cigars. Popular indignation over the increased rates was reflected at the polls. McKinley was defeated for reelection and less than 90 of the 332 congressmen elected to the Fifty-second Congress were Republicans.[27]

The Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894

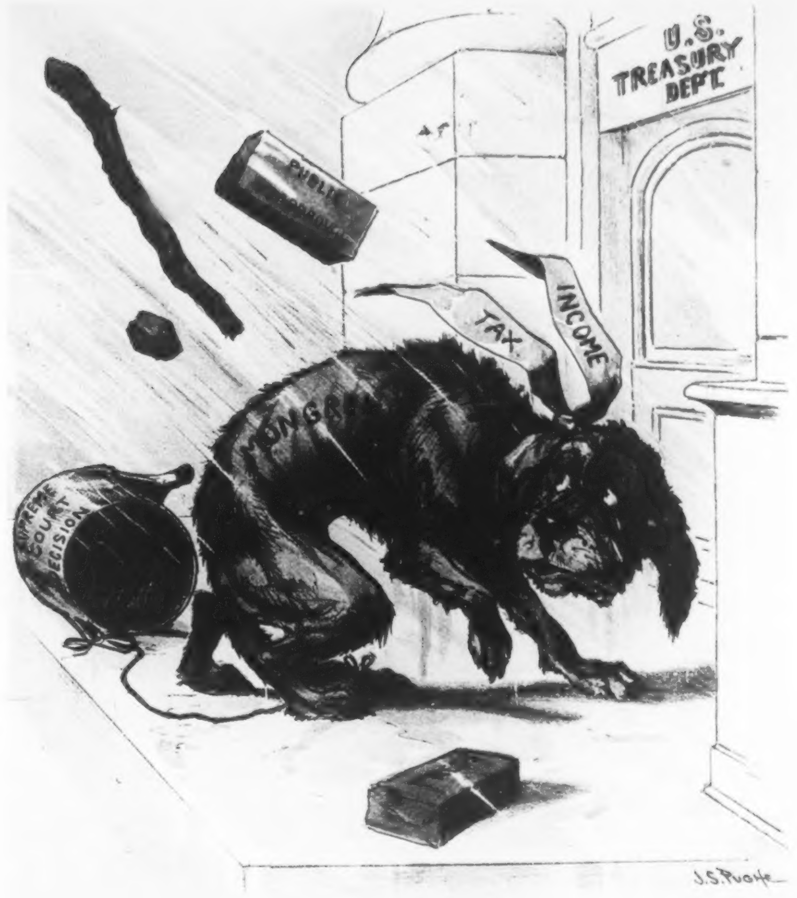
Democratic hopes for tariff reform in the Fifty-second Congress were frustrated. Although they possessed an overwhelming 235-88 advantage in the House, the Senate remained in Republican control, 47–39. Moreover, the new Democratic Speaker, Charles F. Crisp of Georgia, only gave lip service to tariff reform. He bypassed his runner-up in the party caucus and the former chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means Roger Q. Mills to name the affable but uninspiring William M. Springer of Illinois to chair the committee. Springer had thrown his support to Crisp in the speakership contest in return for the chairmanship of the committee and the appointment to the committee of his protégé, freshman member William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska.[28]

Two weeks before he was appointed chairman in December of 1891, Springer outlined his tariff strategy in an interview. Rather than draft a comprehensive reform bill such as the Mills bill, Democrats should concentrate upon separate bills framed to address specific weaknesses in the McKinley Tariff. A general bill, Springer believed, would be rejected by the Senate. Separate bills would probe the defenses of the protectionists without causing a general alarm. Springer argued that his strategy offered Democrats the best hopes of success in the 1892 elections. Springer and Crisp, historians have suggested, advocated this approach to tariff reform to block the hopes of reform Democrats who favored Grover Cleveland for the party's presidential nomination.[29]

Springer's method, ridiculed by his opponents as a "pop-gun" approach, produced no substantive changes in the tariff. The Springer wool bill to reduce duties on wool and woolen goods, derisively known as the "Cheap Clothes Bill," and other measures including a duty-free iron ore bill were debated and passed by the House only to meet their expected demise in the Senate. The Springer committee discussed, but failed to report, a bill introduced by John Andrew (D-MA) to place coal as well as iron ore on the duty-free list and to reduce duties on scrap iron, scrap steel, and pig iron.

The 1892 elections were a smashing Democratic success. Cleveland was elected President, the House remained safely Democratic with a 218–127 majority, and the Senate was now in the party's hands, 44–38. For the first time since Lincoln's inauguration in 1861, the Democrats had control of both the executive and the legislature. President Cleveland called for a lowering of the tariff in his inaugural address, but with the onset of the panic and depression of 1893, he called Congress into special session to repeal what he believed was a greater evil, the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890. Crisp, reelected Speaker, appointed William L. Wilson of West Virginia to chair the Committee on Ways and Means on August 21, 1893.[30]

Wilson, according to his biographer, "symbolized better than any other prominent political figure of the Cleveland era the unification of the North and the South through the agency of the Democratic party." [31] Born in Virginia, Wilson represented a border district that



Brickbats of public disapproval rain down on the income tax requirement set forth by the Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894. The law levied a flat 2 percent tax on personal and corporate income above $4,000. This editorial cartoon labels the tax a mongrel because few wanted it. The public scorned it, and the U.S. Treasury shut it out after the U.S. Supreme Court, depicted as a tin can tied to the mongrel's tail, declared it unconstitutional in 1895. The Court's ruling that tax on personal income was a direct tax overturned legal precedent in place since the Civil War. The Court's new interpretation rendered the income tax invalid since Congress lacked the power to levy direct taxes without the consent of the states.

was half-agricultural and half-industrial, with sizeable coal interests. He had been a college professor and a university president, and he was committed to dismantling the protectionist system. Just after the 1892 elections, for example, Wilson had recommended that a special session of Congress should be called to provide immediate tariff relief. He was, as the press observed, "a man who has ideas and who puts behind them intellectual and moral force." Wilson's selection, bypassing former Chairman Springer, was due to Springer's weakness as majority leader. The Democrats needed someone to match Reed, the forceful and effective minority leader. The *New York World* reported that the choice was the result of an agreement between Crisp and John G. Carlisle that the latter would not contest the speakership in return for Wilson's appointment to chair the Committee on Ways and Means.[32]

The committee, enlarged from 15 to 17 members, contained 11 Democrats including Benton McMillin (D-TN) and Bryan. Only two manufacturing states, New York and Massachusetts, were represented, and 11 of the appointments went to the South, the border states, and the West. Wilson set to work on August 29, 1893, organizing the majority members into a subcommittee on customs with himself as chair. The committee held hearings in its own room just off the House corridor, now one of the rooms of the Speaker's Office, H-209. The hearings ran from September 4 to September 20 only, which the Republicans criticized as inadequate. Hundreds of witnesses, mostly protectionists, were heard. One of Wilson's confidants referred to the hearings as the "customary rubbish." Wilson himself was so unimpressed with them that he declared he wanted no part in the publication of the hearings beyond the minimum official requirement.[33]

The public hearings were merely pro forma—the real work occurred behind closed doors. The Wilson bill was as much a "dark lantern" measure as the Mills bill of 1888. After the formal hearings, the committee moved to the virtually inaccessible Census Committee room in the labyrinthine Capitol basement. The subcommittee met with Treasury Department officials and businessmen, some of whom came only on the condition that they could remain anonymous. The committee continued to draft the bill in its subterranean chamber. After Congress adjourned on November 1, it was forced to surface due to the parsimony of Congress in not having funded operation of the Capitol electrical plant during the recess.

As the Democratic members grappled with lowering tariffs, they were compelled to find offsetting sources of income. They rejected a legacy tax, but early in the discussions considered a controversial personal income tax, which the chairman opposed. The provisions of the bill remained secret, even though a prowler broke into the committee room and two copies of the bill were reported missing. The chairman released details of the bill to the press on November 27 and reported it to the House on December 19. The bill was based on the principle of a tariff for revenue only. Duties on manufactured articles were reduced, but the main feature of the bill was an enlarged list of duty-free raw materials, including wool, coal, iron ore, and lumber, as well as hides and sugar. The bill as introduced did not contain an income tax provision. Secretary of the Treasury James G. Carlisle proposed a variety of taxes to offset the anticipated loss of 60-75 million dollars in revenue, including a legacy tax and a corporation income tax suggested by President Cleveland. Wilson supported the latter, arguing that a tax on corporate incomes "would not be a tax upon individual thrift, energy, or enterprise, but in the main upon the earnings of invested capital." [34] Nonetheless, he accepted the political expediency of a personal income tax and agreed to report such a bill.

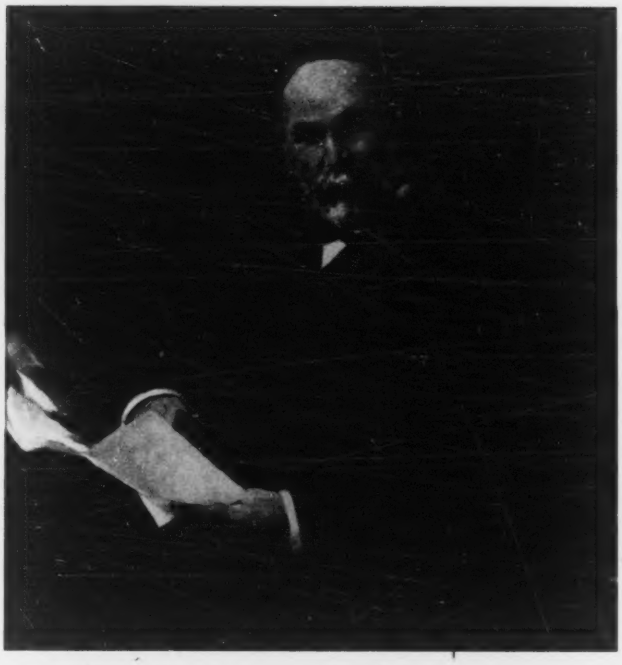
William Jennings Bryan had drafted the committee's initial income tax provision. The Nebraska Democrat preferred to levy a graduated tax that began with incomes over $2,500, but the committee instructed Bryan to set a flat rate of 2 percent on personal and corporate incomes over $4,000. The committee chose not to link the income tax provision to the Wilson bill, but rather authorized that it be reported as part of an internal revenue bill drafted by Benton McMillin's subcommittee. The McMillin measure was subsequently incorporated as an amendment, and McMillin, not Bryan, reaped the honors.[35]

Wilson led off the debate on the tariff bill with a vigorous defense of his committee and his party, concluding that tariff reform was an issue for the Democrats "to win or lose with." [36] The bill met with an avalanche of opposition. Petitions protesting the lowered tariffs overflowed the committee room. The residents of Troy, New York, for example, delivered an 800-pound leather-bound book containing the names of every resident, all of whom purportedly opposed the bill. The Democrats ignored the opposition and pushed the bill through the House. The party caucus at this time decided to link the income tax recommended by McMillin as an amendment to the tariff bill, sparking the climactic floor debate.

It was Chairman Wilson's privilege to close the debate. On February 1, 1894, he followed Speaker Crisp's meek extemporaneous response to Reed's scathing satire of the bill with one of the most memorable closing speeches in congressional history. "If great reforms could be pierced and destroyed by shafts of ridicule, if great causes could be laughed off the field," Wilson observed in direct reference to Reed, "we today would be slaves of England instead of being free, self-governing citizens." The scholar in the chairman shone through when he ended in a paraphrase of the speech Shakespeare's Henry V made to his troops—in this case Wilson's Democratic colleagues—challenging them to maintain solidarity. "This is not a battle over percentages, over this or that tariff schedule," the chairman concluded with honest conviction; "it is a battle for human freedom." [37] According to news accounts, the speech met with a chaotic, enthusiastic response. Several Democratic colleagues, including Bryan, hoisted the startled chairman on their shoulders and carried him from the chamber amid wild cheering. The bill passed by an unexpectedly high 204–140 margin.[38]

The Senate once again gutted the reform aspects of the Wilson bill. Nothing of the duty-free raw materials concept was retained except for free wool and lumber. Sugar, iron ore, and coal were returned to the duty list, and protective rates for manufactured goods were reinstated in the 634 Senate amendments to the bill by a coalition of Republicans and protectionist Democrats led by Arthur Pue Gorman. Wilson led his committee to the conference determined to regain duty-free coal, iron ore, and sugar. He was hampered by a bout with neuralgia, the defection of Speaker Crisp, and finally by a caucus resolution instructing him to accept the Senate amendments and then

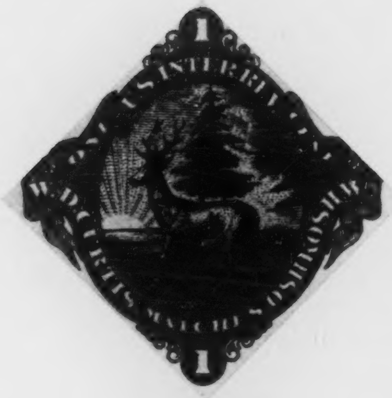
Destitute of humor but soundly versed in finance, Nelson Dingley, Jr., of Maine accepted the post of Ways and Means chairman in 1895 and again in 1897. He studiously put his Republican high-tariff philosophy to work by framing a tariff bill to counter the lower rates set forth in the Democratic Wilson-Gorman legislation. The Dingley Tariff of 1897 granted the President the authority to invoke reciprocity when negotiating trade treaties. The highest tariff rates in the nation's history up to that time resulted from this act and were maintained for more than a decade.

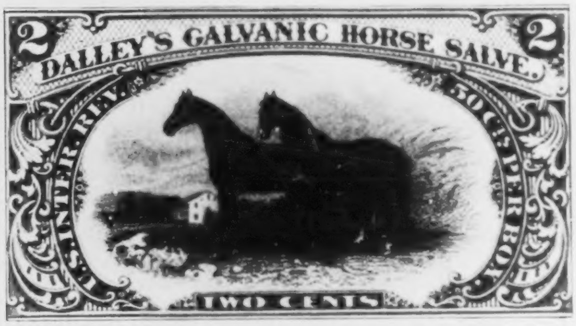


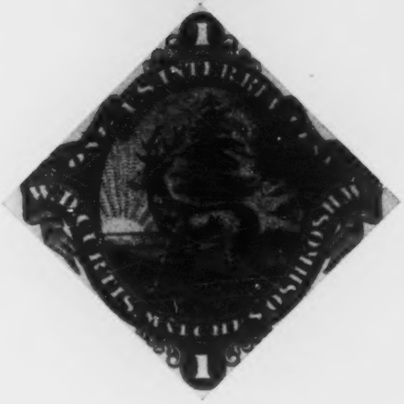
to draft separate bills on those three materials. Wilson did as he was told, but his spirit was broken. The House bills to provide for duty-free raw materials predictably were buried in the Senate Finance Committee. Cleveland, displeased at the failure of the Wilson-Gorman Tariff to achieve any reduction, reluctantly allowed the bill to become law without his signature on August 27, 1894. Wilson left Congress in 1895 to spend the last two years of his public service as Postmaster General. A rambling, disjointed letter he wrote to the *New York World* in the aftermath of the conference committee defeat formed an unwitting epitaph to his chairmanship:

> Having done my duty to the best of my capacity, I am content to rest upon that consciousness. . . . When a man's army breaks away from him, unless he can assure them of victory he cannot continue to battle. . . .[39]

The Wilson-Gorman Tariff retained the House provision for a personal income tax drafted by Bryan and reported by McMillin's subcommittee. Midwesterners such as Bryan and Southerners such as McMillin favored the income tax as a justifiable tax upon the wealthy since the great burden of the tariff fell upon the working class. The votes in both the House and the Senate followed geographical rather than party lines. The act levied a flat 2 percent tax on income from all sources above $4,000, exempting only interest on federal bonds. The


1
ONE U.S. INTER. REV. CENT
W. D. CURTIS MATCHES OSHKOSH WIS
1


2
DALLEY'S GALVANIC HORSE SALVE.
2
U.S. INTER. REV.
50 CTS. PER BOX.
TWO CENTS


1
ONE U.S. INTER. REV. CENT
W. D. CURTIS MATCHES OSHKOSH WIS
1

income tax affected few because of the high ceiling, but the Supreme Court in the 1895 *Pollock* v. *Farmers' Loan and Trust Co.* decision declared the provision unconstitutional as a direct tax, which according to the Constitution had to be apportioned among the states on the basis of population.[40]

The Dingley Tariff of 1897

Just as the McKinley Tariff had presaged a crushing defeat for the Republican Party in the 1890 congressional elections, so too did the Wilson-Gorman Act precede a Democratic debacle in 1894. The new Congress returned to Republican control, 246–104 in the House and 42–39 in the Senate. Thomas Brackett Reed, once again Speaker of the House, appointed his colleague from Maine, Nelson Dingley, Jr., to chair the Committee on Ways and Means. McKinley, the former Republican chairman, was now governor of Ohio, and Dingley had demonstrated both party loyalty and technical expertise in his prior

Private proprietary stamps illustrate the use of revenue stamps authorized through legislation drafted by Ways and Means. To help meet the costs of the Spanish-American War in 1898, Congress instituted stamp taxes for bank checks, stocks, bonds, insurance policies, legal documents, chewing gum, and wine. In times past, the government had turned to stamps for money. Those shown here stem from the Civil War Revenue Act of 1862, which gave a discount to manufacturers who paid to have exclusive die trademarks cast.

service on the committee. Joseph Cannon, the wily Illinois Republican, once observed that Dingley "had a better knowledge of the details of the tariff than any other man." [41]

Dingley and Reed were unlikely comrades. The witty, loquacious Speaker was at home amid parties and high living, while the serious and reserved chairman was given to plain living, frugality, and abstention from liquor. Joseph Cannon recalled one dinner attended by both men. It was customary to serve a Roman punch—ice flavored with whiskey, rum, or a cordial—halfway through dinner. Reed, according to Cannon, devoured his with obvious enjoyment, while Dingley after the minutest taste turned to his friend and said, "Tom, there's rum in that." After Reed had consumed the last of the punch, he remarked to all of the guests, "That's the difference between Nelson and me. He knows rum the moment he tastes it; I had to finish mine before I discovered it." [42]

Dingley's committee reported a bill reinstating a duty on wool and increasing the 1894 rates on many manufactured goods by 15 percent, with the provision that no duty would exceed the McKinley Tariff rates. Although the bill passed the House by a wide margin, the Senate Finance Committee sidetracked it in favor of a measure for the free coinage of silver. With McKinley's election to the Presidency in 1896, the Republicans decided to make tariff reform a top priority. The President called a special session to convene on March 15, 1897. In his message to Congress, President McKinley, citing the 186-million-dollar deficit he had inherited, recommended a tariff that would provide an adequate revenue and still protect American industries.[43]

Dingley immediately reported a similar bill prepared by the Committee on Ways and Means after extended hearings during the Fifty-fourth Congress. The House under Reed's strict discipline passed the measure on March 31 by a 205–122 vote along party lines. The Dingley bill, the chairman argued, was a moderate measure, neither a tariff for revenue only nor strictly protectionist. The rates, which he believed would provide an increase in revenue of 113 million dollars, were midway between those of the 1890 and 1894 tariffs.

The Senate once again altered the House bill. Republican leaders Aldrich and William B. Allison of Iowa were able to maintain party unity without allowing the party caucus to determine the rate schedules. The result was that log-rolling and pressure politics took over as Republican senators were subjected to the direct influence of lobbyists. Eight hundred and seventy-two amendments were made to the House bill, four-fifths of which were agreed to in conference. The Dingley Tariff restored the scale of duties lowered by the Wilson-Gorman Tariff and in some instances exceeded the McKinley Act. The average rate of duties even surpassed those of the Civil War tariffs. The Dingley Tariff was also significant because it adjusted the method by which rate schedules were determined. Congress delegated author-

First of the long-sitting chairmen of Ways and Means, Republican Sereno Payne of New York took the helm of the committee in 1899 and held it for 12 years, a record at that time. One of the first bills introduced under Payne's leadership resulted in the repeal of all Spanish-American War taxes. The clamor for tariff reform grew louder after the war, and Payne conducted extensive hearings on the issue. The Payne-Aldrich Tariff, passed in 1909, fulfilled Payne's dream to have his name attached to some law of lasting importance.

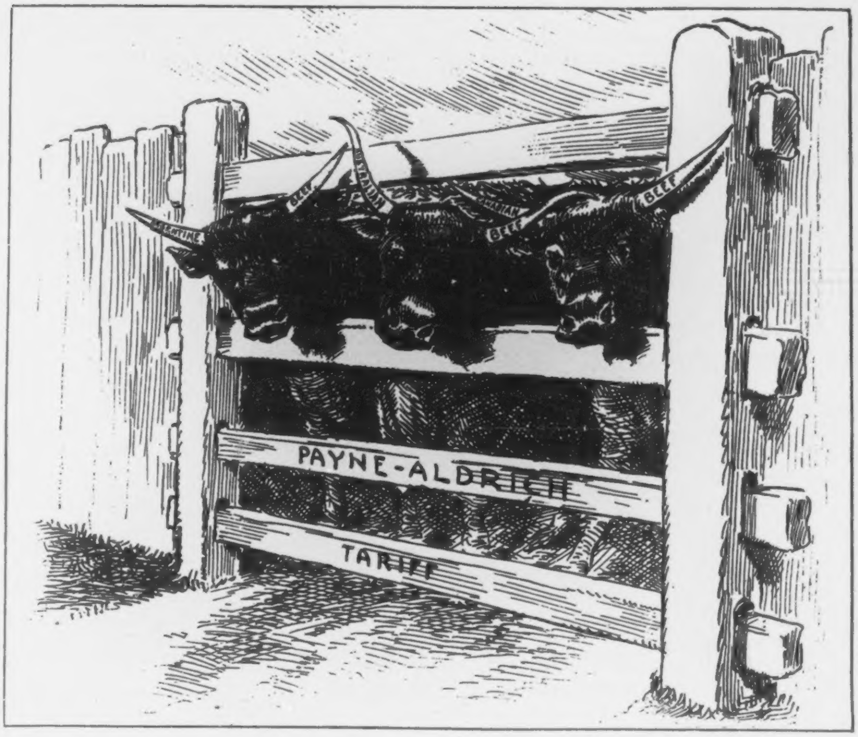
ity to the President to negotiate trade treaties according to the reciprocity principle. Twelve years later, the Republican Party opted to replace the treaty-making process with what they referred to as "flexible tariffs," which meant that rates would be adjusted to equalize the costs of production.[44]

The Dingley Tariff was destined to remain in effect for 12 years. The return of prosperity in 1897 deflected further talk of tariff reduction. The Republican Party, even those embarrassed by the high rates, moved on to a defense of the gold standard and the expansion of foreign trade. President McKinley avoided the subject in public, at one point stating, "We have quit discussing the tariff and have turned our attention to getting trade wherever it can be found."[45]

The Committee on Ways and Means and the Spanish-American War

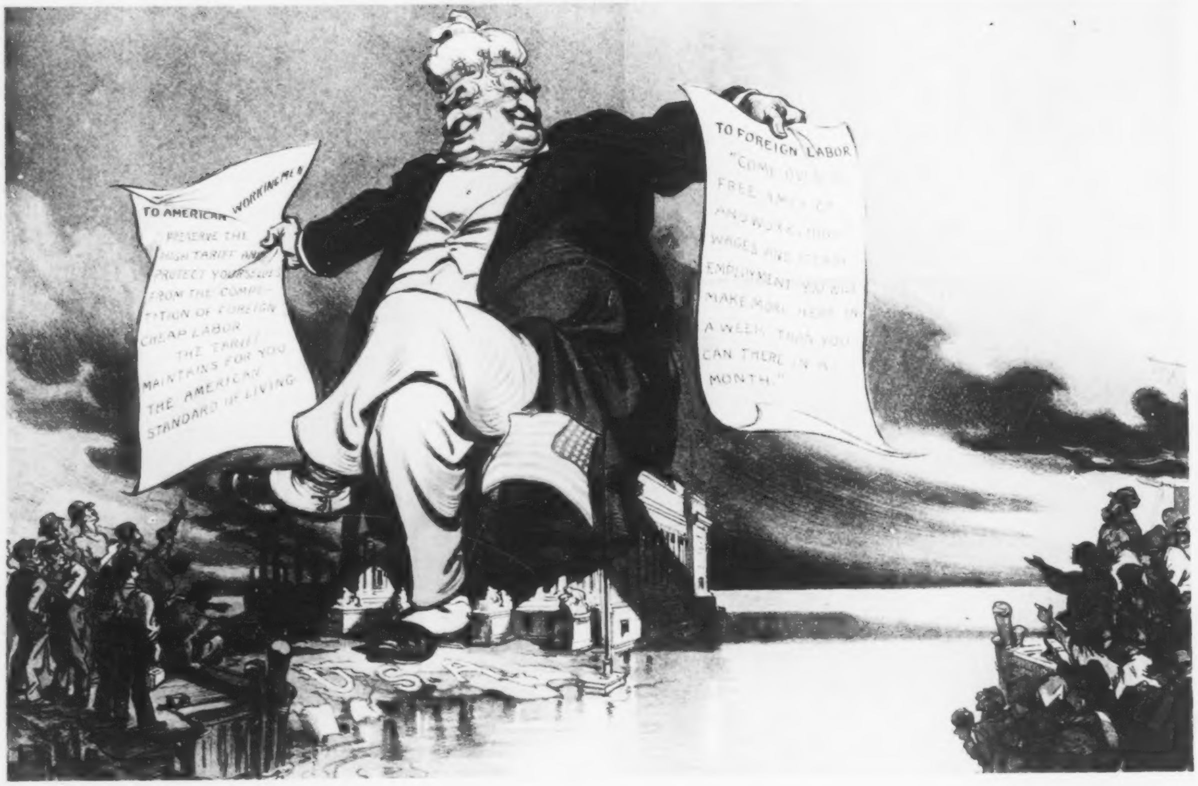
In seeking the overseas trade of which President McKinley spoke, the United States became entangled in late-19th-century imperialism. Trade in the Pacific meant the acquisition of refueling bases and naval facilities in Hawaii and the Philippines. Closer to home, American tariff policies impacted most immediately upon Cuba. Under the reci-

Barring free importation of foreign beef, the Payne-Aldrich Tariff suffers criticism in an editorial cartoon. The tariff placed high duties on imported goods to protect domestic production. But in the case illustrated here, critics argued, duties only encouraged domestic producers to bring their prices up to the level of those for foreign beef. Ironically, at a time when America was barring free importation of beef, it was importing cowhides duty free to meet the demand for leather. Maneuvering in the House kept hides on the free-trade list. The high-tariff tone of the Payne-Aldrich measure came mainly from the Senate, which made 847 amendments to Payne's original bill.



procity clauses of the McKinley Tariff, Spain had liberalized trade between her Caribbean possession and the United States. Consequent Cuban prosperity ended when the Wilson-Gorman Tariff reinstated the duty on raw sugar. The Cuban economy faltered, giving rise to an indigenous revolution that particularly targeted sugar plantations. Spanish brutality in suppressing the rebels evoked strong sentiment in the United States for intervention, which came following the unexplained sinking of the American battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor on February 15, 1898.[46]

The responsibility for initiating war revenue legislation once again fell upon the Committee on Ways and Means. Chairman Dingley, opposed to the income tax and fearful that the tariff could not be altered without causing political problems for his party, introduced a war revenue measure on April 25, 1898, that he estimated would produce an additional 100 million dollars. The measure repeated the earlier congressional formula of meeting war expenses with increased excise taxes and the sale of war bonds. The committee supplemented existing internal revenue taxes with new taxes of the same nature. The act as ultimately passed, however, shifted the burden of war finance from the business and professional classes to the working class. Special taxes were imposed on bankers and brokers, but also on theaters, circuses, bowling alleys, and billiard parlors; rates were doubled


TO AMERICAN WORKINGMEN
PRESERVE THE HIGH TARIFF AND PROTECT YOURSELVES FROM THE COMPETITION OF FOREIGN CHEAP LABOR
THE TARIFF MAINTAINS FOR YOU THE AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING
TO FOREIGN LABOR
"COME OVER TO FREE AMERICA AND WORK FOR HIGH WAGES AND STEADY EMPLOYMENT. YOU WILL MAKE MORE HERE IN A WEEK THAN YOU CAN THERE IN A MONTH."

on tobacco, beer, and liquor; and stamp taxes were instituted on bank checks, stocks, bonds, insurance policies, legal documents, chewing gum, and wine. Finally, the Committee on Ways and Means recommended the issuance of up to 500 million dollars in war bonds. During debate on the bill in the House, some Populists and Democrats proposed that the Supreme Court repudiate its 1894 decision nullifying the income tax. Congressmen Joseph W. Bailey (D-TX) and Benton McMillin led an effort to add an income tax amendment to Dingley's revenue bill, but the amendment was rejected on April 29, 1898, by a vote of 134–171. The bill was passed by the House on the same day. In the Senate, a modest inheritance tax (actually a modified estate tax on the transmission of property) was added as an "unpleasant but necessary" concession to the opposition.[47]

Chairman Dingley died in January of 1899, his frail and frugal constitution a victim to the banquets and dinners he was compelled to attend, according to one of his colleagues. His successor as chairman and majority leader was Sereno E. Payne of New York, who had been a member of the committee since 1889. Although he has been described as "plodding . . . without brilliance or dash," Payne had developed an enviable reputation as a tariff expert and loyal Republican.

Protectionism wears two faces in this antibusiness cartoon from a 1912 issue of Puck *magazine. On the one hand, big business calls for high tariffs to protect the jobs and living standards of American workers; on the other, big business recruits cheap foreign labor. The zenith of tariff reform came in 1912 with the presidential election of Woodrow Wilson, who set the stage for a dramatic return to low duties by signing the Underwood Tariff of 1913.*

As chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, he joined a select group of House Republican leaders that included Speaker Joseph Cannon and John Dalzell. Payne's chairmanship of the Committee on Ways and Means from 1899 to 1911 was the lengthiest until that of Robert Doughton in the 1930s and 1940s.[48]

Payne's first substantial task was the repeal of the Spanish-American War taxes, which had been almost trivial compared to the magnitude of Civil War taxes. The series of Treasury deficits from 1894 to 1900 were eliminated in 1901 by a surplus of over 46 million dollars from customs and war revenues. Payne introduced a committee measure in December 1900 to reduce the war excises by some 40 million dollars. House and Senate versions were compromised in conference with the resulting act of March 2, 1901, retaining legacy taxes, the excises on oil and sugar refining, and the taxes on bankers and brokers, but reducing the excises on liquor and tobacco and repealing some of the stamp duties.[49]

On the heels of this measure, Secretary of the Treasury Lyman J. Gage recommended the repeal of all war taxes in order to reduce federal revenue by 50 million dollars. Gage argued that the Treasury surplus justified terminating taxes that he found to be both a nuisance and an insignificant source of revenue. Payne's committee acted immediately upon Gage's recommendation, introducing a bill to repeal all Spanish-American War taxes. The well-organized Republican leadership of Speaker Cannon pushed the bill through in early 1902 with what Democrats protested were steamroller tactics.[50]

The Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909

Defenders of the protective tariff cited the revenue needs of the Spanish-American War and the subsequent prosperity after 1897 to answer agitation for tariff reform. President Theodore Roosevelt, though he had endorsed the concept of a tariff commission to set rates on a more objective basis, handled the issue with adroit ambivalence, seeming to indicate that it was best to let sleeping dogs lie. The development of an insurgent movement within the Republican Party aimed at the dictatorial control of Cannon in the House and Aldrich in the Senate revived the tariff issue. Governor, later Senator, Albert Baird Cummins of Iowa popularized a program of trust regulation, railroad control, and downward tariff revision that came to be known as the "Iowa Idea." The clamor for tariff reform had reached such a peak that the Republican platform of 1908 called "unequivocally for the revision of the tariff by a special session of Congress immediately following the inauguration of the next President." [51] Yet, with masterful political equivocation, the plank neglected to specify which direction the revision should take.

Cordell Hull of Tennessee headed the Ways and Means subcommittee that wrote the income tax provision for the Underwood Tariff of 1913. The provision was the first tax measure drafted under the 16th Amendment. In 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Hull Secretary of State. World War II made his tenure one of the most critical in the nation's history. Hull was the principal architect of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934. Enacted by his former colleagues on Ways and Means, this act authorized the executive branch to negotiate lower tariffs with trading nations. In 1945, at age 75, Hull was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

William Howard Taft, both as the Republican presidential candidate and as President-elect, made it known that he favored a downward revision of the tariff and an income tax in times of national emergency. In March 1909, tariff reform was immediately referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, which had held extended hearings under Payne since December. The 19 members of the committee (12 Republicans, seven Democrats) included John Dalzell, Samuel McCall, Joseph W. Fordney, and Nicholas Longworth in the majority, and Champ Clark and Oscar W. Underwood in the minority. Clark, in fact, left a revealing account of the committee's proceedings, arguing that no committee "ever did harder, more tedious, or more fatiguing work":

> Think of it! We began at half-past 9 in the morning and worked until 1 o'clock, took an hour for lunch, then worked until 7 o'clock, taking an hour for dinner . . . and worked until 11 and 12 o'clock at night; keyed up, on edge, tussling with intellectual men who had facts in their possession about the tariff which they were determined not to give up, while we were determined that they should stand and deliver.[52]

Even though Clark opposed the bill that the majority drafted, he respected Payne's knowledge of the tariff. Clark also recorded an incident that explained much of Payne's, as of any chairman's, personal influence. Before his appointment to the committee, Clark had tangled with Payne in floor debate and had found him to be irritable and brusque. After Clark's appointment, the two men shared a railroad car from New York to Washington. The chairman welcomed Clark to his committee and in five hours of pleasant conversation completely won his confidence.[53]

The bill that Chairman Payne reported on behalf of the Committee on Ways and Means on March 17, 1909, reflected a real desire to reduce tariffs while retaining the principle of protection. Increased protection was given to mercerized fabrics, women's gloves, hosiery, and plate glass. Wood pulp, hides, petroleum and its byproducts, and iron ore were put on the duty-free list. The duties on lumber, iron, and steel were decreased. All existing reciprocal trade agreements were to be ended with the exception of those with Cuba. In their place, the Payne bill called for minimum-maximum provisions. The minimum rates stipulated in the tariff schedules were to apply to all countries not discriminating against imports from the United States. Maximum rates 20 percent higher were to be applied, at the discretion of the President, on those countries practicing such discrimination.

The Payne bill also included a provision reinstating the federal inheritance tax that the committee had helped to repeal in 1902. Modeled on New York State's inheritance law, the bill provided for duties ranging from 1 to 5 percent according to the size of the bequest and the relationship of heir to decedent. In recommending an inheritance tax, Payne rejected the corporation income tax favored by President Taft and suggested to the committee by Attorney General George W. Wickersham. Taft was reportedly pleased nonetheless, writing to his brother that the bill was "a genuine effort in the right direction."[54]

Insurgent Republicans and Democrats alike were unsuccessful both in their efforts to unseat Cannon and to attach an income tax provision to the Payne bill. The Republican leadership was able to push the bill through on April 9 by a 217–161 vote. The Senate, meanwhile, had been conducting tariff hearings preparatory to drafting its own measure. Aldrich's Finance Committee precipitously raised duties on some 600 items and deleted the inheritance tax feature. The Senate bill contained 847 amendments to the Payne bill. The conference committee was dominated by protectionists handpicked by Cannon and Aldrich. Payne, by virtue of his position, led the House conferees. President Taft's pressure forced the committee to lower duties on key commodities, but the Payne-Aldrich Act signed July 31, 1909, signalled no significant change in the implementation of protectionist tariff policy. Yet, the bill did seem to indicate that protectionists were on the defensive from the persistent agitation by Insurgents and Democrats for reform. Taft, unilaterally proclaiming that no discrimination existed against the United States in foreign trade, declared that the minimum rates would be applied. With the adoption of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, Congress replaced the presidential treaty-making provision with the flexible tariff favored by the Republican Party. The act also recommended that the President appoint a group of tariff experts to advise the government. Taft then organized a Tariff Board to advise on minimum and maximum rates.[55]

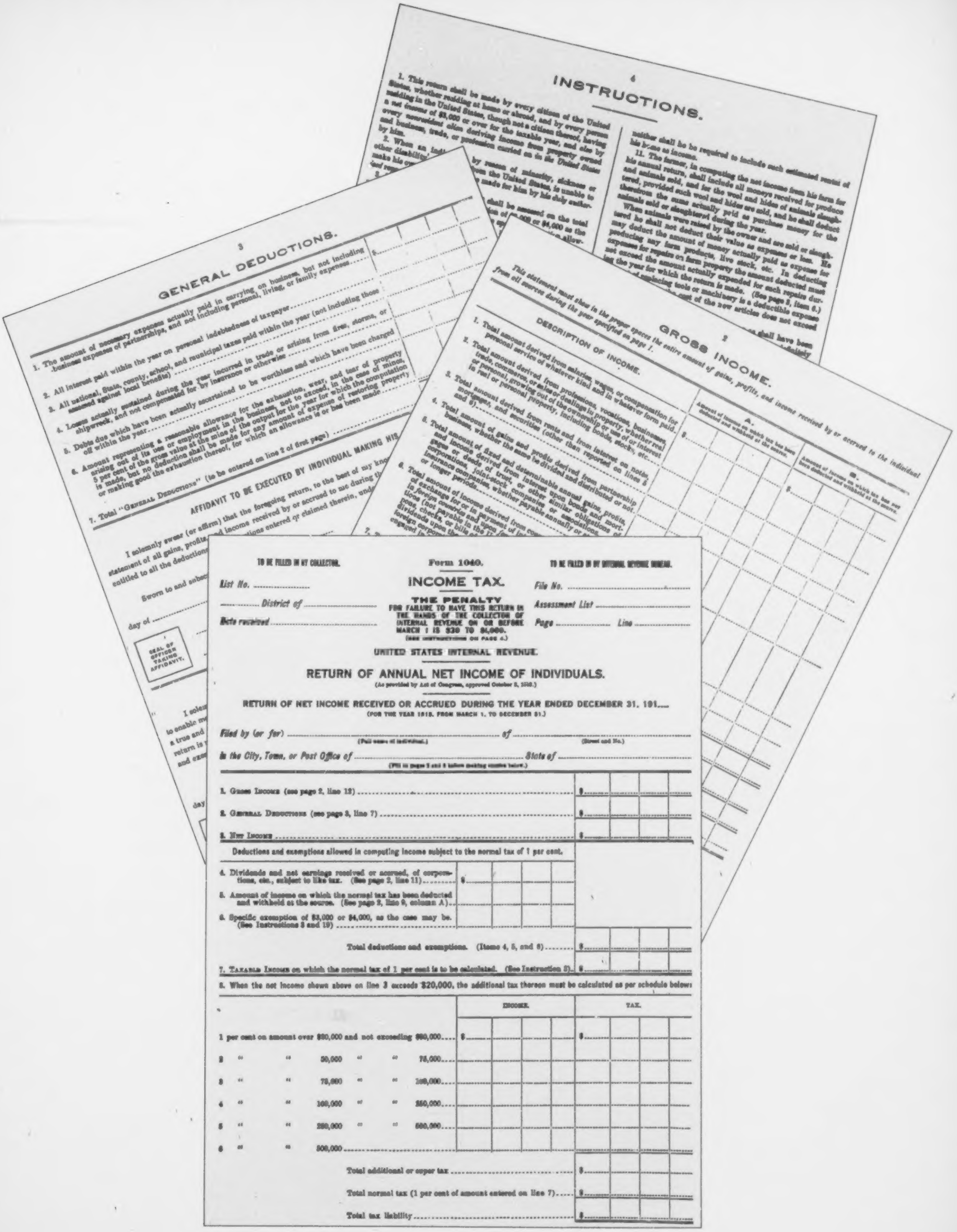
House Republicans suffered a crushing defeat in the 1910 mid-term elections. From a 219–192 majority, they fell to a 161–228 minority. Staggered by the magnitude of the defeat, Chairman Payne announced in December that he favored a schedule-by-schedule revision of the tariff and the creation of a permanent Tariff Commission, a step that only Progressives had previously supported. Such statements proved to be only window dressing. Real tariff reform would await Democratic control of the Senate and the Presidency.[56]

Income tax forms for 1913 appear simple when compared with today's booklet-length forms and instructions. This early Form 1040 ran only three pages; the accompanying instructions filled just one page. The tax rate was a flat one percent on incomes over an exemption of either $3,000 or $4,000, depending on the filing status. From 1913 to 1915, less than 2 percent of the labor force filed tax returns. By the end of World War I, income taxes supplied nearly 60 percent of the total federal revenue.

The Underwood Tariff of 1913

The election of Woodrow Wilson to the Presidency in 1912 marked the zenith of tariff reform. Wilson was a student of American politics, the author of the classic 1885 study *Congressional Government*, and an ardent admirer of the British parliamentary system. He was determined as President to personally lead his party in Congress. Working with a Democratic majority in both the House and the Senate, Wilson believed that only he could articulate the needs of the party and the nation. He gave top priority to demolishing the protective tariff that had been the hallmark of the Republican Party since 1861 when he called a special session of Congress on Inauguration Day in 1913. Breaking with precedent, he appeared in person before a Joint Session of Congress—the first President since John Adams to do so—to indicate his leadership in the upcoming struggle to revise the tariff.[57]

Democratic efforts at tariff reform had already begun in the hearings Oscar W. Underwood's Committee on Ways and Means had conducted since the previous December. The bill that Underwood originally introduced on the House floor on April 12 was similar to a series of tariff bills that President Taft had vetoed two years earlier. The 1913 bill, as presented, had been drafted by the majority members of the committee divided into 17 subcommittees of from one to four (usually three) members. According to Burton L. French (R-ID), at the conclusion of the hearings held in December and January, the chairman divided the committee into select subcommittees, each of which was given charge of a particular schedule of the tariff. During the deliberations, French reported that the subcommittees utilized the expert advice of Treasury Department officials as well as the com-



4

INSTRUCTIONS.

1. This return shall be made by every citizen of the United States, whether residing at home or abroad, and by every person residing in the United States, though not a citizen thereof, having a net income of $3,000 or over for the taxable year, and also by every nonresident alien deriving income from property owned and business, trade, or profession carried on in the United States by him.

2. When an individual, by reason of minority, sickness or other disability, or absence from the United States, is unable to make his own return, it may be made for him by his duly authorized representative.

neither shall he be required to include such estimated rental of his home as income.

11. The farmer, in computing the net income from his farm for his annual return, shall include all moneys received for produce and animals sold, and for the wool and hides of animals slaughtered, provided such wool and hides are sold, and he shall deduct therefrom the sums actually paid as purchase money for the animals sold or slaughtered during the year.

When animals were raised by the owner and are sold or slaughtered he shall not deduct their value as expenses or loss. He may deduct the amount of money actually paid as expense for producing any farm products, live stock, etc. In deducting expenses for repairs on farm property the amount deducted must not exceed the amount actually expended for such repairs during the year for which the return is made. (See page 3, item 6.) The cost of replacing tools or machinery is a deductible expense to the extent that the cost of the new articles does not exceed

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3

GENERAL DEDUCTIONS.

1. The amount of necessary expenses actually paid in carrying on business, but not including business expenses of partnerships, and not including personal, living, or family expenses .... $
2. All interest paid within the year on personal indebtedness of taxpayer ....
3. All national, State, county, school, and municipal taxes paid within the year (not including those assessed against local benefits) ....
4. Losses actually sustained during the year incurred in trade or arising from fires, storms, or shipwreck, and not compensated for by insurance or otherwise ....
5. Debts due which have been actually ascertained to be worthless and which have been charged off within the year ....
6. Amount representing a reasonable allowance for the exhaustion, wear, and tear of property arising out of its use or employment in the business, not to exceed, in the case of mines, 5 per cent of the gross value at the mine of the output for the year for which the computation is made, but no deduction shall be made for any amount of expense of restoring property or making good the exhaustion thereof, for which an allowance is or has been made ....
7. Total "General Deductions" (to be entered on line 2 of first page) ....

AFFIDAVIT TO BE EXECUTED BY INDIVIDUAL MAKING HIS

I solemnly swear (or affirm) that the foregoing return, to the best of my knowledge, statement of all gains, profits, and income received by or accrued to me during the entitled to all the deductions entered or claimed therein, und

Sworn to and subsc

day of

SEAL OF OFFICER TAKING AFFIDAVIT.

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return is

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day

2

GROSS INCOME.

This statement must show in the proper spaces the entire amount of gains, profits, and income received by or accrued to the individual from all sources during the year specified on page 1.

DESCRIPTION OF INCOME.	A. Amount of income on which tax has been deducted and withheld at the source.	B. Amount of income on which tax has not been deducted and withheld at the source.
1. Total amount derived from salaries, wages, or compensation for personal service of whatever kind and in whatever form paid.	$	$
2. Total amount derived from professions, vocations, businesses, trade, commerce, or sales or dealings in property, whether real or personal, growing out of the ownership or use of or interest in real or personal property, including bonds, stocks, etc.		
3. Total amount derived from rents and from interest on notes, mortgages, and securities (other than reported on lines 5 and 6)		
4. Total amount of gains and profits derived from partnership business, whether the same be divided and distributed or not.		
5. Total amount of fixed and determinable annual gains, profits, and income derived from interest upon bonds and mortgages or deeds of trust, or other similar obligations of corporations, joint-stock companies or associations, and insurance companies, whether payable annually or at longer periods		
6. Total amount of income derived from coupons, checks, or bills of exchange for or in payment of interest upon bonds issued in foreign countries and upon foreign mortgages or like obligations (not payable in the United States), and also from coupons, checks, or bills of exchange for or in payment of any dividends upon the stock or interest upon the obligations of foreign corporations engaged in		

TO BE FILLED IN BY COLLECTOR.	Form 1040.	TO BE FILLED IN BY INTERNAL REVENUE BUREAU.

List No. ....

.... District of ....

Date received ....

File No. ....

Assessment List ....

Page .... Line ....

INCOME TAX.

THE PENALTY
FOR FAILURE TO HAVE THIS RETURN IN THE HANDS OF THE COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE ON OR BEFORE MARCH 1 IS $20 TO $1,000.
(SEE INSTRUCTIONS ON PAGE 4.)

UNITED STATES INTERNAL REVENUE.

RETURN OF ANNUAL NET INCOME OF INDIVIDUALS.

(As provided by Act of Congress, approved October 3, 1913.)

RETURN OF NET INCOME RECEIVED OR ACCRUED DURING THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 191...

(FOR THE YEAR 1913, FROM MARCH 1, TO DECEMBER 31.)

Filed by (or for) .... (Full name of individual.) of .... (Street and No.)

in the City, Town, or Post Office of .... State of ....

(Fill in pages 2 and 3 before making entries below.)

1. Gross Income (see page 2, line 12)		$
2. General Deductions (see page 3, line 7)		$
3. Net Income		$
Deductions and exemptions allowed in computing income subject to the normal tax of 1 per cent.		
4. Dividends and net earnings received or accrued, of corporations, etc., subject to like tax. (See page 2, line 11)	$	
5. Amount of income on which the normal tax has been deducted and withheld at the source. (See page 2, line 9, column A)		
6. Specific exemption of $3,000 or $4,000, as the case may be. (See Instructions 3 and 19)		
Total deductions and exemptions. (Items 4, 5, and 6)		$
7. Taxable Income on which the normal tax of 1 per cent is to be calculated. (See Instruction 3)		$

8. When the net income shown above on line 3 exceeds $20,000, the additional tax thereon must be calculated as per schedule below:

	INCOME.	TAX.
1 per cent on amount over $20,000 and not exceeding $50,000	$	$
2 " " 50,000 " " 75,000		
3 " " 75,000 " " 100,000		
4 " " 100,000 " " 250,000		
5 " " 250,000 " " 500,000		
6 " " 500,000		
Total additional or super tax		$
Total normal tax (1 per cent of amount entered on line 7)		$
Total tax liability		$

Impassioned Ways and Means chairman during World War I, Claude Kitchin of North Carolina voted against the declaration of war. But once America joined the fight he threw himself fully behind the cause. On his shoulders fell the heavy task of funding U.S. troops. He worked around the clock to increase taxes upon excessive corporate profits. He suffered a stroke in 1920 after delivering a powerful speech. His exhausting devotion to duty led a colleague to say. "He fell as truly a casualty of the war as if he had died leading the charge upon the crimson fields of France."

mittee clerk. The subcommittees prepared drafts of the various schedules between January and April, with most of the work completed in an intensive two-week period. The complete draft was then considered by all 14 members of the majority acting as a subcommittee, according to French "carrying out the idea that the friends of a measure of political character should prepare it." [58]

Chairman Underwood, who was also majority leader from 1911 to 1915, was the leading tariff authority on the committee. Other notable Democratic members included Claude Kitchin of North Carolina, Henry T. Rainey of Illinois, Cordell Hull of Tennessee, and John Nance Garner of Texas. President Wilson conferred frequently with Underwood while the committee was working on the bill. According to one of Wilson's biographers, the President was responsible for persuading the chairman to eliminate the duty on wool and to lower the rate on sugar. The committee had decided to impose a 15 percent duty on raw wool. Wilson summoned Underwood to the White House and instructed him to fight for duty-free wool, agreeing to retain a one-cent-per-pound duty on sugar for three years. The chairman and the committee did as the President requested.[59]

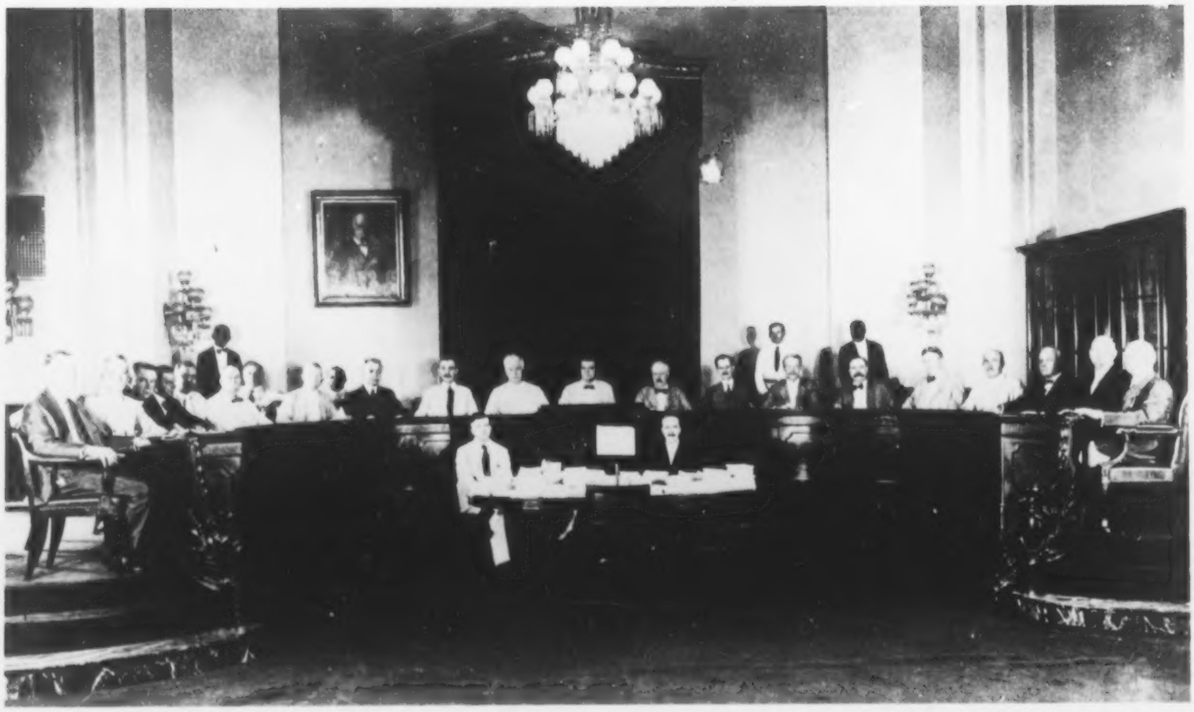
The Underwood bill, reported out of committee on April 22, 1913, provided for lowering the average ad valorem tariff rates from the 40 percent level of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff to approximately 29 percent. The purpose of the bill was to remove the special privileges protectionism had accorded certain American manufacturers. The tariff would remain moderately protectionist, but it was projected to decrease customs receipts by 100 million dollars. To offset the lost

Kitchin's illustrious committee in 1916, meeting here in its offices in the Cannon Building, included future Speakers of the House Nicholas Longworth, Henry T. Rainey, and John Nance Garner; future chairmen James Collier, Joseph W. Fordney, and William R. Green; and future Secretary of State Cordell Hull. Revenue from income tax acts originated by this panel in 1916 and 1917 mainly went to increased Army and Navy appropriations and to "the fortification of the country." In this period, income tax doubled and excess profits taxes escalated. For the first time, federal receipts exceeded one billion dollars.

revenue, the bill included an income tax provision, the first to be written under the recently ratified Sixteenth Amendment, which authorized the federal government to levy a tax upon incomes.[60]

For such a momentous change in federal tax policy, the income tax provision of the Underwood bill elicited surprisingly little opposition in the House. The income tax section occupied only eight pages of an 814-page report on the tariff bill. Underwood assigned Cordell Hull (D-TN) to chair the income tax subcommittee. Hull wanted a flat rate income tax, but he yielded to the arguments of John Nance Garner for graduated rates. An exemption of $4,000 was granted, with rates of one percent on incomes up to $20,000 and with additional surtaxes of one percent on income between $20,000 and $50,000, 2 percent on income between $50,000 and $100,000, and 3 percent on income above $100,000. Hull defended the tax as an equitable measure based upon ability to pay, not a tax on consumption such as the tariff and excise taxes. He pointed out that 52 countries and states had already taken this action. He even cited Lloyd George's speech of 1909 in Parliament praising the income tax as "the sheet anchor of our financial system." [61] After the Underwood bill was reported it was debated briefly by the House. No attempt was made to divorce the income tax provision from the measure and it was passed on May 8, 1913, with the income tax intact.

The Senate did not substantially alter the House bill. In fact, due to President Wilson's intervention in the Senate, the Underwood Tariff emerged a stronger reform measure. The Senate version reduced rates an additional 4 percent overall and increased the maxi-



mum surtax from 3 to 6 percent. The House accepted most of the Senate revisions, and President Wilson signed the bill on October 3, 1913. The tariff-making process in 1913 was a striking departure from prior experience. Business interests had not monopolized the process, and the Senate had not engaged in an orgy of special-interest amendments. As the editor of the *New York World* observed: "This is no tariff by log-rolling, by manipulation, by intrigue, by bribery. It was bought by no campaign contributions. It was dictated by no conspiracy between corrupt business and corrupt politics." [62]

World War I Revenue Acts

Prior to World War I, the tariff and excise taxes supplied over 90 percent of federal revenue. World War I ended the dominance of the tariff as a source of revenue. The income tax initiated so inauspiciously by the Underwood Tariff provided over 58 percent of federal revenues by the end of the war.[63] Expenditures mushroomed from 742 million dollars in 1916 to over 18.9 billion dollars in 1919, an increase of 2,454 percent, exceeding the rate of increase for the Civil War as well as the later rate of increase during World War II.[64] The pressures to find sources of revenue for these increased expenditures

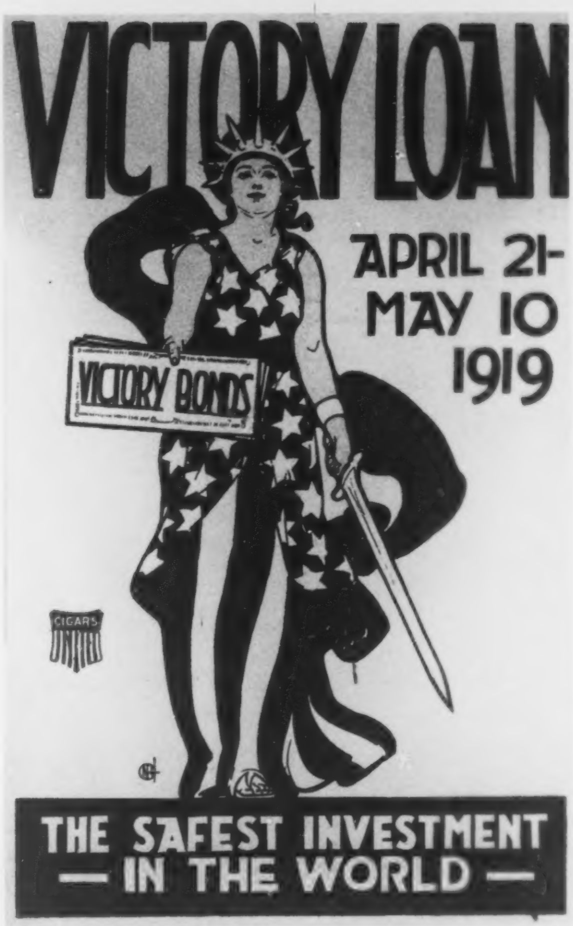
Mounting war expenses bring Ways and Means members together in 1918 to discuss additional revenue bills. That year, the committee reported the War Revenue Act, estimated to net an additional six million dollars. The largest share of this money would come from increased taxes on personal and corporate incomes and excess profits. Chairman Kitchin and President Wilson often disagreed on tax issues. Kitchin infuriated Wilson when he extended the income tax provision to include the salary of the President of the United States.

wrecked the close relationship that Wilson had cultivated with the Committee on Ways and Means.

When Underwood moved over to the Senate in 1915, the ranking majority member, Claude Kitchin of North Carolina, was appointed chairman. Kitchin was a large, kind, affable man with a remarkable memory for statistics, which he used to his advantage on the committee. He was a consistent advocate of a tariff-for-revenue only, and he rose to prominence through his opposition to the Payne-Aldrich Tariff. Although he supported the Underwood Tariff and greatly admired Wilson, Kitchin did not always agree with the President's policies, and he was not welcomed with open arms at the White House. Some consideration may have been given to bypassing Kitchin, but the seniority system took precedence and the North Carolinian became chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means and majority leader of the House.[65]

The responsibility for financing military preparedness and subsequent American involvement in World War I fell to Kitchin's committee. The chairman's consistent philosophy was that the United States should adopt a "pay-as-you-go" system, relying more upon taxation than the sale of war bonds. Specifically, Kitchin worked to increase graduated taxes upon incomes, inheritances, and especially upon the excess profits of corporations due to the war. His at times demagogic denunciations of war profiteers, though genuine, were exploited by the opposition and the press to portray Kitchin as incompetent and irrational. The press in particular played up the story that Kitchin had said that the war profits taxes were designed to make the Northern states pay for the war. Perhaps motivated by the increased rates for second-class postage for newspapers and magazines that Kitchin's committee had recommended, the press gave wide coverage to this phony story. The chairman was lampooned as a "babe-in-the-woods," "a political imbecile," "a small bigot from an ill-favored district in North Carolina."[66] Like Wilson, the war experience broke Kitchin's health, and he suffered a stroke in 1920, recovering for a short time before he died in 1923.

Early in 1916, Wilson's Secretary of the Treasury, William Gibbs McAdoo, recommended raising the rates of taxation on individual and corporate incomes to meet the needs of war preparation. The Revenue Act of 1916 that resulted originated in the Committee on Ways and Means because of the "necessity growing out of the extraordinary increase in the appropriations for the Army and the Navy, and the fortification of the country."[67] The act doubled the normal tax on income, levied an estate tax and a tax on munitions manufacturers, and devised a special excise tax on corporations. The 1916 Revenue Act was also important because it created the U. S. Tariff Commission as an independent agency to advise the President and Congress on trade matters. The rapid increase in expenditures that occurred after

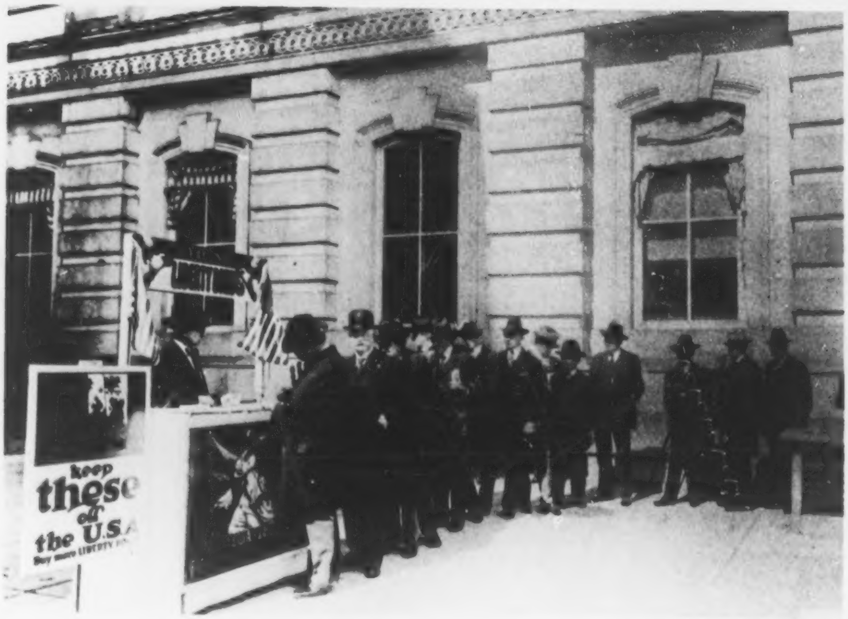


Victory loan poster calls on citizens to buy World War I bonds. The sale of bonds and securities provides a way for the government to borrow money from individuals, banks, and corporations. Setting an example for the nation, members of Congress (right) queue up outside the Capitol to buy Liberty Bonds in 1918. Denominations of $50 to $10,000 appealed to many bond buyers. Citizens with limited means could purchase war-savings certificates. These held 20 war-savings stamps, each with a maturity value of $5. Thrift stamps were also sold for 25 cents each. The five bond drives of World War I raised 21.4 billion dollars, some two-thirds of all the money the government used to finance America's war role.

the enactment of this measure necessitated a new revenue bill in early 1917. Estate taxes were raised 50 percent and the excess profits tax was also increased. This act never went into operation, since one month after it was adopted in March, the United States entered the war and was confronted with the need to raise revenues even further.

Secretary McAdoo reviewed the history of Civil War finance for assistance in meeting the needs of World War I. Only two things impressed him: 1) the methods Jay Cooke used in selling war bonds, and 2) Secretary Chase's failure to appeal to the people. With the optimistic faith of Progressives in both the people and in planning, McAdoo proposed to appeal to patriotism, using war bonds to finance the war on an equal basis with taxes. "Any great war must necessarily be a popular movement," McAdoo wrote. "It is a kind of crusade; and, like all crusades, it sweeps along on a powerful stream of romanticism." [68]

McAdoo's recommendations reflected the administration's belief that half the cost of the war could be postponed by utilizing loans



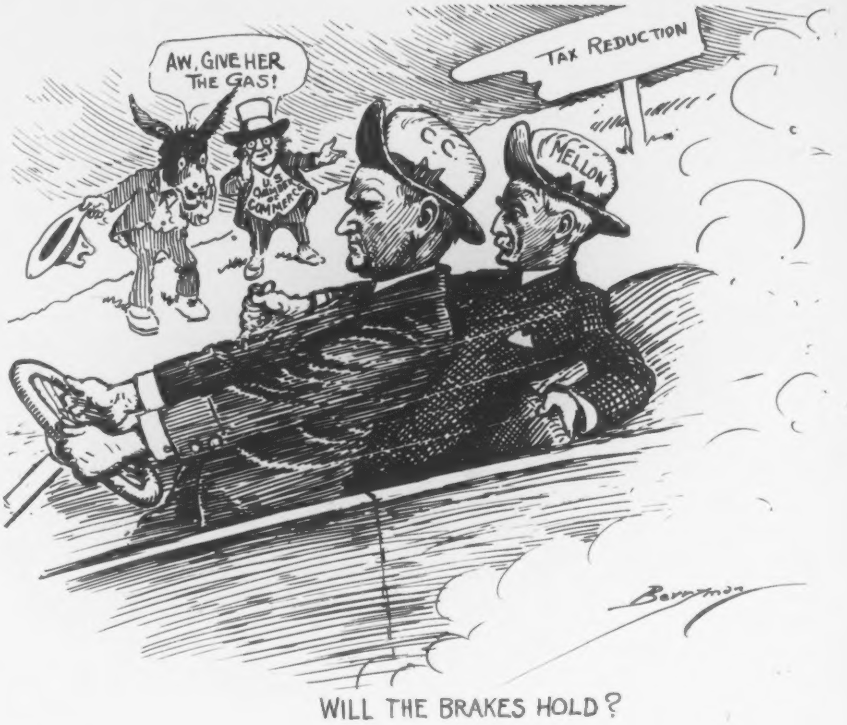
rather than through reliance on taxes. The increased income tax, excess profits taxes, and excises would provide only half of the needed 3.5 billion dollars. Kitchin and the Committee on Ways and Means began consideration of the administration's plan in April by naming a subcommittee to draft a revenue bill. Significantly, no hearings were held, ostensibly because of time constraints, yet the Senate Finance Committee later held hearings on the same measure. The Ways and Means subcommittee was the scene of heated disagreements. Joseph W. Fordney (R-MI) argued against increases in excess profits and corporation taxes, while Henry T. Rainey (D-IL) pushed for confiscatory taxes on incomes over $100,000. In presenting the bill to the House on May 10, Chairman Kitchin admitted that it was a compromise measure, substantially the same as what McAdoo recommended. The chairman eloquently defended raising taxes to finance the war rather than relying upon loans. "Your children and mine had nothing to do with bringing on this war," he observed. "It would be unjust and cruel and cowardly to shift upon them the burden." [69]

The committee bill incorporated the increased rates requested by McAdoo on incomes and the excises on tobacco, liquor, motor vehicles, soft drinks, cigarettes, and musical instruments. The bill also doubled the excess profits tax on corporations, from 8 to 16 percent on the net profits above 8 percent of invested capital. Kitchin said that he favored a rate as high as 80 percent, perhaps only somewhat inflating the figure for effect since he justified the tax on the basis of Great Britain's tax of 60 percent and on France's tax of 50 percent.

The House bill was designed to provide 1.8 billion dollars, half of McAdoo's estimate of the first year of war expenditures. Actual costs quickly proved the original estimate low. While the bill was under consideration in the Senate, McAdoo revised his estimate to 15 billion dollars. The Senate bill—drafted by the Senate Finance Committee chaired by Kitchin's North Carolina rival Furnifold Simmons—although instituting some increases, would only provide 2.4 billion dollars. The inheritance tax, postal rate changes, and several excise taxes deleted by the Senate were restored in conference committee. The bill as passed on October 3, 1917, imposed a 2 percent tax on incomes above $1,000 for single persons and $2,000 for married persons, with graduated surtaxes up to 63 percent. A normal tax of 4 percent was added to the existing tax on corporations. The excess profits tax rates were graduated from 20 to 60 percent. The act greatly expanded federal revenues. For the first time receipts exceeded one billion dollars, totaling 3.7 billion dollars for 1917-1918. Income taxes and excess profits taxes contributed by far the largest increase, forming 2.8 billion dollars of the total.[70]

The need for even more revenue had become evident by April 1918, when monthly expenditures surpassed the one-billion-dollar mark. McAdoo sent letters to both Kitchin and Simmons requesting an increase in the income and war profits taxes. Both chairmen postponed any action until after the November elections. McAdoo appealed to President Wilson to intervene. "As I understand it, Congress is anxious to avoid new revenue legislation at this time," he wrote, "but it is unescapable. Unless this matter is dealt with now firmly and satisfactorily, we shall invite disaster in 1919." [71] The President appeared before a joint session on May 27 in his famous "politics is adjourned" speech to urge higher income taxes, excess profits taxes, and excises. The Secretary of the Treasury appeared before the Committee on Ways and Means on June 5 to recommend an increase in the normal income tax to make his pet tax-exempt war bonds more attractive to investors.

The committee heard, according to Chairman Kitchin, "every class of people," and "every class of business" in drafting the Revenue Act of 1918. Treasury Department experts and economists testified. The committee studied the Civil War revenue acts as well as the war finance measures of Great Britain, France, and Canada. Most of the witnesses were businessmen or their representatives, who complained about the excess profits tax. Special interests pled for relief, such as the American Newspaper Publishers Association, which opposed higher postal rates, and representatives of the motion picture industry, who argued against the excise on amusements. Kitchin, unmoved by such testimony, again crusaded for higher taxes to prevent mounting deficits. He had come to the realization that the higher levels of expenditure and of taxation were not simply temporary aber-



Republicans hit the road to tax reduction following World War I. In this editorial cartoon of 1925, President Calvin Coolidge and his Secretary of Treasury, Andrew Mellon, whiz past Democratic and business representatives who urge the Republicans to speed up tax reform. Mellon's shrewd grasp of finance made him the dominant figure in the administrations of Warren Harding and Calvin Coolidge. From 1921 to 1929, Mellon appeared often before Ways and Means. He guided fiscal policies that eliminated wartime controls, slashed personal and corporate income taxes, reduced the national debt, and restored the high protective tariff.

rations caused by the war. Even after the war, he argued, federal expenditures would remain high. Taxes would have to be raised now to meet the government's expanded revenue needs. Chairman Kitchin reasoned that the present time, when profits were high, was the most expedient moment to raise taxes.[72]

President Wilson and Secretary McAdoo in the meantime impressed upon Kitchin the urgency of differentiating between taxes on war profits and those on excess profits. A tax on war profits, the President wrote to the chairman, was "manifestly equitable" and would be welcomed by business. By implication, an excess profits tax was less "defensible in principle" and more likely to be seen as "a capitalistic tax bill" as Secretary McAdoo termed it.[73]

The bill presented by the committee in September represented a compromise between Treasury's recommendations and Kitchin's wishes. Normal income tax rates were increased to 6 percent on incomes below $4,000 and 12 percent on incomes above $4,000, with a maximum surtax rate of 65 percent. As an alternative to the existing excess profits tax, an 80 percent tax was instituted on war profits. The starting rate of the existing excess profits tax was set at 35 percent, higher than McAdoo wanted, but less than Kitchin sought. The Senate lowered the excess profits tax and increased the income tax on lower incomes by levying a 12 percent normal tax for 1918 (8 percent there-

With a mind for math, Joseph W. Fordney of Michigan built a fortune for himself in the timber business and then made a name for himself as a Republican tariff expert in Congress. He served six terms as a member of Ways and Means before assuming the chairmanship of the committee in 1919. As chairman, he brought forth the Fordney Emergency Tariff Act of 1921, which temporarily restored high duties on wool and other agricultural products. To insure the continuation of its protectionist provisions, he introduced a permanent bill. Passed as the Fordney-McCumber Tariff of 1922, it set up the highest agricultural duties in history.

after) on incomes over $1,000 for single taxpayers and $2,000 for married couples. These changes were reflected in the War Revenue Act of 1918, passed by the House on February 3, 1919, and by the Senate on February 13. Seventy-eight percent of the estimated revenues (4.7 billion dollars of 6.1 billion dollars) were due to personal and corporate income taxes and the excess profits tax.

As enacted, the 1918 Revenue Act also provided for the creation of a Legislative Drafting Service to assist Congress in drafting public bills and resolutions requested by any House or Senate committee. The establishment of the service stemmed from an experimental program by which the Committee on Ways and Means had employed a skilled draftsman named Middleton Beaman to draft portions of its revenue bills between 1916 and 1919. Having determined that other congressional committees would benefit from similar assistance, the Committee on Ways and Means inserted the section pertaining to the creation of the Legislative Drafting Service into the Revenue Act of 1918. Several years later, the Revenue Act of 1924 changed the name of the service to the Office of the Legislative Counsel, whose two draftsmen were now designated as Legislative Counsel.[74]

In addition to the major war revenue acts, the Committee on Ways and Means originated bills for the Liberty and Victory loan issues, Treasury certificates of indebtedness, and war savings certificates. In September 1917, Congress passed a committee measure authorizing the Second Liberty Loan of four billion dollars to the Allies, to be financed by the sale of war bonds. In April of 1917, the commit-

Moderate Republican William R. Green of Iowa accepted the chairmanship of Ways and Means in 1923 and led the committee for five years. He worked in harmony with Treasury Secretary Mellon, who twice appeared before Ways and Means to recommend legislation for deep tax cuts. Following Mellon's lead, the committee reported the bills that respectively became the Revenue Acts of 1924 and 1926. Green's legislative career spanned nine successive Congresses. He resigned in 1928 and took an appointment as a judge on the U.S. Court of Claims.

tee approved the issuance of two billion dollars in Treasury certificates of indebtedness "to the end that the Treasury may at all times have ample means of securing funds to meet the immediate needs of government."[75]

Chairman Kitchin's relationship with the Wilson Administration continued to be a stormy one up until the end of the war. The President, in an August 1918 Cabinet meeting, referred to the chairman as "that distinguished stubborn North Carolinian who when he made up his mind would never open it." Wilson was upset when Kitchin's committee extended the provisions of the income tax to include the salaries of state officials, federal judges, and the President of the United States. Reasoning that an income tax upon his own salary was unconstitutional, Wilson considered contesting the provision, but his aide, Col. Edward House, persuaded him that such an action would appear selfish and hypocritical. Following Democratic losses in the 1918 congressional election, some of the President's aides even suggested an attempt to dump Kitchin from the majority leadership.[76]

Republican Retrenchment in the 1920s

The Republican Party returned to power with the end of the war and the Senate's rejection of Wilson's League of Nations. Republicans controlled the Presidency and both Houses of Congress throughout the decade of the 1920s. Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover were matched with Republican majorities in the House and the Senate from the Sixty-sixth through Seventy-first Congresses (1919–1931). It was a period best summed up in Harding's phrase, "return to normalcy." Wearied and bloodied by the war, the United States turned inward, rejected international entanglements in favor of isolationism and the self-indulgence represented by the Jazz Age and the Roaring Twenties. Republican fiscal policy stressed a similar concern to return to the high protective tariff, to repeal the excess profits taxes, and to lower the surtax on higher income tax brackets. These three objectives were realized in the Fordney-McCumber Tariff of 1922, the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930, and the Revenue Acts of 1921 and 1924, all of which originated in the Committee on Ways and Means.

President Warren G. Harding took a major step toward the realization of Republican goals with the appointment of Andrew Mellon as Secretary of the Treasury in 1921. A wealthy banker, financier, and philanthropist, the 65-year-old Mellon had never held public office and knew little about the Treasury Department or its history. He nevertheless dominated fiscal policy during the twenties under three Republican Presidents. Deeply committed to cutting taxes, Mellon argued that high taxes actually led to lower revenue. Taxpayers would resort to evasion, trickery, or would invest in tax-free bonds. Moreover, high taxes would undermine the work ethic:

> . . . when initiative is crippled by legislation or by a tax system which denies [the taxpayer] the right to receive a reasonable share of his earnings, then he will no longer exert himself and the country will be deprived of the energy on which its continued greatness depends.[77]

Mellon, however, favored retaining the corporation income tax. He also argued for the differentiation between earned and unearned income. Wages and salaries, he maintained, should be taxed at lower rates than unearned income from investments.[78]

Three days after his inauguration, President Harding met with a group of congressional leaders, including Committee on Ways and Means Chairman Joseph W. Fordney and Senate Finance Committee Chairman Boies Penrose (R-PA). Fordney advocated tariff reform, but Penrose argued that tax reform should take precedence. The conference ended with an understanding that both the tax and the tariff should be addressed in the upcoming session. The two committees then came to an informal agreement that the House would take up the tariff while the Senate would consider tax reform.

Joseph W. Fordney of Michigan, a wealthy, self-made man, had served for six terms on the Committee on Ways and Means before Speaker Frederick Gillett named him chairman in 1919. A protégé of Cannon and Payne, Fordney had become an authority on protective

Ways and Means Chairman Willis Hawley, left, of Oregon and Senate Finance Chairman Reed Smoot of Utah, took the lead in tariff revision as the prosperous 1920s faded into the Great Depression. They put their names to one of the most controversial measures ever enacted, the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930. The bill raised duties to the highest levels in American history. Other nations retaliated by shutting out U.S. goods. Without overseas buyers, farmers were forced to sell their surplus crops at a loss. Economic woes grew worse. Money sorely needed from war reparations and debt payments fell off. The tariff blocked Germany and allied nations from trading goods for dollars to be used to pay America. Smoot-Hawley was the last bill in which Congress set the actual tariff rates.

tariffs. He was also, according to his biographer, "a natural-born mathematician . . . [with] a prodigious memory for facts."[79] Chairman Fordney set to work on tariff revision in June 1919 when he called committee hearings on chemical dyestuffs and other wartime manufactures. The resulting Fordney Emergency Tariff Act (May 1921) reinstated protective tariffs on wool and a large variety of agricultural products. Due to a sharp decline in farm prices in 1920, there was widespread support for the bill. President Wilson had vetoed it on the last day of his tenure with the warning, "This is no time for the erection of high tariff barriers."[80] President Harding signed the bill as soon as it was repassed by the following Congress.

The Emergency Tariff was intended to be a temporary measure. The Committee on Ways and Means began hearings in January of 1921 on a permanent tariff. The bill, which became the Fordney-McCumber Tariff 20 months later, was introduced in the House in June. In drafting the bill, the committee took the advice of Commissioner Thomas O. Marvin of the Federal Trade Commission to base ad valorem duties on the American value of foreign goods. Specific duties were also reinstituted to protect against cheap classes of imports. The bill raised rates above the existing Underwood Tariff rates. Fordney contended that the bill represented the "Constitution of a uniform and universal prosperity." [81]

The bill stalled in the Senate after passing the House on July 21. The Senate Finance Committee hearings on the measure lasted from June to January of the following year. In the interim, President Harding was persuaded to support the principle of a flexible tariff. William S. Culbertson, a Wilson-appointee to the Tariff Commission, argued that fixed rates could not cope with the fluidity of international trade. Rates needed to be constantly adjusted on the basis of expert advice provided by the commission. Moreover, he argued, fixed rates would prolong the tariff as a controversial political issue. Harding, who once admitted to being "very much at sea" in trying to understand the tariff, was impressed by Culbertson's reasoning. In his December 6, 1921, State of the Union Message, he informed Congress: "I hope a way will be found to make for flexibility and elasticity so that rates may be adjusted to meet unusual and changing conditions." [82] To accomplish flexibility the President recommended expanding the powers of the Tariff Commission.

The Senate version of the tariff bill prepared by Chairman Porter J. McCumber's Finance Committee reinstated the flexible tariff provision. The conference committee, composed of ten members, including Fordney and McCumber, worked for a month to compromise differences between the two versions. The final bill contained the highest agricultural duties in history. Although the rates on manufactured goods were higher than the Underwood Tariff, they were on average lower than those of the previous Republican Payne-Aldrich Tariff. As one tariff scholar concluded, "the Fordney-McCumber Tariff was a patchwork of compromise, political expediency, and economic greed." [83] As enacted, the measure vested the U.S. Tariff Commission with the authority to determine costs of production associated with tariff rates and also empowered the President to raise or lower tariff rates when the commission decided that existing duties did not equalize with the costs of production. President Harding was both pleased and relieved when he signed the bill into law on September 21, 1922. Before handing to Fordney the gold-mounted pen he used to sign the bill, the President remarked; "This law has been long in the making. . . . if we succeed in making effective the elastic provisions of this measure it will mark the greatest contribution to tariff making in the nation's history." [84]

The Revenue Act of 1921 had intervened to cause the delay in the consideration of the tariff. Secretary of the Treasury Mellon appeared before the Committee on Ways and Means on August 4, 1921, to recommend: 1) repeal of the excess profits tax, 2) reduction of the

Standing before his former Ways and Means colleagues in 1932, Secretary of the Treasury Ogden Mills voices the Hoover Administration's support of a manufacturers' excise tax to increase revenues. Acting Ways and Means Chairman Charles R. Crisp initiated the bill, which coincided with Mills' strategy. "The Committee on Ways and Means and the Treasury Department," Mills had noted a year earlier, "are in complete accord as to the necessity of balancing the budget during the next fiscal year."

maximum income surtax from 65 to 32 percent, and 3) retention of the normal income tax rates of 4 and 8 percent. Fordney supported Mellon's proposals in committee, although he was forced to accept an increase in the corporation tax and an increase in tax exemption for low income groups favored by Southern and Western members. The House passed the measure on August 20 by a vote of 274–125, with only nine Republicans in the opposition. Protests from veterans' groups, labor, and farm-bloc senators succeeded in raising the surtax to 50 percent in the Senate version. Harding and Fordney unsuccessfully lobbied the conference committee to reduce the rate to 40 percent. The Revenue Act of 1921 accomplished most of what Harding, Mellon, and Fordney sought. It reduced the excess profits tax; however, it only slightly reduced surtaxes on the wealthy.[85]

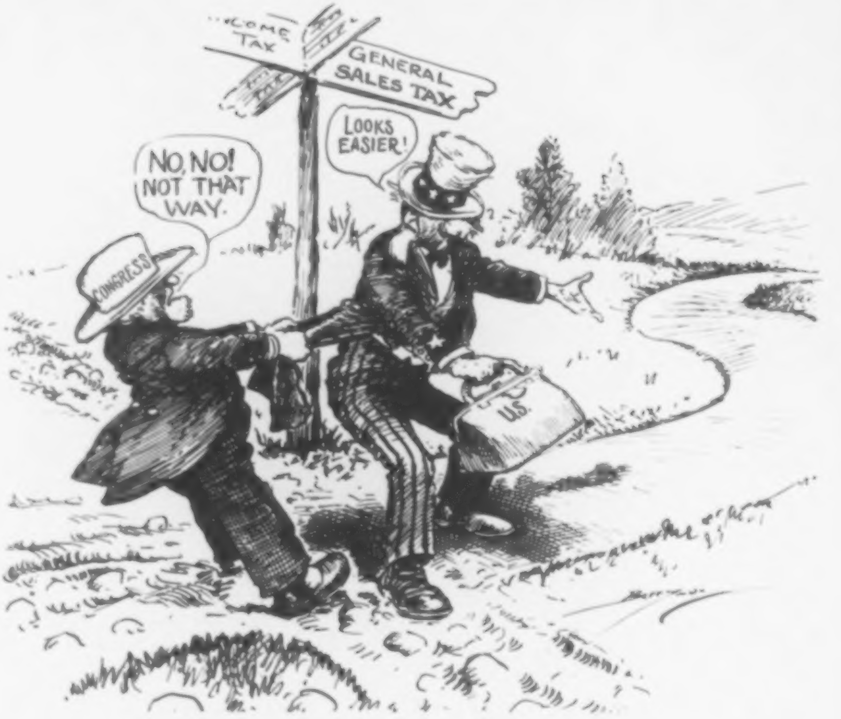
The business prosperity of 1922–1923, as well as a 310-million-dollar Treasury surplus, reinforced Republican optimism and confidence. In November 1923, Secretary Mellon presented a revised tax package to the new chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, William R. Green, a moderate Republican from Iowa. The Mellon Plan of 1923 proposed, among other things, the reduction of normal income tax rates by one-fourth, the reduction of the surtax to 25 percent, and the creation of a Board of Tax Appeals independent of the

Ranking Democrat on Ways and Means, James Collier of Mississippi gained the chairman's job in 1931 after Democrats won control of the House. Collier had served on the committee for 18 years. During his tenure as chairman, he was often absent due to illness. At these times Charles R. Crisp of Georgia stepped in as acting chairman. Collier declined to run for reelection in 1932. The next year, Franklin Roosevelt appointed him a member of the United States Tariff Commission. Collier served seven months before his death in September 1933.

Bureau of Internal Revenue to hear tax cases. In a game of "can you top this," Democrats tried to outdo the Republicans in tax reduction when a Democratic member of the committee, John Nance Garner, introduced on the House floor an amendment that served as a substitute tax package. The House adopted Garner's plan by a vote of 221–196, only to have it replaced by another alternative plan devised by Nicholas Longworth (R-OH). The Senate increased the surtax provisions of the Revenue Act of 1924 from 25 to 40 percent.[86]

On October 19, 1925, Secretary Mellon once again appeared before the Committee on Ways and Means to recommend further tax reductions. The surtax on upper incomes, he argued, ought to be reduced to 20 percent, and the federal estate and gift taxes ought to be repealed. Green and Garner were able to persuade the House to retain the estate tax by conceding on the reduction of the surtax and by an increase in the tax credit for the payment of state inheritance taxes. The Senate only added a new and controversial provision for the oil and gas depletion allowance to what became the Revenue Act of 1926. The act was also notable for establishing the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, which was to be composed of five representatives and five senators with a staff to gather data on the administration of tax laws and to assist Congress in the preparation of revenue legislation. This measure was followed by another tax act in

Congress restrains Uncle Sam from taking the general sales tax path. This 1933 cartoon focuses on the controversy stirred up by a proposed manufacturers' excise tax, a euphemism for a national sales tax. Many congressmen objected to the plan because it would burden consumers, the people who could least afford higher taxes. The proposal also irritated party loyalists who reminded colleagues that Democrats stood for a graduated income tax. Robert Doughton, a Ways and Means member, rallied a bipartisan rebellion against the tax on the House floor. When all the votes had been counted, Uncle Sam changed paths and followed Congress down the income tax road.



1928 that most significantly reduced the corporate tax rate from 13.5 to 12 percent. On the eve of the Great Depression, Mellon confidently asserted that as a result of the Harding and Coolidge Administrations' revenue policies, "business has been taken out of a strait-jacket and permitted to expand in an orderly manner, unhampered by artificial restrictions of the tax laws." [87]

The Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930

The prosperity of the 1920s concealed a troubled world economy. An international balance of payments problem resulted from a combination of allied war debts, German reparations, and nationalistic trade barriers. Most nations responded to these problems with "beggar-my-neighbor" policies such as the imposition of higher import quotas. The economic position of the United States, which had emerged from World War I as the world's greatest creditor nation, was somewhat stronger than that of other countries. However, some sectors of the American economy, particularly agriculture, experienced depressed conditions for much of the decade, reflecting continued surplus production in the face of dwindling overseas markets.

Herbert Hoover, elected President in 1928, was particularly anxious to help the nation's farmers through the enactment of relief legislation and through an upward revision of agricultural tariff rates. Shortly after his inauguration on March 4, 1929, Hoover called a special session of Congress to consider these subjects. The legislature responded to the President's plea for farm relief by passing the Agricultural Marketing Act, which created a Federal Farm Board to provide price supports for agricultural products. The second prong of Hoover's plan, tariff revision, took a course far different from that envisioned by the President. The resulting tariff legislation, the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930, became one of the most controversial and widely criticized measures ever enacted by Congress.

Acting Ways and Means chairman Charles R. Crisp occupies the center seat in this formal portrait of the committee on March 25, 1932. The members had convened to consider new revenue strategies for balancing the budget. Several of the members on this panel later advanced to higher positions: Robert Doughton of North Carolina, chairman of Ways and Means in the 1930s and 1940s; Henry T. Rainey of Illinois, Speaker of the House, 1933–1935; John McCormack of Massachusetts, Speaker of the House, 1962–1971; Fred Vinson of Kentucky, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, 1946–1953.

The Committee on Ways and Means, chaired by Willis C. Hawley (R-OR), had begun its hearings on rate schedules several months before the opening of the special session. In the winter and early spring of 1929, the committee labored over 15 tariff schedules incorporating some 20,000 items. Its bill, reported by the chairman on May 7, 1929, was far more comprehensive than the tariff revision limited to agricultural rates requested by President Hoover. Although the committee bill did, in fact, contain higher duties on agricultural products, it also proposed rate hikes on many other goods. The bill also included a provision that empowered the President to change rates as much as 50 percent on the recommendation of the Tariff Commission. This provision was opposed by the committee's ranking minority member, Robert L. Doughton of North Carolina, who objected to transferring congressional rate-making authority to the President. Another of the minority members who objected to the bill was Cordell Hull (D-TN), a free trade advocate who wrote the committee's minority report on the measure. Hull criticized the panel's lack of vision concerning the current state of international trade, "which clearly demand [the opening of] foreign markets rather than excessive trade protection." Hull viewed the Smoot-Hawley Tariff as a personal defeat, and would later call the passage of this legislation, "perhaps the nadir of my Congressional career." [88]

After three weeks of consideration in which the bill was heavily amended, the House passed the tariff measure on May 29, 1929, by a vote of 264–147. By the time of its passage by the House of Representatives, the new tariff bill had raised existing rates to the highest levels in American history.

The House bill then moved to the Senate, where under the guidance of Senator Reed Smoot (R-UT), it passed through the Senate Finance Committee without much controversy. The bill encountered a serious challenge on the floor when a group of senators from the Northwest and Mountain states succeeded in amending it to incorporate two controversial new provisions: 1) an export debenture on farm products, and 2) a flexible tariff provision to be administered by Congress rather than the President. In all, the Senate amended the House

bill 1,253 times—1,112 of which were introduced on the floor. These amendments reflected no consistent policy, prompting Wisconsin Senator Robert LaFollette to remark that the Smoot-Hawley measure was "the worst tariff bill in the nation's history." [89] On January 6, 1930, the Senate passed the bill, but the differences between the House and the Senate were so great that a conference committee was unable to resolve them before the special session adjourned in late November.

The worsening economy then intervened to alter the rationale behind the passage of a protective tariff. When the Seventy-first Congress convened in regular session in December 1929, the nation was experiencing the initial stages of the Great Depression. Higher tariff rates were now seen by Republican leaders as a means to stimulate business and industrial recovery in the wake of the stock market crash of October. In the spring of 1930, President Hoover persuaded the Senate to withdraw the bill from conference and to vote again on the controversial debenture and flexibility provisions. The Senate defeated both provisions by narrow margins, with Vice President Charles Curtis casting the deciding vote on the flexibility provision. The Senate passed the bill on June 13, as did the House on the following day. Meanwhile, many European and American economists had protested the bill's potentially adverse impact on international trade. President Hoover nevertheless signed the bill on June 17, 1930, not because he approved the rate structure, but because "I am convinced that the disposal of the whole question is urgent." [90]

The Smoot-Hawley Tariff raised rates on agricultural raw materials from 38 to 49 percent, and rates on other commodities from 31 to 34 percent, with special protection afforded to the mineral, chemical, and textile industries. The act also reinstated the House version of the flexible tariff principle by authorizing the President to reorganize the U.S. Tariff Commission, which could then institute a formula for the reduction of tariff rates.

The Smoot-Hawley Tariff was the final bill in which Congress set the actual tariff rates. As economists had predicted, it had disastrous consequences. Within several months of the bill's signing, a number of nations, including Canada and Mexico, had raised their tariff rates. By 1933, 26 nations had instituted some form of trade retaliation against the United States. From 1929 to 1933, American exports dropped from 488 million dollars to 120 million dollars, while imports fell from 368 million dollars to 96 million dollars. The higher rates imposed by the Smoot-Hawley Tariff also compounded the international economic crisis. World trade declined from 35 billion dollars to 12 billion dollars from 1929 to 1933, and nations with huge war debts found that they could not repay them without access to the American market.

The stock market crash in October 1929 and the ensuing depression ended the prosperity of the twenties. They also brought an end to a decade of tax reduction and Treasury surpluses. The deficit for 1931 was 461 million dollars, and the Treasury predicted a deficit of three billion dollars for 1932. As Mellon's replacement at Treasury, Hoover chose Ogden Mills, a former member of the Committee on Ways and Means. Mills had close ties to Southern Democrats, including Chairman James W. "Billy" Collier (D-MS) and Charles Crisp (D-GA), who became acting chairman and floor manager of the Revenue Act of 1932 due to Collier's illness. There seemed to be bipartisan agreement on the need to balance the budget and to raise taxes. Mills recorded late in 1931, "The committee on Ways and Means and the Treasury Department are in complete accord as to the necessity of balancing the budget during the next fiscal year." [91]

The bill drafted by Crisp's committee included provisions to raise income tax rates and surtaxes to the levels of the 1924 law, but the most controversial provision was for a national sales tax, euphemistically referred to as a manufacturers' excise tax. Though the sales tax was introduced on the initiative of the Committee on Ways and Means, it clearly coincided with Mills' strategy. Both Democratic House Speaker John Nance Garner and Majority Leader Henry T. Rainey approved of the sales tax plan, even though it contradicted the party's commitment to the principle of a graduated income tax.

One of the first Democrats to oppose the sales tax provision was Robert Doughton, a member of the Committee on Ways and Means. Doughton was a party loyalist who had worked his way up the com-

MILESTONES IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMMITTEE 1890–1933

1890	McKinley Tariff
1894	Wilson-Gorman Tariff
1897	Dingley Tariff
1898	Spanish-American War excise taxes
1909	Payne-Aldrich Tariff
1911	Democratic caucus designated Democratic members of the Committee on Ways and Means to become party Committee on Committees
1913	Underwood Tariff
1914	Harrison Anti-Narcotics Act
1917	Revenue Act of 1917
1918	War Revenue Act of 1918
1921	Revenue Act of 1921
1922	Fordney-McCumber Tariff
1924	Revenue Act of 1924
1930	Smoot-Hawley Tariff
1932	Committee hearings on birth control bill

mittee seniority list over a six-year period. With bipartisan support, Doughton led a rebellion on the House floor against the sales tax. Garner reconsidered and changed his position, and the House decisively defeated the measure 236–160 on April 1, 1932. As finally adopted, the law increased income tax rates to the levels of 1922, including a maximum surtax of 55 percent, and increased corporate rates to 14 percent.[92]

Conclusion

The legislative history of the tariff of 1930 in effect summarized the Committee on Ways and Means' procedural development in this period. Although the minority made the usual protests, controversial political bills, such as the tariff, were normally drafted by the majority. The committee in 1930, for example, was composed of 25 members—15 Republicans and ten Democrats—but the tariff bill was completely the work of the majority. Each of the 15 Republicans chaired a select subcommittee of three majority members to draft one particular schedule of the tariff. Subcommittee chairs were chosen according to their interest and expertise in each schedule. The majority met to combine the respective schedules, normally deferring to each other's interests. The bill went through three drafts. The original, prepared by the Republican majority on the committee, was altered to conform to the wishes of the party caucus. This second draft was presented to the House, where amendments were made to conciliate the opposition. The only amendments considered were those of the committee, which had priority over all other amendments. After passing the House, the bill went through the usual alterations in the Senate and in conference committee.[93]

Just as the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930 incorporated some of the suggestions made by President Hoover, and rejected other executive initiatives, so too had the Committee on Ways and Means been more open to executive direction than it had been in the post-Civil War period of congressional government. But, just as the Payne committee had not blindly followed President Taft's leadership in tariff reform, nor had the Kitchin committee adhered to the letter of Wilson's wishes on war finance, the Committee on Ways and Means had retained its independent judgment even when the President was the leader of the majority party in Congress.

The Committee on Ways and Means became involved in issues of wide-ranging social implications in this period, such as antidrug and birth control legislation. By far the most significant development was the institution of personal and corporate income taxes. Tariff and excise taxes had always affected broad segments of the population, but the income tax potentially affected every wage earner.

All of these developments would be magnified in the following period of the committee's history as the Great Depression and World War II placed greater strains upon the nation's revenue, and as President Franklin D. Roosevelt attempted to direct congressional consideration of the New Deal. The majority party in Congress would face greater opposition from the minority, especially since many New Deal bills were controversial political issues, and there would be even greater pressure for the majority to cooperate with executive leadership. Moreover, the committee would expand its involvement in social legislation with the Social Security Acts of 1935 and 1939.

* * *

1933 ★ 1959

From the New Deal to the Cold War

The New Deal brought major changes to the Committee on Ways and Means. Legislative tariff rate-making was replaced by reciprocity agreements negotiated by the executive branch under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934. The committee also drafted the Social Security Act of 1935, creating the old age and unemployment insurance programs and greatly expanding government assistance to the needy. The income tax was extended through New Deal and World War II revenue legislation, becoming, along with Social Security, a basic fact of life for most American citizens. For most of this period, a conservative coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats dominated the committee, often frustrating the revenue proposals of Democratic Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. Even during the Republican administration of Eisenhower, Cold War defense spending, the need to balance the budget, and fears of inflation prevented any major postwar revenue reduction.

"Our taxes must follow the intricacies of business and not attempt to bend business to the pattern of simplicity we should all like to see in taxation." (Robert L. Doughton, 1940)[1]

The New Deal marked the beginning of the modern federal government, and it refocused attention upon the Presidency due to Franklin D. Roosevelt's charisma and energy. The executive branch increased in size and complexity as the President centralized decision-making. For example, the Bureau of the Budget was placed more firmly under presidential control by its transfer from the Treasury Department to the Executive Office of the President. The entire federal bureaucracy expanded as Roosevelt's Democratic administrations created program after program in an attempt to stimulate the economy. New agencies were created whose initials, such as the WPA, NRA, and CCC, were likened to alphabet soup, and the number of civilian government employees in the capital doubled between 1929 and 1940.

As the role of the government in promoting economic recovery, growth, and the welfare of its citizens expanded, the federal bureaucracy also grew. Government efforts to regulate corporations, financial institutions, and the stock market intensified. The modern welfare system also had its origins in several programs, especially the Social Security Act of 1935. Although the New Deal was not governed by any consistent philosophy other than pragmatic experimentation, the

Roosevelt Administration expanded federal expenditures in an effort to promote economic growth. The Republican administration of Herbert Hoover spent 3.1 billion dollars in 1930; by 1939, the federal budget was triple that amount. World War II magnified the growth of federal spending to levels approaching 100 billion dollars a year. Expenditures declined in the postwar period, but the federal budget never returned to prewar levels.

The growth of the federal budget and the acceptance of the government's responsibility to manage the economy and to promote social welfare had important implications for the history of the Committee on Ways and Means. As Chairman Doughton's observation on the complexity of tax bills indicated, on one level the committee's duties became much more technical. They also remained as political as ever before. The controversial issue of tariffs was largely resolved by embracing the concept of reciprocity, but taxes and Social Security became even more politically contentious in this period because they came to affect ever larger percentages of the population.

The Committee and the House, 1933–1958

Following Franklin D. Roosevelt's election to the Presidency in 1932, the Democratic Party maintained an almost unbroken control of Congress and the White House. Between 1933 and the election of Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952, the Republican Party controlled Congress only in the Eightieth Congress (1947–1949). During Eisenhower's two terms as President (1953–1961) his party controlled Congress only in the Eighty-third Congress (1953–1955).

This prolonged period of one-party rule imparted a sense of continuity and stability to the Committee on Ways and Means. The seniority system was firmly entrenched, and one chairman, Robert L. Doughton of North Carolina, led the committee from 1933 to 1953, with the exception of the Republican Eightieth Congress, making his the lengthiest chairmanship in the history of the committee. During the Seventy-fourth and Seventy-fifth Congresses, at the height of Democratic control, the 25-member committee had a majority-minority ratio of 18 Democrats to 7 Republicans. In all other Congresses the ratio was 15–10.

The existence of one-party control of Congress, the committee, and the executive branch did not mean automatic harmony. During the early years of the New Deal, the Committee on Ways and Means cooperated closely with FDR in crafting recovery revenue legislation; however, over the years the committee came to hold independent and more conservative views than those represented by either Roosevelt's or Truman's domestic spending programs. Beginning in 1937, a Rules Committee coalition of conservative Democrats and minority Republi-

In 1933, at age 69, Robert Doughton of North Carolina began his tenure as Ways and Means chairman. When he ended his 42-year congressional career in 1953, he had chaired Ways and Means longer than any other member, 18 years. He disliked budget deficits and espoused pay-as-you-go financing. When President Roosevelt vetoed a 1944 tax increase, stating it was insufficient, Doughton, who urged greater economy in spending, joined lawmakers in overriding the President's veto. As chairman, he participated in a fiscal revolution that entailed the financing of New Deal relief programs, Social Security, U.S. mobilization in World War II and the Korean War, and foreign aid programs of the early Cold War years.

cans began to block New Deal legislation. By the following year, a similar conservative alignment was evident in the Committee on Ways and Means. This conservative coalition had distinct historical origins. During the years of Republican ascendancy in the 1920s, Southerners had made up a large proportion of congressional Democrats. When their party regained the majority in the 1930s, these Southern Democrats, because of their seniority, came to hold the key leadership positions, especially the Speakership and major committee chairmanships. The Democratic Speakers of the House between 1935 and 1961 were all conservative Southerners: Joseph W. Byrns (TN), William B. Bankhead (AL), and Sam Rayburn (TX). Conservative chairmen, such as Robert Doughton, often opposed the administration. Doughton's independence on tax measures, in fact, prompted the first presidential veto of a revenue bill in American history, when Roosevelt vetoed the Revenue Act of 1943, subsequently enacted when the veto was overridden by both the House and the Senate.[2]

The convergence of the seniority system, strong committee chairmen, and the conservative coalition motivated a movement for legislative reform, one compounded by the vastly enlarged powers and organizational complexity of the executive branch during World War II. In 1945, the American Political Science Association urged: "Congress must modernize its machinery if it is to keep pace with a greatly enlarged and active Executive Branch." [3] The House and Senate created

Washington news reporters take notes (left) as Ways and Means Chairman James Collier announces that the committee will consider a tax on beer. The Great Depression necessitated immediate government revenues. When the repeal of Prohibition legalized beer, Ways and Means members put aside party differences and backed a tax. Arguing against a beer tax, Bishop James Cannon, Jr., (right) tries to sway members of Ways and Means. He failed, and the Beer and Wine Revenue bill became law in 1933.

a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress in 1945, whose report formed the basis for the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. The number of standing committees was reduced from 33 to 15 in the Senate and from 48 to 19 in the House. The number of standing committee assignments were limited to one for most House members and to two for most Senators. Standing committees were required to maintain records of all committee votes and to open all meetings to the public "except executive sessions for marking up bills or for voting, or where the committee by a majority vote orders an executive session." [4]

The two provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act that most affected the Committee on Ways and Means concerned preparation of the annual legislative budget and the area of committee staffing. The Committee on Ways and Means, the Senate Committee on Finance, and both Appropriations Committees were instructed to act as a Joint Budget Committee to prepare an annual legislative budget. Each standing committee was also authorized to hire four professional and six clerical staff members, except that no limitations were placed on the number of staff for the Appropriations Committees. The act also strengthened the Legislative Reference Service, making it a separate department within the Library of Congress.

Although legislative reorganization was not designed to enhance the powers of committee chairmen, the enlarged committee staffs, which were under the control of the chairmen, provided them with an added tool. The staff of the Committee on Ways and Means grew from the 10 authorized in 1946 to 21 by 1957. In the years of 1951, 1952, and 1953, the staff reached highs of 24, 36, and 30—when the

committee participated in the first thorough revision of the Internal Revenue Code since 1913.[5] The committee needed an enlarged staff in the post-World War II era because of the increased technical complexity of the revenue, trade, and Social Security issues within its jurisdiction.

The Committee on Ways and Means and the New Deal, 1933–1939

The United States was experiencing the darkest days of the Great Depression when Franklin D. Roosevelt took office on March 4, 1933, promising "a new deal for the American people." Unemployment had reached 14 million, and banks were failing throughout the nation. The new President requested broad executive powers to cope with the economic crisis. On the day after his inauguration, Roosevelt called a special session of Congress. For the next three-and-a-half months, known as the Hundred Days, the House and the Senate cooperated with the President to produce an extraordinary legislative record.

Although the early spirit of legislative-executive cooperation was later dissipated by Supreme Court decisions striking down some key

CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
1933–1959

Robert L. Doughton (D-NC)	Seventy-third–Seventy-ninth Congresses, 1933–1947
Harold Knutson (R-MN)	Eightieth Congress, 1947–1949
Robert L. Doughton (D-NC)	Eighty-first–Eighty-second Congresses, 1949–1953
Daniel A. Reed (R-NY)	Eighty-third Congress, 1953–1955
Jere Cooper (D-TN)[1]	Eighty-fourth–Eighty-fifth Congresses, 1955–1957
Wilbur D. Mills (D-AR)	Eighty-fifth Congress, 1957–1959

[1] Cooper died December 18, 1957, shortly after the beginning of the first session of the Eighty-fifth Congress.

acts, and by fierce public criticism of certain New Deal measures, there was a revival of legislative activity in the Second New Deal in the Seventy-fourth Congress (1935–1937). The Committee on Ways and Means tended to cooperate with the Roosevelt Administration to pass early key revenue and Social Security legislation. Yet under the leadership of Robert L. Doughton (D-NC), the committee modified most executive proposals after 1938 in order to achieve compromises acceptable to a growing conservative coalition.

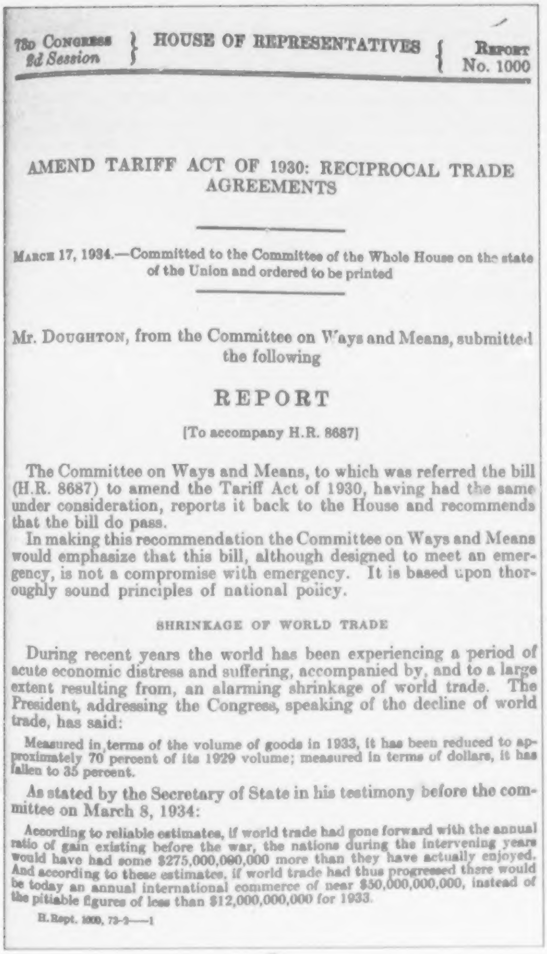
The Seventy-third Congress that convened on March 9, 1933, was composed of a 310–117 Democratic majority. Henry T. Rainey of Illinois was elected Speaker, and Joseph W. Byrns was elected House majority leader by the Democratic caucus. Robert Doughton, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, had served on the committee since 1927, and he remained chairman, with one two-year interruption, until 1952. The North Carolinian affected a homespun country philosophy, often reminding colleagues that "the science of levying and collecting taxes is the science of getting the most feathers with the least squawking of the geese." As chairman, he earned a reputation as the New Deal's man on taxes in the House, yet Doughton was more conservative and less willing to experiment than was the President. His nickname, "Muley," reflected an image of backwoods stubbornness that conveniently cloaked a shrewd ability to compromise without alienating either New Deal liberals or their conservative critics.[6]

Soon after the first session of the Seventy-third Congress began in 1933, the Democrats created a Steering Committee to set party

A frequent visitor to Ways and Means during the Roosevelt Administration, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., left, in 1935 discusses refunding of the Second Liberty Loan of World War I with Chairman Doughton. The gathering also includes Democrats Fred Vinson, second from left, of Kentucky and Wesley Disney of Oklahoma. (Vinson was later named Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.) In the 1930s, the committee's agenda quickly expanded as New Deal programs made the federal government an integral part of everyday America.

policy and floor strategy; the committee was composed of the Speaker of the House, the floor leader, the party whip, the chairmen of the Ways and Means, Appropriations, and Rules Committees, and 15 other congressmen. Although this Steering Committee was active during the early years of the New Deal, the most powerful instrument of majority party government in the House was the Rules Committee. Chaired by William B. Bankhead of Alabama, this committee assisted the President by bringing various measures to the floor under closed rules that restricted debate and amendment.

A spirit of harmony and bipartisanship prevailed on the Committee on Ways and Means in 1933. Party differences were set aside in order to deal with the current economic emergency. To provide immediate revenues for the government, the committee reported the Beer and Wine Revenue bill. This measure, which was made possible by the repeal of Prohibition, legalized the manufacture and sale of beer and light wine and also levied a five-dollar tax on 31-gallon containers of beer, wine, lager beer, ale, and porter. One member of the committee considered passage of this bill "by far the finest demonstration of nonpartisan politics that has been presented during my more than twenty years' service." [7] Two weeks later the House considered the National Industrial Recovery Act legislation, which levied a 5 percent tax on dividends and restored a modest excess profits tax, and which established the Public Works Administration and the National Industrial Recovery Administration. The committee had endorsed the bill with only one dissenting vote. The committee's ranking Republican member, Allen T. Treadway of Massachusetts, echoed



73d Congress, 2d Session | HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES | Report No. 1000

AMEND TARIFF ACT OF 1930: RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS

March 17, 1934.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. Doughton, from the Committee on Ways and Means, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H.R. 8687]

The Committee on Ways and Means, to which was referred the bill (H.R. 8687) to amend the Tariff Act of 1930, having had the same under consideration, reports it back to the House and recommends that the bill do pass.

In making this recommendation the Committee on Ways and Means would emphasize that this bill, although designed to meet an emergency, is not a compromise with emergency. It is based upon thoroughly sound principles of national policy.

SHRINKAGE OF WORLD TRADE

During recent years the world has been experiencing a period of acute economic distress and suffering, accompanied by, and to a large extent resulting from, an alarming shrinkage of world trade. The President, addressing the Congress, speaking of the decline of world trade, has said:

> Measured in terms of the volume of goods in 1933, it has been reduced to approximately 70 percent of its 1929 volume; measured in terms of dollars, it has fallen to 35 percent.

As stated by the Secretary of State in his testimony before the committee on March 8, 1934:

> According to reliable estimates, if world trade had gone forward with the annual ratio of gain existing before the war, the nations during the intervening years would have had some $275,000,000,000 more than they have actually enjoyed. And according to these estimates, if world trade had thus progressed there would be today an annual international commerce of near $50,000,000,000, instead of the pitiable figures of less than $12,000,000,000 for 1933.

H.Rept. 1000, 73-2——1

The historic squabbling in Congress over writing tariff schedules changed course with the proposal for reciprocal trade agreements, the subject of this 1934 Ways and Means report. As Secretary of State, former Ways and Means member Cordell Hull suggested that Congress entrust the responsibility for setting tariffs to the President, who would reduce tariffs on imports from those countries reducing tariffs on their imports of U.S. goods. The idea set off intense partisan debate. The Republican minority argued that reciprocity was unconstitutional. Critics also said the plan set no time limit upon the President's authority. A series of compromises addressed these concerns, and the amended bill was passed into law as the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934. It provided the means to lower the ruinous Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930 and marked a turning point in tariff history. After 150 years of presiding over tariff legislation, Congress had granted responsibility for rate-setting to the executive branch.

the prevailing bipartisanship when he stated: "We have tried various expediencies without success. Here is a new notion. Try it. Try anything."[8]

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934

The previous year's harmony disintegrated in 1934 as partisan differences on the committee began to surface. The first partisan clash occurred during deliberations on the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934. The Roosevelt Administration's trade policy evolved slowly. The President's choice for Secretary of State was Cordell Hull, a former member of the Committee on Ways and Means who had consistently advocated free trade and tariff reduction. In the winter of 1933–1934, the President asked Hull to prepare a trade bill for submission to Congress. The Secretary of State was guided by foreign policy considerations as well as by economic concerns. "To me it seemed virtually impossible to develop friendly relations with other nations in the political sphere so long as we provoked their animosity in the economic sphere," he recalled. "How could we promote peace with them while waging war on them commercially?" [9]

The most effective remedy for international trade barriers would have been for the United States to unilaterally lower tariff rates. Hull's congressional experience, however, had convinced him that once tariff revision began, special interests would take over and the result would be much the same as the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930. Therefore, he recommended that Congress entrust the responsibility for tariff reduction to the executive branch. Hull's bill proposed that Congress authorize the President to negotiate bilateral trade agreements incorporating both reciprocity and the most-favored-nation status, which meant that, as Hull put it: "any reduced duties were to apply to all foreign countries alike. If any country, however, discriminated against our commerce, the lowered duties need not apply." [10]

The administration unveiled Hull's draft at the White House on February 28, 1934, before a group of congressional leaders that included Chairman Doughton of the Committee on Ways and Means. The President, according to Hull, stressed the importance of reviving American exports and international trade in order to promote "a full and permanent domestic recovery." A bill was sent to Congress in early March. Secretary Hull testified before both House and Senate committees. In stark contrast to the protracted hearings on the Smoot-Hawley bill, the Committee on Ways and Means heard only 17 witnesses in just one week. The executive mark-up session included both majority and minority party members, unlike the case in 1930 when the minority had been excluded. The majority report voted out of committee on March 19 adopted the administration plan virtually unchanged. The Republican members, however, issued a strong minority report criticizing the bill because it set no time limit upon the President's authority to negotiate trade agreements and because in their opinion it violated the Constitution. According to the bill's critics, it delegated to the President the authority of Congress to tax and the Senate's power of treaty ratification. Hull had anticipated the latter objection. The administration had decided that trade agreements would not be considered as treaties but rather as executive agreements that did not require congressional approval. The administration had similarly rejected any legislative veto of trade agreements that would have interfered with the executive's ability to negotiate.

The criticism of the trade bill carried over to floor debate, where House Democrats accepted a series of compromise amendments. The most important amendment limited the President's negotiating authority to three years. Another amendment provided that any agree-

Great Depression victims: A jobless father holds tight to his child as police lead him from the scene of a demonstration in Washington, DC. Hundreds of out-of-work protestors seeking government relief clashed with police in a melee known as the Unemployment Riot of 1933. Earlier, in the December cold of 1932, hunger marchers (right) line up outside the U.S. Capitol. They waited under the watchful glare of armed police as delegates presented their demands for aid to Speaker John N. Garner and Vice President Charles Curtis. Provisions of the Social Security Act, such as unemployment insurance, directly addressed the concerns of these workers.

ment could be terminated after three years. The bill passed the House on March 29 by a 274–111 vote. The Senate passed the bill on June 4, and President Roosevelt signed it on June 12, 1934.

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934 was actually an amendment to the existing Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act. The new law authorized the President to negotiate bilateral trade agreements to raise or lower the existing tariff rates by as much as 50 percent. However, as Hull observed, "it was obvious we would reduce them, since no other country would sign an agreement to increase our tariffs." [11] The law marked a turning point in tariff history—one tariff scholar referred to it at the time as "a revolution in tariff making." [12] Congress delegated to the executive branch the authority over rate-setting that it had jealously guarded for 150 years. The Democratic majority on the Committee on Ways and Means, as well as that in Congress, recognized that trade in the interdependent 20th-century economy was a foreign policy issue even more than a domestic consideration.

The Revenue Act of 1934 and the Wealth Tax of 1935

The trade act, while closely adhering to the proposal drawn up by the administration, also revealed the crumbling bipartisan coalition on the committee. The revival of partisanship continued during consideration of the Revenue Act of 1934, which resulted more from the commit-

tee's initiative than that of the administration. A subcommittee of the Committee on Ways and Means had undertaken a study of tax evasion the previous year. The subcommittee's recommendations were mainly concerned with technical adjustments to revenue administration, designed to plug some loopholes in the existing law. The Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., objected to most of the committee's proposals. The House, however, passed the committee bill unamended. Under the Revenue Act of 1934, a single rate of 4 percent was established for the normal tax, and surtax rates were revised in a slightly progressive manner. The most controversial provision was a 35 percent tax on the undistributed profits of personal holding companies—companies established to accumulate earnings as a means to avoid the income tax surtax rates. (The committee called these companies "incorporated pocketbooks.")[13]

After the 1934 congressional elections, the Democrats commanded a 319–103 majority, and the committee's membership shifted to 18–7 to reflect the larger House majority. During the Seventy-fourth Congress, the Committee on Ways and Means reported five major bills, drafted by a caucus of the majority members, which excluded the Republican minority. In fact, for the next four years the Committee on Ways and Means was dominated by the Democratic majority. Committee Democrats ignored the Republican members. "We do not want their advice," one Democrat observed in 1938, "because we know they are going to stick a knife in our Democratic backs every time they can on everything we propose."[14] Republican members were outraged, charging that the majority developed bills in caucus and then simply informed the minority of their actions. Republican members were literally locked out of the committee's proceedings. Ranking minority member Treadway made it a practice to knock every morning on the committee door, "only to find it locked and to hear the buzz of voices in heated argument within."[15] Only after the Democratic members had reached agreement were the Republicans asked in to be notified of the committee's decisions.

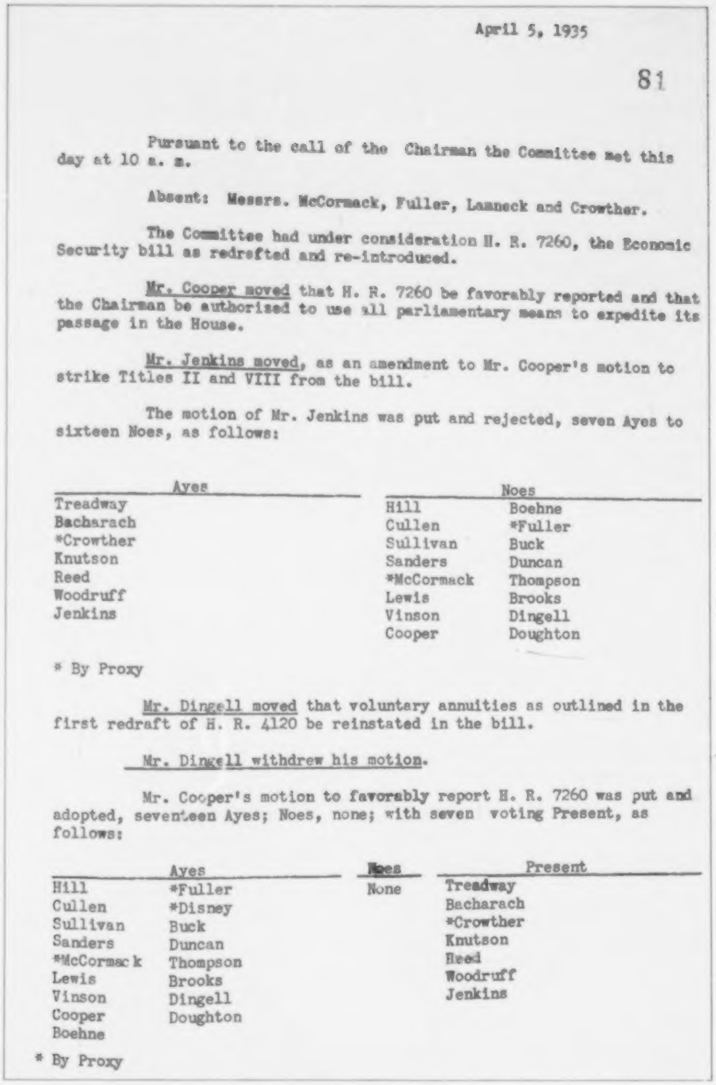
The most serious controversy engendered by a committee bill during this Congress occurred over the Wealth Tax of 1935. In response to criticism that the New Deal was not doing enough to redistribute wealth in the United States, FDR unveiled a comprehensive tax reform plan. In a message to Congress in June 1935, the President criticized the existing revenue system and proposed reforms to increase taxes on upper income taxpayers. The President surprised Congress by charging that the revenue system had "done little to prevent an unjust concentration of wealth and economic power."[16] His solution was the so-called Wealth Tax. As written by the Committee on Ways and Means and reported by Chairman Doughton, the bill proposed to create a more equitable tax system through progressive corporate, inheritance, and income taxes. The final bill, approved by Congress on August 30, 1935, increased surtax rates on individual incomes exceeding $50,000 and individual estates of over $40,000. In addition, it imposed a 59 percent rate on individual incomes above one million dollars, graduated to a maximum rate of 75 percent on incomes exceeding five million dollars. The act also raised estate and gift taxes, while rates on all corporate incomes were raised to 15 percent. Finally, an excess profits tax was levied on profits exceeding 10 percent. This tax was graduated to a maximum rate of 12 percent on corporate profits in excess of the 15 percent nontaxable profits rate allowed by the statute.[17]

The Republicans on the Committee on Ways and Means strenuously opposed the Wealth Tax Act. Treadway called it a "monstrosity." The statute also alienated many conservative House Democrats, who were disturbed by the implications of the bill but who reluctantly supported it because of the heavy pressure applied by the White House and the House majority leadership.

The Social Security Act of 1935

In spite of the growing congressional opposition to the New Deal, Chairman Doughton managed to maintain party discipline within the Committee on Ways and Means on measures requested by the Roosevelt Administration. The most important committee legislation during

Minutes of a Ways and Means executive session on April 5, 1935, record the committee's deliberations over a proposed Social Security bill. President Roosevelt in the summer of 1934 had called for legislation that would provide "security against several of the great disturbing factors in life—especially those which relate to unemployment and old age." Interestingly, this Ways and Means document shows that seven committee members supported a motion to strike Title II of the proposed bill, dealing with old-age benefits. A majority, including Chairman Doughton, rejected the motion. A second motion to favorably report H.R. 7260 found members in the same camps, and the motion was adopted.



April 5, 1935

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Pursuant to the call of the Chairman the Committee met this day at 10 a. m.

Absent: Messrs. McCormack, Fuller, Lamneck and Crowther.

The Committee had under consideration H. R. 7260, the Economic Security bill as redrafted and re-introduced.

Mr. Cooper moved that H. R. 7260 be favorably reported and that the Chairman be authorized to use all parliamentary means to expedite its passage in the House.

Mr. Jenkins moved, as an amendment to Mr. Cooper's motion to strike Titles II and VIII from the bill.

The motion of Mr. Jenkins was put and rejected, seven Ayes to sixteen Noes, as follows:

Ayes	Noes	
Treadway	Hill	Boehne
Bacharach	Cullen	*Fuller
*Crowther	Sullivan	Buck
Knutson	Sanders	Duncan
Reed	*McCormack	Thompson
Woodruff	Lewis	Brooks
Jenkins	Vinson	Dingell
	Cooper	Doughton

* By Proxy

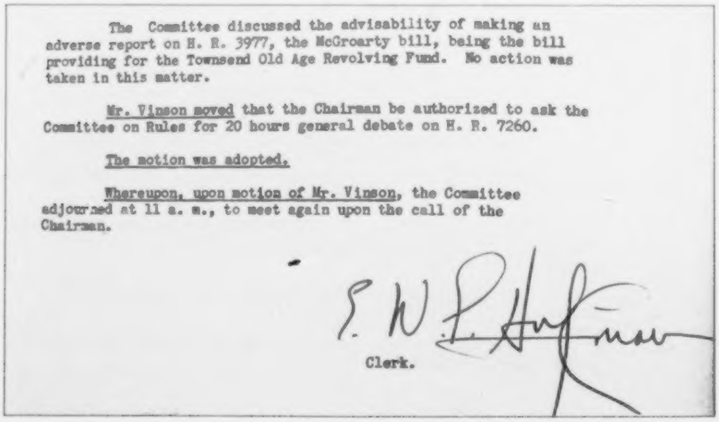
Mr. Dingell moved that voluntary annuities as outlined in the first redraft of H. R. 4120 be reinstated in the bill.

Mr. Dingell withdrew his motion.

Mr. Cooper's motion to favorably report H. R. 7260 was put and adopted, seventeen Ayes; Noes, none; with seven voting Present, as follows:

Ayes		Noes	Present
Hill	*Fuller	None	Treadway
Cullen	*Disney		Bacharach
Sullivan	Buck		*Crowther
Sanders	Duncan		Knutson
*McCormack	Thompson		Reed
Lewis	Brooks		Woodruff
Vinson	Dingell		Jenkins
Cooper	Doughton		
Boehne			

* By Proxy



The Committee discussed the advisability of making an adverse report on H. R. 3977, the McGroarty bill, being the bill providing for the Townsend Old Age Revolving Fund. No action was taken in this matter.

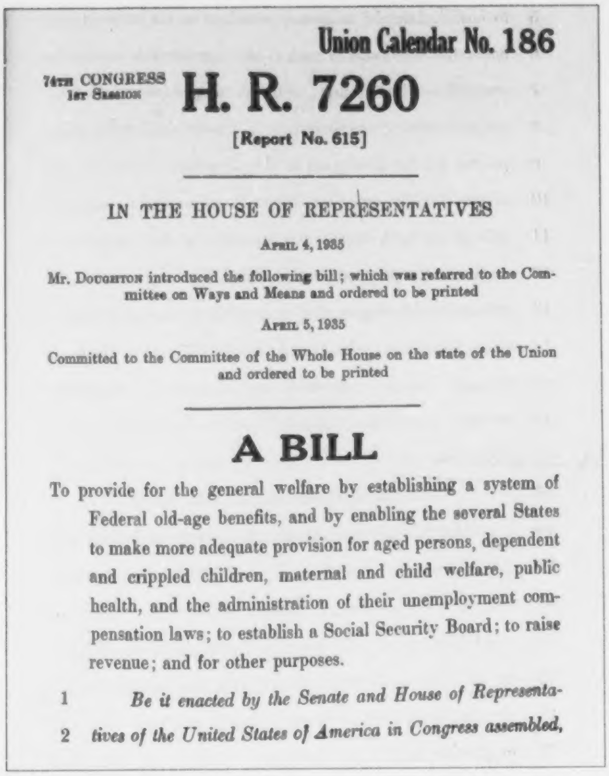
Mr. Vinson moved that the Chairman be authorized to ask the Committee on Rules for 20 hours general debate on H. R. 7260.

The motion was adopted.

Whereupon, upon motion of Mr. Vinson, the Committee adjourned at 11 a. m., to meet again upon the call of the Chairman.

E. W. L. Hoffman

Clerk.



Union Calendar No. 186

74th CONGRESS
1st Session

H. R. 7260

[Report No. 615]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

April 4, 1935

Mr. Doughton introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed

April 5, 1935

Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed

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A BILL

To provide for the general welfare by establishing a system of Federal old-age benefits, and by enabling the several States to make more adequate provision for aged persons, dependent and crippled children, maternal and child welfare, public health, and the administration of their unemployment compensation laws; to establish a Social Security Board; to raise revenue; and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

H.R. 7260 cleared the House without amendment on April 19, 1935, and by early August the House and Senate reached a compromise on the measure. With Chairman Doughton at his side, President Roosevelt (right) signs the Social Security Act into law on August 14. At rear, directly behind the President, is committee member John D. Dingle (D–MI). The measure, originally entitled the Economic Security Act, transferred to the federal government functions that had once been the responsibility of families and of state and local governments. In addition to the retirement program, now known as Social Security, the act also created unemployment and welfare programs to assist workers and children in need.

the Seventy-fourth Congress was the Social Security Act of 1935, even though the principal impetus for the legislation came from sources outside the committee.

The Social Security Act developed from several sources. By the 1930s, every major European nation had adopted the concept of social insurance in some form. Private pension plans in the United States had proved inadequate in the face of the Depression; some 45 plans were discontinued between 1929 and 1932. Moreover, several utopian social welfare schemes had captured the public's imagination. Socialist Upton Sinclair had campaigned for governor of California on a platform of a $50 pension for all state residents. Senator Huey P. "Kingfish" Long of Louisiana advocated a radical Share-Our-Wealth Plan to redistribute income by confiscatory taxes upon the surplus wealth of the richest Americans. Dr. Francis E. Townsend, an elderly California physician, became extremely popular with his plan to provide $200 monthly pensions to all persons over 60 provided that the money was spent within 30 days.[18]

In 1934, Senator Robert F. Wagner (D-NY) and Representative David J. Lewis (D-MD), a member of the committee, introduced a bill to provide unemployment insurance financed by a 5 percent payroll tax. The bill was endorsed by administration officials in hearings

before a subcommittee of the Committee on Ways and Means, but the subcommittee reported the bill to the full committee with no recommendations for action. Although FDR wrote to Doughton requesting that the measure be passed, the Wagner-Lewis bill died in committee.

Impressed by arguments that a more comprehensive measure incorporating both old age assistance and unemployment insurance was needed, the President delivered a Special Message on Reconstruction and Recovery on June 8, 1934, in which he stated:

> Next winter we may well undertake the great task of furthering the security of the citizen and his family through social insurance. . . . The various types of social insurance are interrelated; and I think it is difficult to attempt to solve them piecemeal. Hence, I am looking for a sound means which I can recommend to provide at once security against several of the great disturbing factors in life—especially those which relate to unemployment and old age.[19]

Three weeks later the President appointed a Cabinet-level Committee on Economic Security (CES) to report recommendations on social insurance. The committee's report of January 15, 1935, formed the basis for the Social Security Act of 1935.

Although the Committee on Economic Security's report was accompanied by a draft bill, the question of who would introduce the bill in Congress caused some concern. Senator Wagner was given the privilege in the Senate, but the President was advised by Speaker Byrns that Chairman Doughton wanted the honor of introducing the bill in the House. The bill was introduced in such haste that Doughton had to procure a copy of Wagner's Senate bill to place before the House. The Committee on Ways and Means then scheduled hearings to begin on January 21, one day before the Senate Finance Committee's hearings.[20]

The Ways and Means Committee holds new hearings on Social Security in March 1939. Expert witnesses testified before the committee on the merits of extending benefits beyond those provided in the original act. Ways and Means reported a bill favoring an amendment of Title II to include protection for survivors upon the death of the wage earner and to certain dependents. President Roosevelt signed the new law on August 10, 1939.

The hearings began with testimony from the executive director and members of the CES, including Labor Secretary Frances Perkins. After the government witnesses had explained and defended the provisions of their draft bill, the committee heard critics of the plan, including Dr. Townsend and his supporters. The Townsendites received by far the greatest public attention as they tried to offer their plan as an alternative to the administration's recommendations on old age security. Doughton accorded the witnesses ample courtesy, but the committee subjected them to piercing cross examination to discredit Townsend's fanciful scheme.[21]

The committee began consideration of the bill in earnest after the hearings ended on February 12. In some 20 executive sessions of the entire committee, the bill was considered word-by-word. Part of the reason for the committee's deliberate approach was the need to redraft the bill's language. The CES had originally written sections into the bill that made appropriations for various purposes, rather than authorizing appropriations. Consequently, Chairman Doughton instructed the chief draftsman of the House to rewrite the bill, which he did in a typically thorough, diligent, and tedious bureaucratic manner. More serious, however, was the fact that many members of the committee were opposed to, or uncertain about, the old age provisions. President Roosevelt declined to actively intervene, making it necessary for the chairman to slowly build support for the bill. Doughton utilized his popularity and fairness to postpone action, finally making a compromise possible. The original draft had provided for both voluntary and compulsory old age annuities. By agreeing to drop the voluntary provision, the bill's supporters were able to obtain support for the passage of the compulsory insurance title.

The bill that emerged from the committee was significantly rearranged and rewritten. Previously known as the Economic Security Act, it was now renamed the Social Security Act. The committee's favorable report was made on April 5, and House debate began six days later under an open rule. The committee had requested the usual closed rule to limit debate and amendment, but the Rules Committee refused in order to maintain the appearance that members favorable to the Townsend plan would be free to amend the bill. Behind the scenes, however, the House Democratic leadership had moved to insure that the bill would not be amended. Although approximately

50 amendments were offered, none were adopted. The bill passed the House on April 19. Differences between the House and Senate were ironed out in early August, and President Roosevelt signed the Social Security Act on August 14, 1935.

The Social Security Act transferred to the federal government functions that once had been the responsibility of families and of state and local governments. The two major provisions of the law were designed to protect older Americans. Under Title I of the act, Congress appropriated nearly 50 million dollars to enable the states "to furnish financial assistance . . . to aged needy individuals." Title II created an Old-Age Reserve Fund to finance old age insurance through a one-percent payroll tax on employers and employees. Farmers, domestic workers, the self-employed, teachers, some professionals, and government employees were excluded from coverage. Over 9 million workers were not covered by the initial provisions of Social Security. Several other titles addressed the problems confronting other age groups, such as unemployment compensation (Titles III and IX), aid to families with dependent children (Title IV), relief for the blind (Title X), and grants for state maternal and child welfare programs (Title V).

On signing the bill, President Roosevelt was cautiously optimistic—perhaps more cautious than optimistic. He reminded the public that "We can never insure one hundred percent of the population

Ida Fuller of Ludlow, Vermont, was Social Security's first retirement beneficiary. She received her first check, numbered 000-00-001 and payable for $22.54, on January 31, 1940. She is shown here at age 76, in October 1950, with a check that reflects the first-ever increase in monthly benefits, which resulted from the Social Security Amendments of 1950. Her increase was $18.75. In all, she received benefits for 35 years, living to age 100.

against one hundred percent of the hazards and vicissitudes of life." Social Security, he believed, was "too precious to be jeopardized now by extravagant action."[22]

The Revenue Acts of 1936–1939

After passage of the Social Security Act of 1935, the committee focused once more on tax issues. When the Seventy-fifth Congress convened, the Democrats had commanding majorities in the House (331–89) and the Senate (76–16). Party representation on the Committee on Ways and Means remained at 18–7. FDR was dealt a severe blow in January 1936 when the Supreme Court declared the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 unconstitutional. One of the provisions of the act had been to subsidize farm production through excise taxes levied on the processors of specified farm products. The court's action deprived the government of 500 million dollars in revenue. On March 3, 1936, Roosevelt called for new taxes to produce over one billion dollars in additional revenues through the imposition of three new taxes: 1) a windfall profits tax, 2) a temporary agricultural products processing tax, and 3) a graduated tax upon undistributed corporate income.

FDR's proposals were immediately attacked by business leaders, by Republicans, and by conservative congressional Democrats. On March 26, 1936, the Internal Revenue Subcommittee of the Committee on Ways and Means began public hearings and later submitted a report closely patterned on President Roosevelt's requests. The document contained a proposal for a graduated undistributed corporate profits tax at a maximum rate of 42.5 percent for corporations whose net incomes exceeded $70,000. On March 30 the full committee began hearings on the subcommittee report. After hearing testimony from the Treasury Department and the Internal Revenue Service, the committee majority reported a bill containing the undistributed profits tax and a windfall profits tax. The opinion of the majority was countered by a minority report listing its objections, but the House accepted the bill with little debate.

The House revenue bill of 1936 ran into trouble in the Senate. After holding its own hearings, the Senate Finance Committee issued a majority report opposing the House measure on the grounds that it would limit the growth of new corporations, cause unemployment, and diminish the confidence of the business community in the federal government. The Finance Committee proposed a substitute tax plan increasing the standard corporate tax rate while lowering the undistributed profits tax to a maximum rate of 7 percent. After three days of discussion, the Senate approved the Finance Committee's version of the House bill by a vote of 38–24. The conference committee's compromise reflected the House's desire to tax undistributed profits and the Senate's wish to retain a graduated corporate earnings tax. The Revenue Act of 1936, approved on June 22, levied the undistributed profits tax and imposed surtaxes ranging from 7 to 27 percent on corporate incomes. [23]

After creating the new tax system, the Committee on Ways and Means considered how best to enforce it. On June 1, 1937, the President sent a message to Congress citing the imperative problem of tax evasion and requesting legislation to make "the present tax structure evasion-proof." [24] Shortly thereafter Congress created a Joint Committee on Tax Evasion and Avoidance, which held hearings until July 28, and submitted a report explaining the loopholes that wealthy Americans used to avoid paying taxes. On August 26, the President signed the Revenue Act of 1937. Written as an amendment to the 1936 law, the new measure closed several loopholes that had permitted corporate and individual evasion. Meanwhile, the Committee on Ways and Means' Subcommittee on Internal Revenue Taxation, chaired by Fred M. Vinson (D-KY), was considering additional substantive changes in the internal revenue system.

Vinson's subcommittee submitted its report to the full committee on January 14, 1938. This document contained a wide variety of recommendations on corporate taxes, holding companies, capital gains and losses, excises, and estate and gift taxes, as well as suggestions for the administration of the tax system. In addition, the subcommittee proposed a substantial modification of the undistributed profits tax, the most controversial feature of the 1936 Revenue Act. In subsequent full committee hearings, the bulk of testimony delivered principally by lobbyists and by members of the business community was unfavorable to the continuation of the undistributed profits tax. The committee was unimpressed with such testimony and retained the tax in its version of the new revenue bill.

The Senate Finance Committee urged the abandonment of the tax altogether, and adopted flat corporate taxes as a substitute measure. The final conference committee bill curtailed the undistributed profits tax and also reduced capital gains taxes. The President disapproved of this tax break for large corporations, but he did not veto the conference measure. At midnight on May 28, the Revenue Act of 1938 became law without the President's signature. One year later, Congress repealed the undistributed profits tax.

The Democratic majority on the Committee on Ways and Means had been able to write revenue legislation with little regard for the Republican minority prior to 1939. But the Democrats suffered severe losses in the midterm congressional elections in 1938. One factor that hurt Democratic candidates was Roosevelt's unpopular attempt to pack the Supreme Court by adding as many as six new justices in order to alter its conservative anti-New Deal philosophy; another negative factor was a sharp economic recession that began in 1937. Republicans gained a total of 76 seats in the House and the Senate, bringing the House totals to 261 Democrats and 164 Republicans. Membership on the Committee on Ways and Means was restored to the usual 15–10 ratio. The relationship between Republicans and Democrats on the committee was relatively free from partisanship during the Seventy-sixth Congress as the conservative coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans emerged. The committee reported three important pieces of legislation: 1) the Revenue Act of 1939, which abolished the undistributed profits tax, 2) the Public Salary Tax Act, and 3) a bill to amend the Social Security Act of 1935. These bills were hammered out in executive sessions now attended by members of both parties, and were passed by the House and the Senate without significant controversy. The Public Salary Tax Act extended the income tax to federal, state, and local judges, and to federal judges who had taken the oath of office before 1932. However, the impact of both it and the Revenue Act of 1939 were relatively minor compared to the major expansion of the Social Security system enacted in 1939.[25]

Ways and Means Chairman Doughton, right, Speaker Joseph Byrns, left, and Senate Finance Chairman Pat Harrison leave a White House meeting concerning federal revenues in February 1936. A month earlier, the Supreme Court had struck down a farm tax law, severely crippling federal revenues. In March, the President called for a controversial tax program to raise more than a billion dollars in additional revenues. The unity welded by the hard times of the early 1930s began to break apart at mid-decade. The rift between New Deal liberals and fiscal conservatives made the passage of the Revenue Act of 1936 difficult.

The Social Security Amendments of 1939

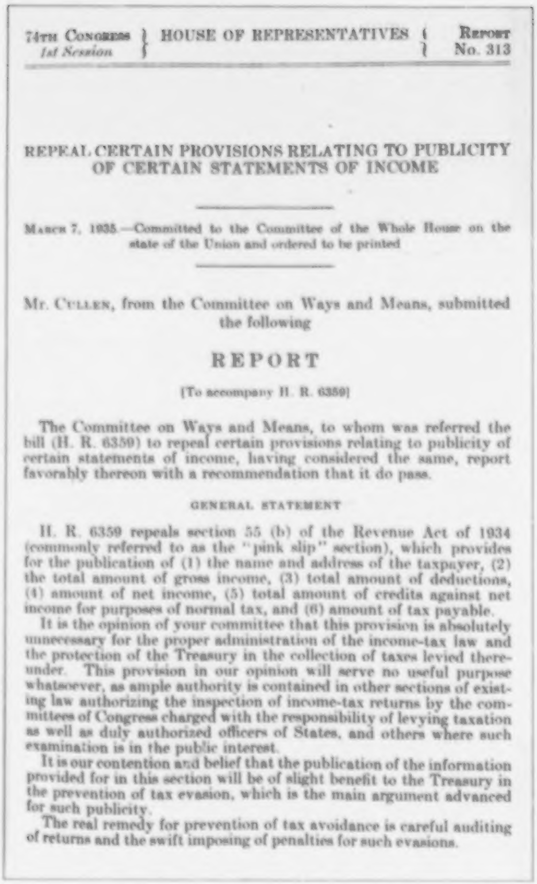
President Roosevelt believed that once the Social Security system of payroll taxes and old-age assistance had gone into operation, "no damn politician can ever scrap my social security program." [26] Public acceptance of the system seemed to reinforce the President's conclusion. In 1937, for example, a Gallup poll determined that 73 percent of those questioned supported the payroll tax. Yet Social Security was not without its critics on both the left and the right. Dr. Townsend's scheme continued to attract millions of supporters. In California, some 80 different old age welfare plans were developed between 1936 and 1938. During the 1936 presidential campaign, Republican candidate Alfred Landon attacked Social Security as a "cruel hoax." To Republican critics, Roosevelt's New Deal programs not only aggrandized federal power, but they also mortgaged the nation's economic future. Social Security was particularly unsound, "unjust, unworkable, stupidly drafted and wastefully financed." Landon warned: "If the present compulsory insurance program remains in force, our old people are only too apt to find the cupboard bare." [27]

At the suggestion of Arthur J. Altmeyer, the chairman of the Social Security Board, President Roosevelt named an advisory council to recommend changes in the system as a means to defuse mounting criticism. "I think it not only possible to offset these attacks," Altmeyer wrote, ". . . but really to use them to advance a socially desira-

ble program." [28] The thrust of the advisory council's report was that benefits should be increased and that the system should expand to include the survivors and dependents of retired workers. The President's message on Social Security was transmitted to Congress on January 16, 1939. The message was referred to Doughton's Committee on Ways and Means, which held hearings from February 1 to April 2. In contrast to the haste with which the original act had been considered in 1935, the committee heard 188 witnesses and took 2,500 pages of testimony.

The bill drafted in executive session was a bipartisan product. Chairman Doughton said that, "This is the first bill of this magnitude . . . and of such controversial a nature, to be free from any evidence whatever, the least trace of partisanship." [29] The legislative process nonetheless was a slow one. The committee considered the bill for over a month in mark-up sessions attended by representatives of the Social Security Board, the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, and the Legislative Counsel. When the committee bill was readied for introduction to the House, the minority appended only an eight-page minority report that was submitted "not in opposition to the pending bill, but supplemental to the committee report." Although the bill was not perfect in their opinion, the minority observed that "it at least makes certain improvements . . . which we believe justify us in supporting it despite its defects." [30]

With the unanimity of committee support, the bill breezed through the House. Committee members were able to defeat all but four of the 42 amendments offered on the floor. The four amendments adopted were all committee-approved changes of a clarifying nature. The House voted 364–2 on June 10 to pass the bill as amendments to the Social Security Act of 1935. The Senate passed the bill with slight changes on July 13. The conference committee report was



74th Congress } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { Report
1st Session } { No. 313

REPEAL CERTAIN PROVISIONS RELATING TO PUBLICITY OF CERTAIN STATEMENTS OF INCOME

March 7, 1935.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. Cullen, from the Committee on Ways and Means, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H. R. 6359]

The Committee on Ways and Means, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 6359) to repeal certain provisions relating to publicity of certain statements of income, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with a recommendation that it do pass.

GENERAL STATEMENT

H. R. 6359 repeals section 55 (b) of the Revenue Act of 1934 (commonly referred to as the "pink slip" section), which provides for the publication of (1) the name and address of the taxpayer, (2) the total amount of gross income, (3) total amount of deductions, (4) amount of net income, (5) total amount of credits against net income for purposes of normal tax, and (6) amount of tax payable.

It is the opinion of your committee that this provision is absolutely unnecessary for the proper administration of the income-tax law and the protection of the Treasury in the collection of taxes levied thereunder. This provision in our opinion will serve no useful purpose whatsoever, as ample authority is contained in other sections of existing law authorizing the inspection of income-tax returns by the committees of Congress charged with the responsibility of levying taxation as well as duly authorized officers of States, and others where such examination is in the public interest.

It is our contention and belief that the publication of the information provided for in this section will be of slight benefit to the Treasury in the prevention of tax evasion, which is the main argument advanced for such publicity.

The real remedy for prevention of tax avoidance is careful auditing of returns and the swift imposing of penalties for such evasions.

"Sucker-list" salesmen (left) pour over a register on a table in the Ways and Means committee room in 1936. The book contained the names of every corporate employee in the nation whose salary was $15,000 or more. Ways and Means prohibited anyone from removing the book from the room. The sensitive volume, however, was public record and was the most eagerly read book in the Capitol. Such a listing indicates Congress' focus on corporate incomes and profits during the late 1930s. Concerned about invasion of privacy, a Ways and Means report (right) recommends repeal of the section in the 1934 Revenue Act that allowed public disclosure of taxpayers' names, addresses, and annual salaries.

agreed to by both Houses early in the following month, and the President signed the bill on August 10, 1939.[31]

In House debate, John W. McCormack (D-MA), a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, defended the Social Security Amendments of 1939 on the grounds of family stability. "Safeguarding the family against economic hazards is one of the major purposes of modern social legislation," he argued. The amendments stressed the insurance aspects of Social Security because so many conservative critics feared the advent of a welfare state. The payroll tax was rechristened "insurance contributions" under the Federal Insurance Contributions Act (FICA) as part of the Internal Revenue Code. The Old-Age Reserve Account became the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance (OASI) Trust Fund. The act increased benefits to be paid in the early years of the program by changing the benefit formula to average rather than total earnings. (The total earnings of workers since 1935 who were eligible for the first benefits in 1940 would, of course, have been much less than that of workers who retired in later years.) But the most notable change was the addition of monthly benefit payments for a whole set of survivors and dependents: wives, widows, widows with children, dependent children, and surviving children.[32]

The 1939 amendments accomplished the purpose of strengthening public acceptance of the Social Security system. As benefits expanded, the level of public support grew as the President had predicted. "We shall make the most orderly progress," Roosevelt believed, "if we look upon social security as a development toward a goal rather than a finished product." [33] Eleven years later, the Social Security Amendments of 1950 greatly increased the number of workers who were insured for benefits, and provided the first benefit increase in the program's history. The Disability Amendments of 1956 expanded the system by authorizing a permanent disability insurance program.[34]

Social Security was a major innovation within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means during the New Deal. An emerging conservative coalition, however, had frustrated the administration's attempts to make major structural changes in the tax code. Both a federal inheritance tax and the undistributed profits tax failed to become permanent, leaving excise taxes and corporate and individual income taxes as the chief sources of federal revenue. Excise taxes on items such as alcoholic beverages and tobacco amounted to more total receipts between 1933–1937 than did income taxes. Only in 1938 did income taxes (2.6 billion dollars) exceed excise receipts (2.3 billion dollars).[35]

World War II Revenue Legislation

New Deal recovery and revenue measures failed to lift the nation out of the Depression. But the vastly increased government spending and economic growth during World War II not only restored prosperity, they also stimulated a major expansion of the federal income tax system. Corporate and personal income taxes emerged from the war as the dominant form of federal revenue. In 1941, personal income taxes had amounted to 1.4 billion dollars, corporate income taxes 2 billion dollars, and internal revenue (excise) taxes nearly 3 billion dollars. Receipts from customs duties were understandably low throughout the war, never rising above 431 million dollars. By 1945, as a result of increased wartime revenue acts, personal income taxes had skyrocketed to over 19 billion dollars and corporate taxes to over 16 billion dollars, far overshadowing the 6.9 billion dollars derived from increased excises.[36]

In spite of increased taxes, revenue growth failed to keep pace with the accelerated expansion of wartime spending. Total governmental expenditures rose dramatically, from 12.7 billion dollars in

PARTY RATIOS IN THE COMMITTEE AND THE HOUSE
1933–1959

CONGRESS	COMMITTEE	HOUSE	PRESIDENT
Seventy-third (1933–1935)	15 D–10 R	310 D–117 R [5]	Roosevelt, F. (D)
Seventy-fourth (1935–1937)	18 D–7 R	319 D–103 R [10]	
Seventy-fifth (1937–1939)	18 D–7 R	331 D–89 R [13]	
Seventy-sixth (1939–1941)	15 D–10 R	261 D–164 R [4]	
Seventy-seventh (1941–1943)	15 D–10 R	268 D–162 R [5]	
Seventy-eighth (1943–1945)	15 D–10 R	218 D–208 R [4]	
Seventy-ninth (1945–1947)	15 D–10 R	242 D–190 R [2]	Truman (D)
Eightieth (1947–1949)	15 R–10 D	245 R–188 D [1]	
Eighty-first (1949–1951)	15 D–10 R	263 D–171 R [1]	
Eighty-second (1951–1953)	15 D–10 R	234 D–199 R [1]	
Eighty-third (1953–1955)	15 R–10 D	221 R–211 D [1]	Eisenhower (R)
Eighty-fourth (1955–1957)	15 D–10 R	232 D–203 R	
Eighty-fifth (1957–1959)	15 D–10 R	233 D–200 R	

R—Republican D—Democrat

[*Numbers in brackets refer to independents or members of third parties.*]

1941 to over 100 billion dollars by 1945. Revenue receipts during the war financed only 46 percent of expenditures, less than the 55 percent figure of World War I. As the case had been in earlier wars, the nation financed World War II through a combination of increased taxation and borrowing. Between November 1942 and December 1945, Congress authorized seven war-loan drives and the final Victory loan. However, the most important revenue measures were the four major tax bills reported from the Committee on Ways and Means. These revenue bills increased personal and corporate income taxes, reinstated an excess profits tax modeled on that of World War I, and authorized the withholding of income taxes through payroll deductions.

Most tax bills reported from the committee during World War II were considered on the House floor under closed rules that limited debate and amendment. This type of rule was bitterly opposed at times, but its proponents justified closed rules on the grounds of the technical nature of the bills, and on the urgency to provide revenue for the war effort. Leland M. Ford (R-CA), for example, complained of bills "conceived in speed." Committee member Wesley E. Disney (D-OK) admitted that the bills were reported from the Committee on Ways and Means "somewhat in the attitude of the sign which was placed over the piano in a dance hall in Dodge City in the roaring days, that stated, 'Don't shoot the piano player, he is doing the best he can.' "[37]

However, under Chairman Doughton's resolute leadership, the "best the committee could do" did not include blind acceptance of presidential tax proposals. Even the need for prompt action did not, in most cases, persuade the chairman to accept simple solutions for complicated tax questions. Doughton's philosophy was that, "Our taxes must follow the intricacies of business and not attempt to bend business to the pattern of simplicity we should all like to see in taxation."[38] Thus the committee did not hesitate to modify or even to reject administration proposals. The committee's independence was partially responsible for creating the first revenue bill ever to be vetoed by the President—the Revenue Act of 1943—which afterwards became the first revenue bill ever passed over a presidential veto.

The committee and the administration began their consideration of war finance policy in a spirit of cooperation. The first wartime revenue measure was adopted in 1940 as a temporary expedient to meet increased defense expenditures in the wake of Nazi Germany's alarming victories in Europe. Even though the United States would not enter the war until December 1941, the need for military preparedness led President Roosevelt to request 1.2 billion dollars for defense spending. Chairman Doughton and Senate Finance Committee Chairman Pat Harrison (D-MS) met with Secretary Morgenthau in late May and agreed to levy additional taxes and to increase the national debt authorization in order to issue war bonds. The committee bill was considered under a closed rule and passed on June 11 by an overwhelming 396–6 margin. The only opposition expressed in debate concerned increasing the public debt limit. Daniel Reed (R-NY), fourth-ranking minority member on the Committee on Ways and Means, criticized the administration's proposal as an example of the deficit financing, pump-priming scheme advocated by British economist John Maynard Keynes.[39]

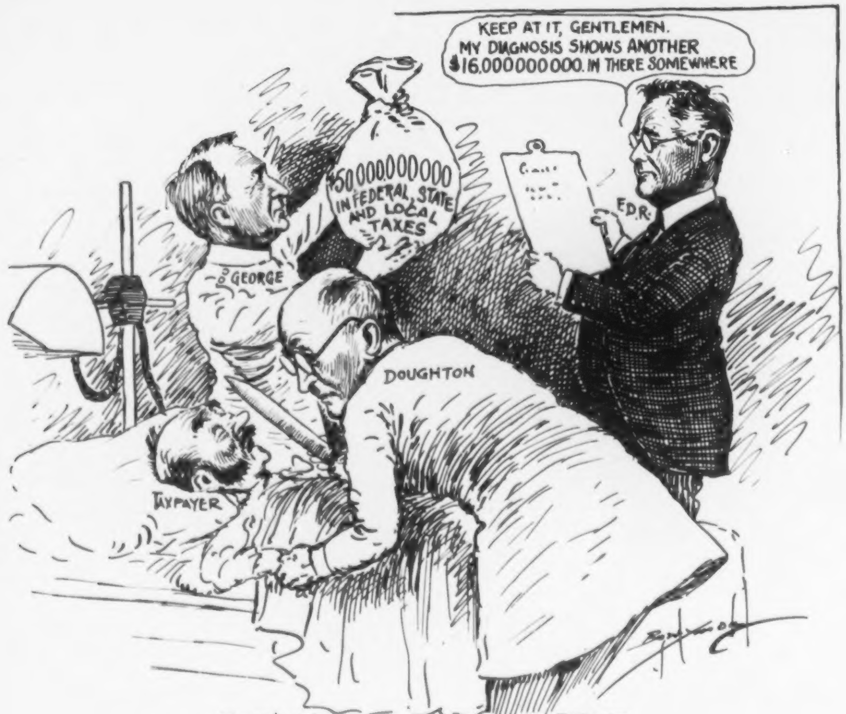
Although the Senate adopted a floor amendment by Robert La-Follette of Wisconsin that provided for an excess profits tax, the con-

Members of a Ways and Means tax subcommittee gather on August 7, 1940. That year, alarming news of Nazi Germany's victories in Europe spurred Congress to increase defense expenditures. After this meeting, manufacturers got word to move ahead on federal contracts with the assurance that Congress would approve a plan to write off the cost of plant expansion over five years. Four months later, the U.S. entered World War II.

ference committee rejected the amendment in favor of a resolution stating that an excess profits tax "should be enacted as soon as possible." [40] Doughton's committee had previously concluded that preparation of an excess profits tax would have unnecessarily delayed passage of the revenue bill. The committee majority had instructed its staff and the Treasury Department to prepare plans for such a tax as quickly as possible for subsequent consideration.

Signed by the President on June 25, this first Revenue Act of 1940 raised the federal debt limit to four billion dollars in order to authorize the issuance of defense bonds. The act provided revenue to pay off these bonds over a five-year period by increasing federal surtaxes on most individual income tax brackets and by imposing a defense supertax of 10 percent on most existing internal revenue taxes. Personal exemptions for married and single persons were reduced by 60 percent. Corporate tax rates were only slightly increased, pending the consideration of an excess profits tax. The act also raised excise taxes on distilled spirits, wines, cigarettes, and playing cards—a time-honored means of raising war revenue.

In the fall of 1940, the Committee on Ways and Means reported a second revenue bill that incorporated the excess profits tax postponed from the spring. The bill followed joint hearings in August between the House committee and the Senate Finance Committee. The bill lessened the impact of excess profits taxation on defense industries by including a complex amortization provision. The committee had been advised that private capital would not be invested in defense unless corporations were allowed to amortize new facilities over a shorter period than that permitted under existing regulations. The bill permitted defense industries to write off the cost of new land, buildings, equipment, and machinery over a five-year period.

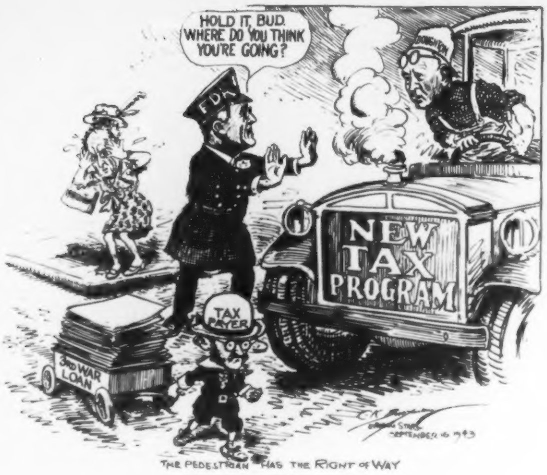

KEEP AT IT, GENTLEMEN.
MY DIAGNOSIS SHOWS ANOTHER
$16,000,000,000. IN THERE SOMEWHERE
$50,000,000,000 IN FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL TAXES
GEORGE
F.D.R.
DOUGHTON
TAXPAYER

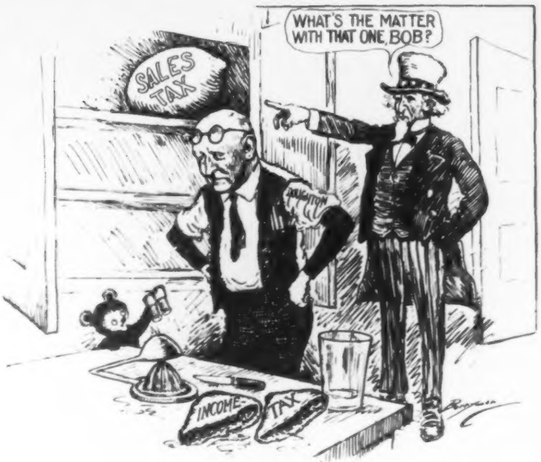
THERE'S NOT GOING TO BE MUCH LEFT OF THE PATIENT.

The costs of World War II hit taxpayers hard, the point of these editorial cartoons. Congress spent ten times more than it had during World War I. Forty percent of the money came from four major revenue bills passed between 1940 and 1944. The measures added more citizens to the tax rolls and increased the rates at which they had to pay. A national sales tax, depicted in the far-right cartoon, never passed. But a 5 percent "Victory Tax" on gross incomes over $624 did. FDR and Congress gradually grew at odds over tax measures. The Revenue Act of 1943 brought the conflict to a head, implied by the center drawing. FDR vetoed the bill, but Congress overrode the veto, the first such action on a revenue measure in U.S. history.

The second revenue bill of 1940 was also considered under a closed rule. Several members objected to the haste with which the bill had been prepared, but most criticism centered on the complexity of the excess profits and amortization provisions. Allen T. Treadway, ranking minority member on the Committee on Ways and Means, said that the bill was "a monumental specimen of statutory incomprehensibility." Chairman Doughton defended the bill's complexity: "A simple statute which would be adequate to tax equitably the corner grocery store simply will not work when applied to the United States Steel Corporation." [41]

Much of the complexity and much of the disagreement over the bill concerned the manner in which excess profits were to be determined. Two methods were considered: 1) the average-earnings method, which considered earnings in a given tax year above the average earnings during the period 1936–1939 to be taxable excess profits due to defense spending, and 2) the invested capital method, which defined excess profits in relation either to an arbitrary profit-to-investment ratio or to returns on capital in a base period such as 1936–1939. The House bill gave taxpayers a choice between the two methods. The conference committee version imposed an excess profits tax with graduated rates up to 50 percent. Corporations could determine


HOLD IT, BUD. WHERE DO YOU THINK YOU'RE GOING?
FDR
DOUGHTON
NEW TAX PROGRAM
TAX PAYER
3RD WAR LOAN
THE PEDESTRIAN HAS THE RIGHT OF WAY


WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH THAT ONE, BOB?
SALES TAX
DOUGHTON
INCOME
TAX

their tax credit through a complex formula of earnings, capital addition or reduction, and invested capital. Senator Arthur Vandenberg (R-MI) predicted that it would take "a Philadelphia lawyer, a certified public accountant, and an extraordinarily clever crystal gazer" to understand the bill.[42] Moreover, the bill failed to achieve its objective. According to testimony presented to the committee in 1941, one company with 1940 profits of over 3,000 percent above those of 1939 was subject to no excess profits tax.

Defense expenditures continued to mount in early 1941 when FDR signed the Lend-Lease Act to provide arms for Great Britain. In testimony before the Committee on Ways and Means in May, Secretary Morgenthau projected a deficit of 14 billion dollars. He also stated that it was the administration's goal to finance two-thirds of expenditures through taxes and only one-third through borrowing. The committee reported a bill in July that proposed to raise taxes by 3.5 billion dollars in order to bring total revenues to 13 billion dollars, or 60 percent of anticipated expenditures. The bill recommended raising all major taxes, from personal income surtaxes to excess profits taxes. The most controversial provision of the committee bill was a requirement that husbands and wives file joint returns, which was projected to raise 300 million dollars.[43] The press and the opposition had a field day with the so-called marriage tax, which seemingly made it more economical to stay single or to get divorced.

The Republican members of the committee used negative public opinion to their advantage by issuing what *Time* magazine called "a noseholding minority report."[44] The minority broadened their criticism of the marriage tax to include the entire record of New Deal revenue legislation. Democratic "wastrels," they charged, had spent in eight years as much as the government had spent during its first 130 years. The minority concluded its report by congratulating themselves on the nonpartisan manner in which the minority had cooperated with the majority to make the bill the best it could be under the circumstances.

The 1941 revenue bill was considered on the House floor under a modified closed rule that permitted an amendment to strike out the mandatory joint return provision (Section 111). The amendment to strike Section 111, proposed by Frank H. Buck (D-CA), was defended on the grounds of the sanctity of marriage and of the rights of women. Supporters of mandatory joint returns, on the other hand, argued that the provision was designed to equalize the tax differences between married couples in the 40 common law states and those in the eight community property states. Chairman Doughton grew eloquent in his defense of the marriage tax, predicting that if the Buck amendment succeeded, the problem would, "like Banquo's ghost haunt us until the righteous wrath and indignation of the intelligent people of this nation impelled the removal of this injustice." [45] The Buck amendment passed 242–160, and the mandatory joint return provision was removed from the House bill.

The Senate lowered income tax exemptions for joint returns from $2,000 to $1,500 and for individual returns from $800 to $750, which increased the number of tax returns by 30 percent. Along with the new and increased excise taxes and higher estate and gift taxes, these changes made the Revenue Act of 1941 the largest single revenue bill in the nation's history up to that time, bringing total government revenues to 13 billion dollars, or 60 percent of the 22 billion dollars in government spending.[46]

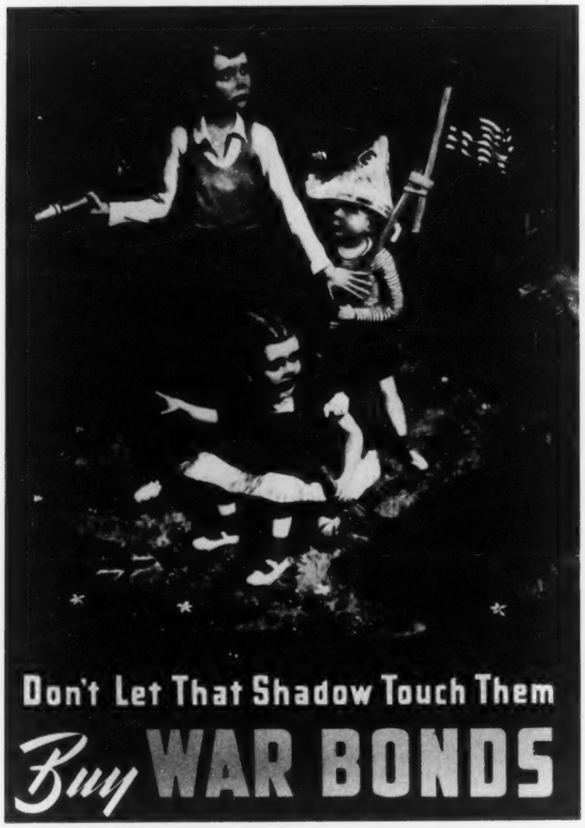
Vastly expanded government expenditures contributed to the problem of wartime inflation. The booming defense industry and the massive flow of money in the United States had brought about recovery from the Depression, but abrupt prosperity also created serious problems. From 1939 to 1942, the nation's cost of living had risen by 15 percent. Leon Henderson, the administrator of the Office of Price Administration, predicted an "inflationary gap," and estimated that the cost of living would rise by 23 percent in one year unless immediate action was taken.[47] On April 27, 1942, President Roosevelt outlined a seven-point program to curb inflation through wage and price controls. To fight inflation, he recommended the establishment of wage stabilization and rent and price ceilings. To limit purchasing power, he urged higher taxes and increased savings. The President's advisors were divided over whether savings should be encouraged or coerced. Treasury Secretary Morgenthau advocated a policy of voluntary savings, but other officials such as Henderson and Marriner Eccles, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, argued that some sort of compulsory savings program should be adopted. Still another option, the imposition of a spending tax, was submitted by the Treas-

Ways and Means leaders disagree over a "pay-as-you-go" tax plan in 1943. Democrats John McCormack, left, Robert Doughton, and Jere Cooper, right, listen skeptically as Republican Harold Knutson expounds against the proposal. Ways and Means considered "pay-as-you-go" to be a possible solution to the problem of income tax evasion. By 1943, many citizens owed back taxes. Congress came up with a lenient remedy, a permanent system of withholding in exchange for forgiveness of a percentage of back taxes.

ury Department to the Senate Finance Committee in 1942, but the committee flatly rejected this proposal.

Revenue legislation in 1942 confronted both the problem of inflation and the need to finance the American war effort following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. In January, President Roosevelt called for a massive effort to produce ships, planes, and tanks. The budget he presented for fiscal year 1943 called for 56 billion dollars for defense out of the total 59 billion dollars. Secretary Morgenthau delivered the administration's revenue proposals to a packed room of the Committee on Ways and Means on March 3, 1942. The program was designed both to raise revenue and to stop inflation. "War is never cheap," the Treasury Secretary concluded, "but . . . it is a million times cheaper to win than to lose." [48] To raise taxes a total of 7.6 billion dollars (later revised to 8.7 billion dollars), Morgenthau recommended a three-billion-dollar increase in individual income taxes, three billion dollars in added corporation taxes, and another 1.3 billion dollars in excise taxes. Randolph Paul, the Treasury's top tax expert, suggested several provisions to mitigate the impact of increased taxation upon lower- and middle-income groups, including deductions for medical expenses and special tax credits for child care.[49]

Several groups suggested the imposition of a national sales tax during the committee's hearings. The United States Chamber of Commerce, for example, claimed that the sales tax alone would provide 5.8 billion dollars in revenue and would also lower inflation in the process. The committee also received a flood of postcards opposing the sales tax. Mrs. Eve Chase of West New York, New Jersey, for example, wrote: "As a patriotic American, keenly devoted to the task of

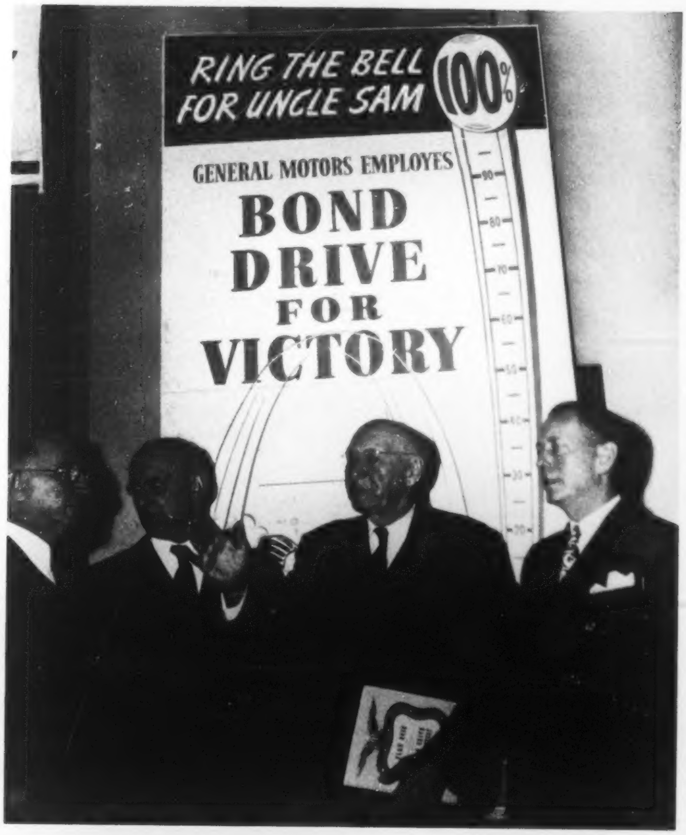

Don't Let That Shadow Touch Them
Buy WAR BONDS

The threat of the enemy looms behind this poster's emotional appeal in World War II. More than a year before the U.S. declared war on Japan and Germany, Ways and Means Chairman Doughton sought an increase in the national debt ceiling to underwrite the sale of defense bonds. In all, Congress approved seven war-loan drives and a final Victory Loan. Businessmen fell in step with the promotion. In the picture at right, General Motors vice president H.W. Anderson, right, shows what his company did to persuade workers to buy bonds. The officials on hand to commend GM employees are, from left, William George, Senate Finance chairman; Henry Morgenthau, Treasury Secretary; and Robert Doughton. Between December 1942 and December 1945, Americans bought 156 billion dollars in war bonds.

winning this war, I am profoundly disturbed by talk of a Federal Sales Tax. Such a tax would take milk and bread out of the mouths of American children; it would injure the health and morale of American families."[50] Although some Republican members of the committee favored the sales tax, it was not included in the committee bill.

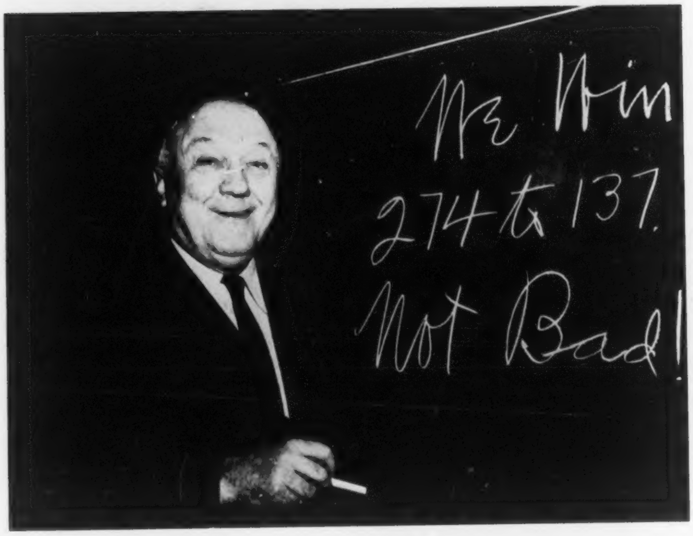
The committee bill, providing only for six billion of the requested 8.7 billion dollars, was, at 320 pages, "the largest tax bill ever undertaken in the history of our Government," in Chairman Doughton's words.[51] The bill increased the normal tax from 4 to 6 percent, raised the range of surtax rates from 6–77 percent to 13–82 percent, and increased the excess profits tax rates from 60 to 90 percent. The Senate added an additional 5 percent "Victory Tax" to be collected from anyone with a gross income over $624. This tax was designed to reduce spending, with a provision that at least part of it would be refunded at the end of the war.

The final revenue bill of 1942, completed in conference committee, was even more complex than the previous war revenue acts. Roosevelt joked about the bill at a Cabinet meeting prior to signing it. Morgenthau recorded that FDR said, "The bill might as well have



been written in a foreign language." The President signed the bill without reading it when told that a one-day delay would cost 60 million dollars in lost revenue. The Revenue Act of 1942 broadened the U.S. tax base by over 100 percent. It increased the number of taxpayers from about 13 million to 28 million in regular taxes and to a total of 50 million including those who paid the Victory Tax. Prior to the passage of this act, Congress had also passed an anti-inflation law. On October 3, 1942, FDR issued an executive order to implement the new measure. This order directed the National War Labor Board to limit salaries, and empowered the Department of Agriculture and the Office of Price Administration to hold down prices for farm and consumer goods. The order also created the Office of Economic Stabilization to control the nation's living costs.

In the 1942 elections the Democrats maintained slim majorities in both Houses of Congress. The Democratic majority in the House of Representatives, so commanding during the mid-1930s, was reduced to ten (218–208). During the Seventy-seventh Congress the coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans asserted vigorous control over legislation. In 1943, Congress abolished many New Deal agencies


We Win
274 to 137.
Not Bad!

A House victory to slash taxes in 1947 pleases newly appointed Ways and Means Chairman Harold Knutson, who led the tax-reduction fight. In the late 1940s, Republicans held a majority in Congress for the first time in 20 years. Three of their goals in the Eightieth Congress were to cut the high levels of New Deal taxes, spending, and national debt. Democratic President Harry Truman responded by vetoing the proposed tax cuts. Sparks flew between Truman and the legislature, which he called the "Do-Nothing Congress."

and quarreled with the President over tax collection and enforcement. Nearly 50 million new taxpayers had been added, and the new tax burden had prompted widespread evasion. The administration favored a strict policy of tax enforcement, yet during the winter and spring of 1943, Congress discussed the possibility of forgiving past liabilities. It also considered putting future payments on the "pay-as-you-go" basis first recommended by Beardsley Ruml, treasurer of R. H. Macy and Company and chairman of the Federal Reserve Board in New York. In February and March of 1943, the Committee on Ways and Means submitted two reports on the subject and presented a plan establishing a withholding system that credited amounts withheld in the current year against prior-year liabilities. The final act approved by Congress was even more lenient. The Current Tax Payment Act of 1943 provided a permanent system of withholding in exchange for forgiveness of 75 percent of the lesser of 1942 or 1943 tax liabilities.[52]

The House engaged in open conflict with the President over tax reform. In October, Roosevelt had asked Congress for yet another tax increase of 10.4 billion dollars to help control inflation and to finance the war effort. Congress delayed action on the President's request. Even Chairman Doughton thought that FDR had gone too far. Calling the administration's proposal "utterly indefensible," the chairman had neither the votes nor the desire to significantly increase the public's tax burden. The committee's own report on its revenue bill in November concluded that inflation could be more properly controlled by greater economy in government expenditures, more effective price controls, rationing, and wage controls. The bill, which passed the House 200–27, did not change existing individual tax rates or exemptions. Over half of the projected two billion dollars in increased revenues was attributable to increased excise taxes. This far from satisfied the administration's request.[53]

After the Senate passed the revenue bill in January 1944, President Roosevelt vetoed it on February 22. In the first veto message of a revenue bill in American history, Roosevelt referred to the bill as "not a tax bill but a tax relief bill, providing relief not for the needy but for the greedy." [54] Congress reacted to the President's veto message with outrage. Chairman Doughton said that his self-respect dictated that he vote to override the veto. The committee's second-ranking Republican, Harold Knutson of Minnesota, argued that Congress had been correct in rejecting the administration's tax program, "because it would have wiped out the middle class and jeopardized the solvency of all business." [55] The most impassioned opposition came from Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley of Kentucky, who resigned his leadership post in protest. The President's veto of a revenue bill, he believed, was an "assault upon the legislative integrity of every member of Congress." [56] Roosevelt sent Barkley a telegram expressing both his regret and his hope that Senate Democrats would reelect him as majority leader, which they did. Both Houses overrode the veto, the House by 299-95 and the Senate by 72-14, on February 24 and 25, respectively. The Revenue Act of 1943 thus became the first revenue bill to become law over a presidential veto.

Although Congress enacted a simplification of the tax code in 1944, the Revenue Act of 1943 was the last substantive wartime tax legislation. World War II revenue laws created two major permanent changes in federal tax policy. First, these statutes greatly expanded the number and percentage of taxpayers. During World War I as much as 13 percent of the labor force had paid income taxes. By the time World War II began, the percentage of taxpayers had fallen to 7.1 percent, but it mushroomed to 64.1 percent by the end of the war, and the figure has continued to stay above 60 percent with but one minor variation in the immediate postwar period. Thus, with such a large percentage of the population affected, the income tax became a major political issue. Second, the progressivity of the income tax was also greatly increased during the war by expanding the number of tax brackets.[57]

Postwar Revenue and Trade Legislation, 1945-1952

The post-World War II period in public finance was unlike the aftermath of any of the nation's previous wars. After the Civil War and World War I, for example, Congress and the administration moved to repeal or reduce heavy wartime tax burdens. Although Congress enacted some tax relief in 1945, subsequent acts reversed the historic

Renovation of the House Wing of the Capitol in 1940, 1949, and 1950 caused the House to meet in the Ways and Means main committee room, the first period in over 100 years that the House had not met in the Capitol. At left, Speaker Sam Rayburn, flanked by Parliamentarian Lewis Deschler, gavels the House to order in the Ways and Means committee room. At right, the full House is shown in the committee room.

trend of postwar tax reduction. Moreover, the wartime expansion of the federal income tax remained a permanent part of the federal revenue system.

With the end of World War II in sight in late 1944, Roosevelt was reelected on November 7 to an unprecedented fourth term. Although the Democrats gained a few seats in the election, the Seventy-ninth Congress faced a rocky start. During the campaign, Roosevelt had committed his administration to the enactment of more progressive social and economic legislation. However, the President died shortly after Congress convened. The new President, Harry S. Truman of Missouri, was a former senator and a close friend of Speaker Sam Rayburn and other powerful congressional leaders. For the first two years of his administration, Truman maintained a cordial relationship with Congress and garnered the support necessary to conclude the war and to begin conversion to a peacetime economy.[58]

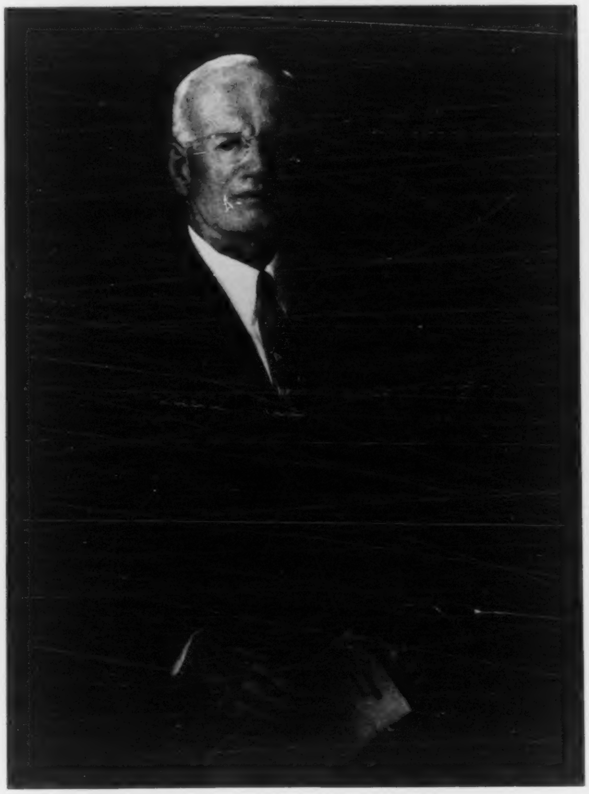
In October 1945, shortly after V-J Day brought the war to an end, the administration presented a proposed tax reduction plan to the Committee on Ways and Means. The principle of reduction met with widespread approval, but Congress slightly altered the specifics of the administration's proposal. The excess profits tax was repealed effective January 1, 1946, as the administration had requested, but Congress increased the reduction in individual income taxes from the recommended levels. Congress also refused to repeal most of the wartime excise taxes.[59]

Proponents justified the reductions proposed in the Revenue Act of 1945 by citing the need to promote economic expansion. The fears of postwar unemployment, recession, and inflation accelerated between 1945 and 1947, and Truman's relations with Congress steadily

deteriorated. In September 1945, the President had submitted an ambitious 21-point program that formed the basis for his "Fair Deal." Among the points included in the plan were a national health insurance program, higher minimum wages, federal aid to education, expansion of federal employment projects, and the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC). Truman lobbied hard for his program, but the mood of the country and of the Congress had turned away from the liberalism of the New Deal and the Fair Deal. A Republican majority was elected to Congress for the first time in 20 years in 1946 (245–188 in the House, 51–45 in the Senate).

In 1947, the Republican Eightieth Congress had three goals: 1) to cut taxes, 2) to cut spending, and 3) to cut the national debt. Many Democrats, including President Truman, agreed with these policies in principle, but favored balancing the budget and paying off the federal debt before instituting an inflationary tax cut.[60] The first measure of this Congress was a bill reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, now chaired by Harold Knutson of Minnesota. The bill (H.R. 1) reduced taxes by 30 percent in the lowest income brackets, by 20 percent for citizens with incomes between $1,000 and $302,000, and by 10 percent for those with incomes over $302,000.

In a partisan role-reversal from the 1930s, the committee's ranking Democratic minority member, former Chairman Robert Doughton, complained to the House that the minority had been unfairly excluded from committee deliberations on the bill. Representa-



Daniel Reed of New York, who became chairman of Ways and Means after the Republicans won control of the House in 1952, liked to boast that he had voted against more New Deal measures during the Roosevelt years than any other congressman. In the 1950s, Reed led a push for fiscal reform that bucked Eisenhower on tax and trade policies. The chairman's adamant views on fiscal matters came directly from the theories of the 1920s, when tax cuts had helped generate a balanced budget. Reed could work himself up into a rage when defending his conservative position on the House floor. His detractors, claiming his views were 25 years behind the times, referred to the likeable curmudgeon as the "Neanderthal man."

tive Walter Lynch (D-NY) agreed with Doughton, stating: "The tax reduction plan embodied in this bill was conceived in political expediency, nurtured by political demagoguery, and is delivered to you today in political desperation." [61] After Doughton's motion to recommit failed, H.R. 1 passed the House.

The Republican rationale for another tax cut was that it would both stimulate the economy and compel Truman to reduce spending on Fair Deal domestic programs. Chairman Knutson argued that a policy of retrenchment was necessary to reverse what he believed was the ominous trend of New Deal Democratic policies. "For years we Republicans have been warning that the short-haired women and long-haired men of alien minds in the administrative branch of government were trying to wreck the American way of life and install a hybrid oligarchy at Washington through confiscatory taxation," Knutson explained.[62]

After the bill had made its way through the House, Senate, and conference committee with only minor modifications, President Truman vetoed it on June 6, 1947. Arguing that this bill was "the wrong tax reduction at the wrong time," the President stated that, "the time for tax reduction will come when inflationary pressures have ceased."[63] Truman not only believed that the income tax acted as a brake on inflation, but he also thought that the Republican tax reduction was inequitable. Under the original Ways and Means bill, for example, 38.3 percent of the total proposed reduction would have affected the wealthiest 3.5 percent of taxpayers.

A House motion to override the veto failed by only two votes. A new bill was then passed that simply delayed the tax cuts from July 1, 1947, to January 1, 1948. Truman vetoed this bill as well. The House overrode the veto by two votes, but the Senate sustained the veto by the same slim margin.

Congress and the President again clashed in 1948 over fiscal matters when the Republicans engineered the passage of another tax cut. Through Representative John D. Dingell (D-MI), Truman proposed an alternative measure that would take over ten million citizens off the tax rolls and would allot a tax credit to each taxpayer and his dependents.[64] The Dingell plan proposed to offset this loss in revenues by raising corporate taxes. Congress ignored the Dingell plan in favor of a bill reported by Chairman Knutson, one that was designed to create an irresistible momentum for tax reduction by providing added benefits for a broader base of the taxpaying public. The bill provided tax cuts for all income brackets and added exemptions for the elderly and the blind, as well as allowing income splitting on joint returns. Ranking minority member Doughton supported the bill, which easily passed the House 297–120. The Senate lowered the percentage of reductions and passed the bill 78–11. Truman for the third time vetoed a revenue bill, but this time the House and the Senate both overrode the veto. The Revenue Act of 1948 became law on April 2, the second revenue bill in history to be enacted over a presidential veto.[65]

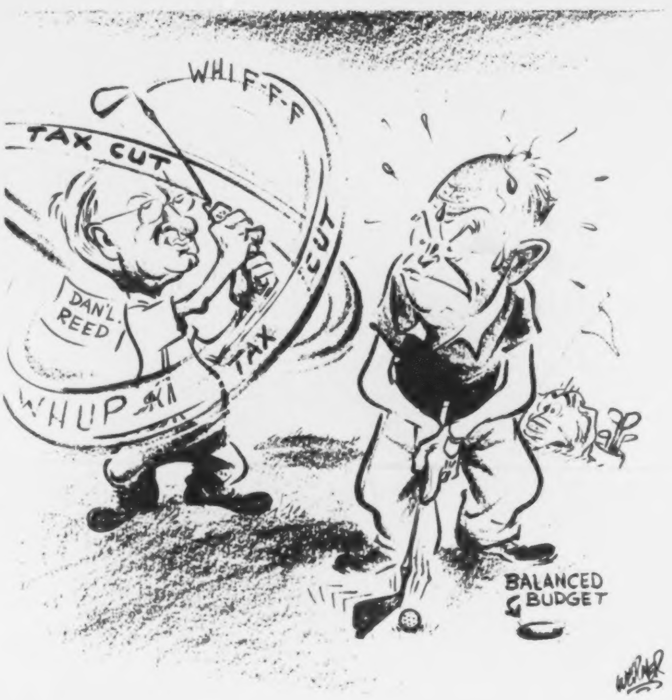
The Republican majority on the Committee on Ways and Means also crafted a major trade bill that differed substantially from the administration's program. In 1946, the United States invited representatives of 22 other nations to begin multilateral trade negotiations in Geneva. The resulting General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) contained a code of trade practices and tariff reductions on over 45,000 items accounting for one-half of world trade.[66] In 1948, in what was by now a routine request, President Truman asked Congress for a three-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. The Committee on Ways and Means, however, drafted a new trade bill that overhauled the system of tariff administration in existence since 1934. The Gearhart bill, named after committee member Bertrand W. Gearhart (R-CA), renewed the Trade Agreements Act, but only for one year. It also added a controversial "peril-point" provision, which required the Tariff Commission to determine rates that would not harm domestic industries in advance of negotiations. Although the President's supporters attacked the bill by raising the protectionist specter of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff, a measure to recommit submitted by Doughton failed. After the Democrats regained the majority in the Eighty-first Congress (1949–1951), they immediately reversed the changes in tariff administration initiated by the Republicans by repealing the peril-point provision and by extending the Trade Agreements Act for three years, retroactive to 1948.[67]

Even though President Truman now had a Democratic Congress, his request for tax increases in 1949 fell on deaf ears. The administration proposed four billion dollars in higher corporate and estate taxes, and increased rates for upper and middle income tax brackets in order to finance defense spending as well as domestic housing, public works, and health care programs. Congress only made minor technical revisions in the tax code. When the Cold War turned hot in Korea the following year, Congress was forced to comply with higher taxes.

The Committee on Ways and Means had just completed work on a revenue bill in 1950 when South Korea was invaded. The need for greater revenue to finance what developed into a costly and bloody military conflict revived the idea of an excess profits tax. Because this tax remained controversial, Congress initially raised corporate and individual tax rates, postponing the excess profits tax until after the November elections. Truman requested that the Committee on Ways and Means raise an additional four billion dollars principally through an excess profits tax. Business leaders testified before the committee that an excess profits tax was unnecessary given the rise in corporate tax rates. Ranking minority member Daniel Reed (R-NY) recommended that business be given a choice of either an excess profits tax or a 10 percent rate increase in corporate taxation. The committee rejected Reed's proposal by a straight 15–10 party vote. The committee bill passed the House by a wide 378–20 margin, as was usual with wartime revenue measures. The conference committee version was approved on December 22 by the Senate and on January 1 by the House. President Truman signed the Excess Profits Tax Act on January 3, 1951, although he warned that even more taxes would be needed.[68]

Truman's Economic Report of January 1951 recommended ten billion dollars in additional taxes to combat both inflation and an anticipated deficit, as well as increased defense spending. The administration specifically requested four billion dollars in higher personal income taxes, three billion dollars from corporate taxes, and another three billion dollars from excises.

Although Chairman Doughton expressed support for the need to raise revenues and to prevent inflation, his Committee on Ways and Means moved slowly on the administration's request. The committee held full hearings on the proposed increases, allowing all interested groups the opportunity to testify. Labor groups approved of higher corporate taxes, but opposed increased excises. Business, on the other hand, again recommended some form of a sales tax as an alternative



Ike's feisty foe, Chairman Reed irritates the President in this 1953 editorial cartoon. When Republicans took control of Congress under Eisenhower, Reed envisioned a dismantling of the Democrats' post-Korean-conflict tax increases. He quickly introduced a tax reform bill. Ike, however, effectively killed the measure when he announced that he intended to maintain tax levels in order to balance the budget.

to increased corporate taxes. Doughton, who strongly opposed a sales tax, found the testimony of all groups to be self-serving and useless to the committee. The chairman observed with veiled sarcasm:

> Witnesses . . . while all for preparedness, would preface their statements by saying that while those who they represented or spoke for wanted to do their full part in producing the revenue necessary to finance emergency expenditures, they usually, with few exceptions, claimed that any additional revenue should be raised from some other source. We were not given much help as far as the other sources were concerned, except a few I believe did recommend a general sales tax.[69]

The committee bill lowered the increases requested by the administration from ten billion dollars to 7.2 billion dollars. Doughton argued that the bill provided "as large an amount as can be safely collected from the economy under present conditions." Ranking minority member Reed and other Republicans once again attacked the spending programs of "Socialist planners within the Truman Administration." [70] Minority Leader Joseph Martin of Massachusetts argued that Truman's contention that tax increases would curb inflation amounted to "economic voodoo talk." [71]

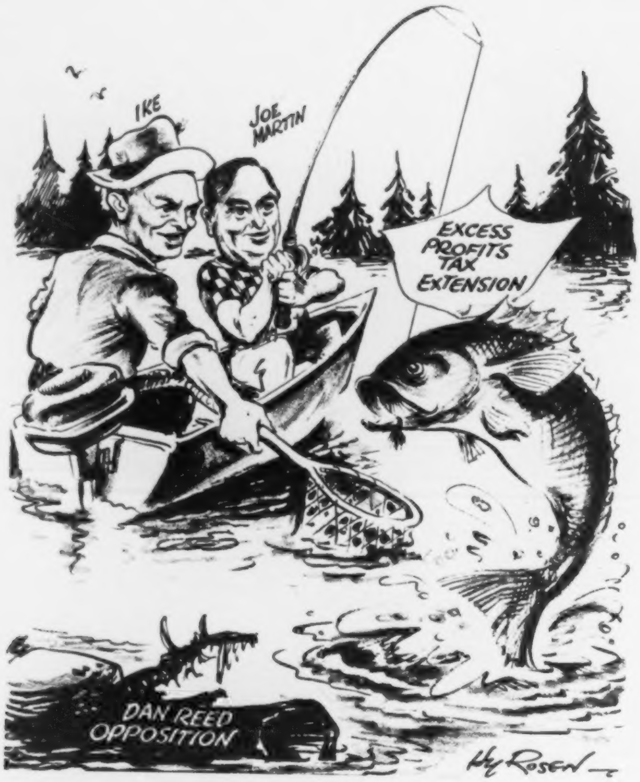
The Senate reduced the tax yield of the revenue bill of 1951 even further, to 6.7 billion dollars. The final bill raised individual tax liabilities between 11 and 11.75 percent. Corporate rates were raised to 30–52 percent, but less than one-third of the increased excises requested were passed. The bill also contained numerous special tax benefits, including deductions for medical expenses for the elderly, mine exploration expenses, unharvested crops, and depletion allowances for clam and oyster shells.[72] The House first rejected the conference committee report, then accepted an only slightly different version two days later. Truman signed the Revenue Act on October 20, 1951, because of the urgent need for revenue, even though he considered the bill inadequate and unfair.

The Revenue Act of 1951 was the last major tax bill of Truman's Presidency. Although Congress had insisted upon tax reduction after World War II, the need for revenue to finance Cold War and Korean conflict military spending, along with the fears of inflation, recession, and unbalanced budgets, prevented the repudiation of the World War II expansion of the income tax system. Tax increases were politically unpopular among Republicans, who disagreed with the Truman Administration's domestic spending programs on ideological grounds. Moreover, the public's resistance to tax increases influenced both congressional Republicans and Democrats to reduce the degree of revenue increases.

Revenue Legislation During the Eisenhower Administration

Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower campaigned for the Presidency in 1952 by promising to end the Korean conflict and by attacking New Deal tax and spending policies. Eisenhower's election brought in a Republican Congress (221–211 House, 48–47 Senate) for only the second time since 1933. Although Republican leaders of the Eighty-third Congress favored tax reduction, the President attached a higher priority to balancing the budget. "Reduction of taxes," according to Eisenhower's first State of the Union Message, "will be justified only as we show we can succeed in bringing the budget under control. . . . Until we can determine the extent to which expenditures can be reduced, it would not be wise to reduce our revenues." [73]

The administration's budget-balancing priorities encountered immediate opposition from Republican Chairman Daniel Reed of the Committee on Ways and Means. At 78 years of age, Reed was a feisty old-guard Republican who had served in Congress since 1919 and on the committee since 1933. Reed liked to boast that he had voted against more New Deal measures than any other member of Congress. His zeal for tax reduction and his nostalgic reminiscences about the policies of Andrew Mellon earned him the nickname "Neanderthal

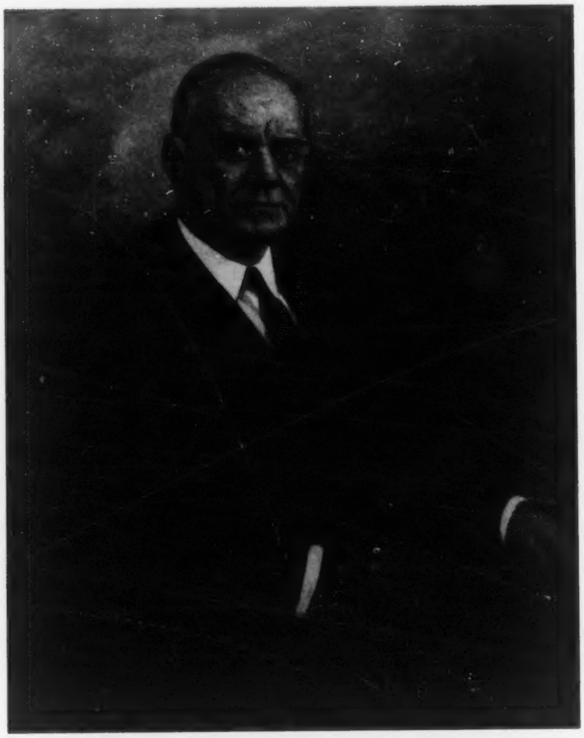


Dan Reed's log of opposition in this editorial cartoon tries to thwart Ike and Speaker Joe Martin from landing an extension of the excess profits tax. The chairman tried to block the bill in committee by refusing to report it in 1953. But Ike and Martin deftly maneuvered the bill out of committee and won its approval in the House and Senate.

Man." Reed caused the Eisenhower Administration so much trouble in trade and tax matters that some officials referred to him as "Syngman" Reed (a pun on the name of the troublesome and unpopular president of South Korea, Syngman Rhee).[74]

The income tax increases of the Revenue Act of 1951 were scheduled to expire at the end of 1953. Reed proposed moving the expiration date up to midyear. Although the chairman claimed to have broad backing for his bill, H.R. 1, Speaker Joseph Martin and Majority Leader Charles Halleck (R-IN) withheld judgment pending the administration's response. Reed stubbornly insisted that he would get the bill passed, "no matter what Eisenhower, or Humphrey [Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey], or anyone else had to say about it." [75] The committee voted the bill out 21–4 without holding hearings. The committee report argued that tax reduction would provide an inducement for the administration to cut unnecessary spending.

Speaker Martin asked Chairman Leo Allen (R-IL) of the Rules Committee to keep the bill from reaching the floor. After Allen announced his intention to hold H.R. 1 in the Rules Committee for two months, Reed asked that it be given prompt consideration. The chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means even asked for assistance



Democratic troubleshooter for Sam Rayburn, Jere Cooper of Tennessee took over as Ways and Means chairman after the Democrats regained control of the House in 1954. Cooper fought for a three-year extension of the reciprocal trade program and reported legislation to increase presidential power in tariff regulation. He served 28 years in the House, the last three at the head of Ways and Means, before his death in 1957.

from a New York colleague on the Rules Committee, Henry J. Latham. Reed sent Latham an angry telegram when he refused to help: "It is most embarrassing to me to have you refuse to provide a hearing for a rule on H.R. No. 1. . . . Is there no reciprocity between us?" [76] Reed also failed in his attempt to obtain the 218 signatures necessary for a discharge petition to order the Rules Committee to report the bill to the floor.

Thwarted in his effort to speed up tax reduction, Reed was determined to fight Eisenhower's request for a six-month extension of the excess profits tax of 1950, which was scheduled to expire in mid-1953. When asked by reporters for his reaction to the President's proposal, Chairman Reed said, "When I fight, I fight." [77] Speaker Martin persuaded the Republican members of Reed's committee to hold hearings on the extension in spite of their recalcitrant chairman. After less that two weeks of hearings, Reed announced that the administration had failed to make its case, and he showed little eagerness to report the bill. Martin and Majority Leader Halleck therefore planned to bypass the Committee on Ways and Means by utilizing a little-known House procedure that allowed the Rules Committee to report a rule on a bill that was still in committee. After Eisenhower's personal appeals to Reed failed, the plan to bypass Reed's committee was invoked. The Rules Committee voted to grant a rule, but Martin and

Halleck, fearing a showdown with such a powerful committee chairman, withheld the rule from floor action hoping that the threat alone would force Reed to report the bill. The plan worked, and the extension of the excess profits tax was voted out of committee, 16–9, on July 8, 1953. The bill passed the House and Senate as expected.

Trade policy also raised tensions between the administration and the committee. In 1953, Eisenhower requested a three-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act without alterations, but the Committee on Ways and Means reported a bill with a one-year extension that made significant changes in the U.S. Tariff Commission. This bill was passed by the House as an interim measure, and in July 1953, the committee's majority reported a highly protectionist measure calling for raised tariffs and new import quotas, and for restrictions on the President's power to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements with other nations. Eisenhower compromised by agreeing to a one-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and the creation of a commission to conduct an intensive study of the foreign trade issue.[78] In 1955, when Democrats had regained the majority, Congress passed a three-year extension of the reciprocal trade agreements program.

Reed proved to be more cooperative when the President recommended changes in Social Security. On January 14, 1954, Eisenhower proposed providing larger Social Security benefits and expanding coverage to more wage earners. He requested an expansion of coverage to 10.5 million more workers, increased monthly benefits, a liberalized retirement earnings provision, and an increase in the annual taxable-earnings base from $3,600 to $4,200. Three weeks later, Chairman Reed appointed a subcommittee chaired by Carl T. Curtis (R-NE) to conduct a thorough study of the issue. The committee reported a bill in May generally along the lines of the President's recommendations. The bill raised little controversy in Congress, and Eisenhower signed the Social Security Amendments of 1954 on September 1.[79]

President Eisenhower's popularity and skills in personal diplomacy soothed whatever bitterness Reed may have felt as a result of the fight over tax reduction in the first session of the Eighty-third Congress. As the second session commenced in January 1954, the Committee on Ways and Means began work on excise tax reduction. Reed was assisted by third-ranking Republican Richard Simpson of Pennsylvania, who was reputed to be the Speaker's man on taxes. The excise reductions, while retaining the surtaxes on automobiles, liquor, and tobacco, reduced the rates by half on most other items. The House and Senate both agreed to the reductions, which became law when President Eisenhower signed the Excise Tax Reduction Act on March 31, 1954.[80]

The last major tax bill of the 1950s was an overall revision of the tax code in 1954. During the tax battles of the previous year, the ad-

MILESTONES IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMMITTEE 1933–1959

1934	Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act
1935	"Wealth Tax" Act Social Security Act
1936	Revenue Act of 1936
1939	Social Security Amendments of 1939 Revenue Act of 1939
1940	Revenue Act of 1940
1942	Revenue Act of 1942
1943	Current Tax Payment Act
1944	Revenue Act of 1943
1948	Revenue Act of 1948
1950	Excess Profits Tax Act
1951	Revenue Act of 1951
1954	Social Security Amendments of 1954 Trade Agreements Extension Act Excise Tax Reduction Act Internal Revenue Code of 1954

ministration had argued that the entire Internal Revenue Code, which had not been thoroughly revised since 1913, needed revision and rewriting. The code was broken down among 50 study groups composed of three to 16 staff members of the Treasury Department, the Internal Revenue Service, the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, and the House Legislative Counsel. The study groups remained in contact with both the Senate Finance Committee and the Committee on Ways and Means. The latter committee held public hearings on 40 specific topics of tax reform. As a result of these studies, 25 major proposals were reported to President Eisenhower, who incorporated them in his Budget Message of January 21, 1954.

The Committee on Ways and Means prepared a bill (H.R. 8300) in closed sessions that closely adhered to the administration's proposals. Chairman Reed, now reconciled with Eisenhower, argued that the bill removed inequities in the tax code. Moreover, he urged his colleagues to vote for the bill as a vote of support for the President. The bill retained the existing corporate tax rate, but provided several tax benefits for business in the form of increased depreciation allowances and reduced tax rates on unearned dividend income. Liberalized benefits for individual taxpayers included deductions for medical expenses, child care, charitable contributions, and a tax credit for fixed retirement income.

The bill passed the House and the Senate when congressional Republicans closed ranks behind their leadership. Democrats opposed the tax breaks on depreciation allowances and dividend income, and they recommended increasing the personal exemption from $600 to $700 to assist those in lower income tax brackets. The Senate deleted the dividend credit, but it was restored at a reduced level in the conference committee version that on August 16 became the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.[81]

The Democratic Party regained control of both the House and the Senate in the Eighty-fourth Congress (1955–1957). Doughton died on October 1, 1954, at the age of 90. The new chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means was Jere Cooper (D-TN), who had served in Congress since 1929 and on the committee since 1932. The Democrats made two unsuccessful attempts to lower taxes, one in 1955 and the other in 1957. In both instances the administration resisted cutting taxes. "Under conditions of peacetime prosperity that now exist," Eisenhower observed in his 1956 State of the Union Message, "we can never justify going further into debt to give ourselves a tax cut at the expense of our children." [82] Chairman Cooper died on December 18, 1957, shortly after the beginning of the Eighty-fifth Congress. The second-ranking majority member, Wilbur D. Mills of Arkansas, became chairman and ushered in a new era in the committee's history.

Conclusion

From the New Deal through the 1950s, the Committee on Ways and Means had seen: 1) its involvement in the tariff considerably reduced, 2) its revenue responsibilities made ever more complicated, and 3) its jurisdiction expanded to include Social Security. The committee had resolved one historically troublesome area within its jurisdiction—the tariff—by relegating responsibility to the executive branch. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934 authorized the President to negotiate import duties through reciprocity agreements with foreign nations. Subsequently extended on several occasions, this act removed the committee from the laborious task of writing tariff schedules, but it did not relieve the committee from the politically charged responsibility to protect the interests of American business. The problem for the committee shifted from one of determining the rates for various industries to the protection of domestic industries from harmful trade agreements.

Most congressmen who voted on the final major revenue bill of this period, the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, were aware of its technical intricacies, but few probably understood them all. Only a handful of the changes were discussed in debate, and most decisions were made before the bill reached the floor or after it had been sent to conference. There were several reasons for the growing technical complexity of post-World War II revenue legislation. One was the increased complexity of the United States economy. The corporations and trusts of the late 19th century had been replaced by a variety of business organizations, including corporations with overseas earnings, holding companies, closely held corporations, and tax-exempt or partially tax-exempt organizations. Chairman Doughton's observation that the tax laws reflected the complexities of business was even truer by the late 1950s than it had been in the prewar period.

Another reason for the complexity of revenue laws was the vastly expanded economic role of the federal government. Since the New Deal, the Democratic Party had embraced the responsibility of the federal government not only to regulate the economy through taxation and spending, but also to redress social and economic inequities. Although the Republican Party had opposed most New Deal and Fair Deal domestic spending programs, it had accepted the federal government's role to manage the business cycle through taxation. The military budget had also grown enormously from pre-World War II levels, and it remained high during the Cold War in the 1950s. For all of these reasons, neither the administrations of Truman or Eisenhower advocated significant tax reductions. The important policy questions now became not simply whether to raise or lower taxes, but how best to distribute the tax burden.[83]

Taxation, especially in the form of the income tax, had become an ever present reality in the lives of most Americans. The enactment of Social Security in 1935 and its subsequent expansion in 1939 and 1954 added another dimension to the committee's history. Because the system was financed through payroll taxes, the committee now exercised jurisdiction over a social program of national retirement insurance. The pragmatic problems of financing such a vast program, the political issue of extending coverage and benefits, and the suggestion that the system should also incorporate national health insurance, would continue to provide grist for the committee's legislative mill.

* * *

1959 ★ 1975

The Mills Committee

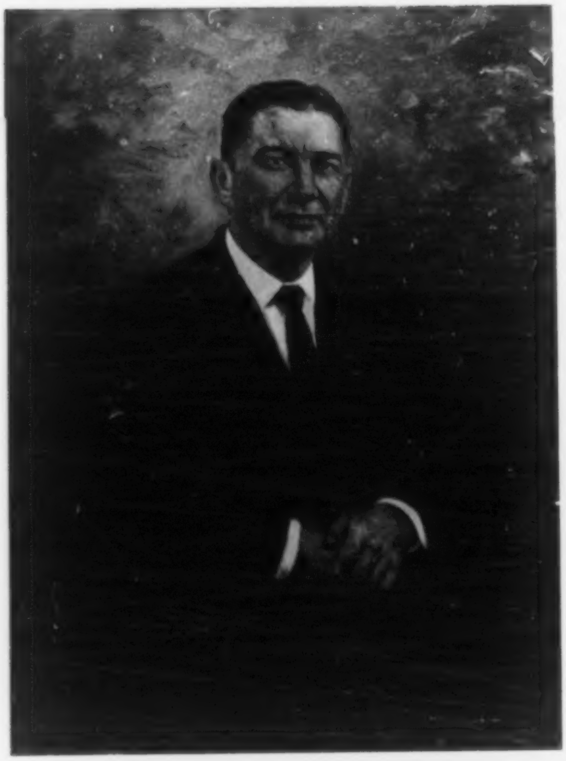
The House Committee on Ways and Means maintained a position of power and prestige during the 16 years of Wilbur Mills' chairmanship (1958–1974). The Arkansas Democrat was one of the most influential leaders in congressional history. His committee's bills, most often considered under closed rules, had an enviable record of success in the House. Mills also had great success in dealing with the Senate in conference committee. A congressional reform movement in the early 1970s altered, if not weakened, the committee by 1) enlarging it from 25 to 37 members, 2) creating permanent subcommittees, and 3) removing its Democratic members' function as their party's Committee on Committees. Personal problems led to Mills' resignation from the chairmanship in 1974.

"I think a book on the Ways and Means Committee would have to be a book on Wilbur Mills." (Anonymous member of the Committee on Ways and Means, 1970)[1]

The congressional committee system developed its greatest structural stability in the period from the end of World War II through the 1960s. Only one standing committee was added in both the House and the Senate. With the exceptions of but two Congresses (the Eightieth, 1947–1949, and the Eighty-third, 1953–1955), the Democratic Party maintained control of both Houses. Moreover, membership was extremely stable, with more than 80 percent of members reelected from one Congress to the next. In the context of this overall structural stability, strong committee chairmen reemerged, including over 20 who served for more than a decade.

The Committee on Ways and Means from 1958 to 1974 was often described, with good reason, as Wilbur Mills' committee. From the time he assumed the chairmanship following the death of Jere Cooper, until he resigned near the end of the Ninety-third Congress, the Arkansas Democrat chaired the committee for the longest consecutive period in its history. (Robert L. Doughton served nearly a year longer than Mills, but his tenure was interrupted by the chairmanship of Harold Knutson in the Eightieth Congress.) During the final Congress in which he chaired the committee, Mills had been chairman longer than any other current member had served on the committee.

Mills compiled an admirable, almost legendary record of accomplishment. His chairmanship was the subject of intense scrutiny by political scientists as well as journalists. Most of what is known about the inner dynamics of the Mills committee and its relationship with the



Longest consecutive sitting chairman in the history of Ways and Means, Wilbur Mills of Arkansas compiled a legendary record of accomplishment between 1958 and 1974. He gave the committee structural stability by limiting membership to 25 carefully selected lawmakers. With this solid base of varying viewpoints, which reflected the leanings of the House, Mills developed legislation with a broad consensus. His bills cleared the House intact at an enviable rate. "Like all leaders, he also follows," a scholar noted in explaining the success of this chairman who emerged as one of the most influential personalities in congressional history.

Senate and the executive is largely based upon the penetrating analysis and insightful detail provided by political scientist John Manley in *The Politics of Finance* (1970).

The Committee and the House, 1958–1975

The standing committee system in both the House and the Senate increasingly reflected two behavioral norms: specialization and apprenticeship. Members were expected to specialize on the matters that directly concerned their committees. In some instances, this specialization was even more narrowly defined in terms of subcommittees. Moreover, new members were expected to develop expertise by serving an apprenticeship period of watchful waiting as they listened and learned from more experienced senior members. Both specialization and apprenticeship were predicated upon the belief that a system based upon experience and deference produced better legislation.[2]

The members of the Committee on Ways and Means during the Mills era tended to reinforce the dominant characteristics of specialization and apprenticeship. Assignment to the committee was highly desired. As one member said, "I wanted Ways and Means simply because it is the most important."[3] Both House parties continued to distinguish the panel (along with the Rules and the Appropriations committees) as an exclusive committee whose members were generally prohibited from serving on any other standing committee. Not one member transferred from the committee between 1949 and 1968—the only House standing committee with such an unblemished record—and 47 members transferred to the committee. Only one freshman member, George Herbert Walker Bush (R-TX), was appointed to the committee between 1959 and 1973, as were only six second-term members.

Both Democrats and Republicans tended to assign members to the Committee on Ways and Means on the basis of party loyalty and demonstrated ability, part of which was the ability to get reelected. Barber Conable (R-NY) put it succinctly: "There is a tradition in the Republican Party that someone doesn't get on Ways and Means unless he is from a safe district. I wouldn't have gone on unless I had moved my plurality from 53 percent to 68 percent."[4] Of the 23 members who ran for reelection in 1972, for example, seven ran unopposed, and the other 16 won by an average margin of over 65 percent. Membership on the committee was relatively stable as a result. The 25 members at the end of the Ninety-second Congress in 1973 had served an average of nearly eight terms, slightly over half of those terms on the Committee on Ways and Means. Democratic appointments were additionally governed by a commitment to balanced geographical representation. One-third of the 15 Democratic majority seats were reserved for Southern Democrats. The remaining ten seats were distributed among the border states zone (one or two seats), the West (two), the Midwest (three or four), and the Northeast (three).[5]

Democratic appointees were truly among the chosen few, since the Democratic members of the Committee on Ways and Means, as their party's Committee on Committees, made all of the party's committee assignments. Republican assignments were made by their Committee on Committees, chaired by the Republican floor leader and composed of one representative from each state with Republican congressmen (who possessed a vote proportionate to the strength of their state delegation). Members who sought appointment to the Committee on Ways and Means had to win acceptance at several levels. The appointment of Republican Barber Conable in 1967 provided a representative case study. Conable had wished to transfer from the Science and Astronautics Committee to the Appropriations Committee at the start of his second term, but both the senior member of the New York Republican delegation and Minority Leader Gerald Ford (R-MI) advised him to seek the Committee on Ways and Means. With the support of the party leadership secured, the New York delegation backed Conable's candidacy. Even then, he was questioned by committee members about his views on key issues such as tax-exempt bonds and the oil depletion allowance before his name was submitted by the Republican Committee on Committees.[6]

The importance of specialization and apprenticeship not only influenced the appointment process, but also stimulated the creation of new subcommittees, especially in the context of the reduction in the number of standing committees that resulted from the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. The number of House subcommittees initially dropped from 97 to just over 60 for the Eighty-first Congress (1949–1951), but then rose to over 100 by 1965. This growth took place in spite of the fact that the Committee on Ways and Means did not utilize subcommittees from the Eighty-seventh through the Ninety-second Congresses (1961–1973). When Wilbur Mills had become chairman in the Eighty-fifth Congress, the committee had three subcommittees—Internal Revenue Taxation, Excise Taxes, and Foreign Trade Policy. Three subcommittees were also appointed in the following Congress, though with slightly different titles—Administration of the Internal Revenue Laws, Administration of Foreign Trade Laws and Policy, and Administration of the Social Security Laws—but thereafter, Mills dispensed with the use of subcommittees.[7] This resulted in control being centralized in the hands of the chairman, or as one member put it, "in his back pockets." [8] Although a few members believed that subcommittees would have expedited the committee's business—not to mention that they would have diffused power among the membership—most other members agreed (at least in public) with the chairman's practice of dealing with all matters at the full committee level.

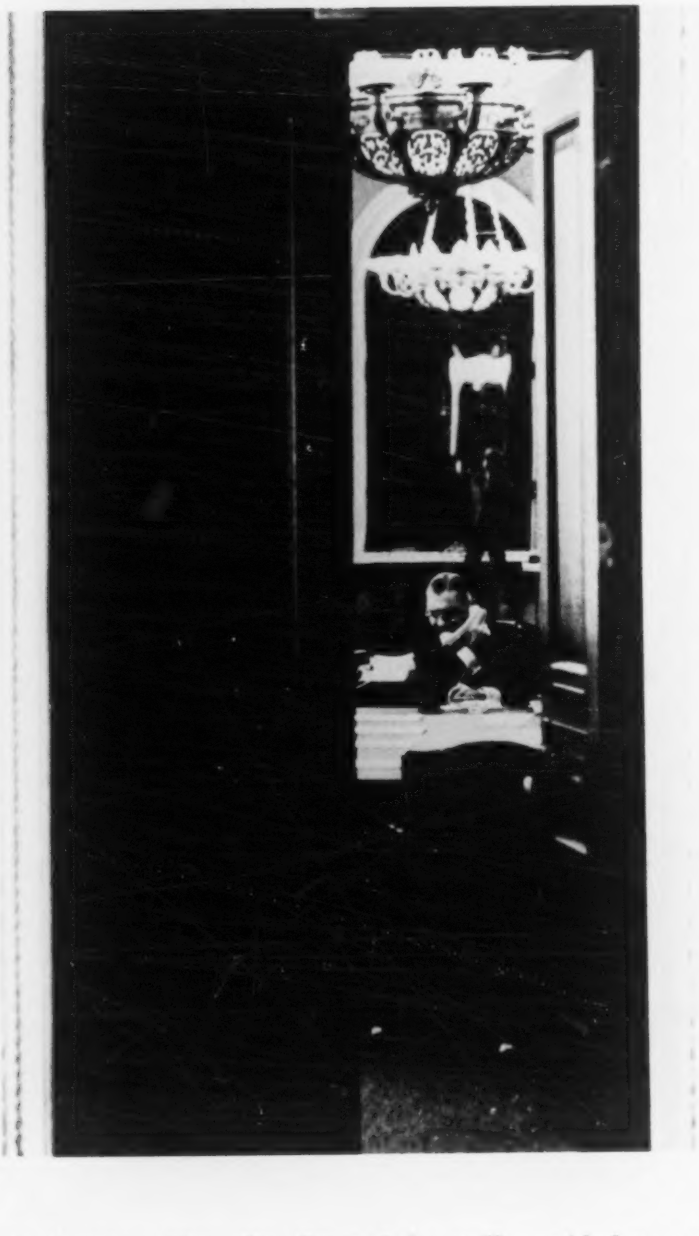
The staff of the Committee on Ways and Means did not keep pace with the growth of other standing committee staffs. Congressional committee staffs more than doubled between 1947 and 1964, from 167 to 539 in the House. By 1974, the combined standing committee staffs of the House exceeded 1,000 members. Yet, the staff of the Committee on Ways and Means only increased modestly, from 12 in 1947 to 21 in 1959 and to 32 in 1974. During Mills' chairmanship, the staff normally numbered in the low 20s, below the average of all standing committee staffs and well below the staffs of comparable committees such as Appropriations and Public Works. However, as discussed below, the committee could also call for assistance from the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation.[9]

House committee staffs are divided in two categories—statutory staff hired without regard to political affiliation to perform required duties in conjunction with the committee's functions, and investigative staff hired in accordance with annual "studies and investigations" resolutions. The Committee on Ways and Means did not employ any investigative staff between 1961 and 1972, years that corresponded to the absence of subcommittees. Committee staff worked under the control of the chairman, and this was the case with Mills' committee.

Freshman Congressman George Bush, center, of Texas enjoys a warm welcome from Chairman Mills and ranking Republican committeeman John Byrnes of Wisconsin. Bush joined Ways and Means in January 1967. An appointment of a first-term lawmaker to Ways and Means during this period was extremely rare. The committee's prestige flourished under Mills, and a position on the panel was coveted by most House members. Any member seeking an appointment had to win acceptance on several levels. For the 14 years preceding 1973, Bush was the only freshman legislator named to Ways and Means. With his election in 1988 as the 41st President, Bush became the eighth Ways and Means member in history to accede to the nation's top office.

Some members complained that the staff was too small to serve all interests, even though the chairman had instructed the majority staff to be nonpartisan. Mills and his supporters argued that the assistance provided by the Legislative Research Service (LRS) of the Library of Congress compensated for the disadvantages of a small staff. Yet, all committees could call upon the LRS, and that fact alone could not explain why the Appropriations Committee in 1969 had a staff of 75 compared to the 22 for the Committee on Ways and Means. The professional staff in 1972 numbered only 11, with eight serving the majority and three the minority. The committee staff tended to be policy experts who had experience with the programs within the committee's jurisdiction. For example, 8 of the 11 professional staff members had previously been employed in the executive branch, either in the Internal Revenue Service, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Social Security Administration, or even on a White House task force.[10]

With the chairman's control over a small centralized staff, and in the absence of decentralizing subcommittees, Mills' influence over the Committee on Ways and Means was substantial. Indeed, the powers of all standing committee chairs were great in this period, though those of Mills were even more so. Chairmen determined if bills were to be considered, arranged the committee's agenda, appointed subcommittees if there were any, called committee meetings, and decided if and



A glimpse inside the Ways and Means committee room in 1971 reveals Wilbur Mills hard at work as he calls for votes to support a bill. Always striving for a consensus, Mills bargained, compromised, coaxed, and cajoled as many members as he could to win backing for committee decisions. His renowned quest to achieve the greatest bipartisan unity possible came to be known as "the norm of restrained partisanship." His mastery of managing people fairly and remembering details perfectly (supposedly he had memorized most of the tax code) made him a powerful figure. Early in his tenure he shrugged off interest in a presidential bid, reportedly saying, "You don't need the title to run things in Washington."

when to hold hearings. They also directed the staff, presided at committee meetings, reported committee bills to the floor, testified at Rules Committee hearings, managed bills on the floor, and headed the House delegation to conference committee on their bills.[11] Because they had served an apprenticeship, and because they had worked their way up the seniority ladder, chairmen tended to be the most knowledgeable and involved members of their committee. Chairmen developed expertise through years of service; Mills had served on the Committee on Ways and Means from 1942 to 1958 before he

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
1959–1975

Wilbur D. Mills (D-AR)[1]	Eighty-sixth–Ninety-third Congresses, 1959–1975

[1] Mills also chaired the committee in the Eighty-fifth Congress following the death of Jere Cooper (D-TN) in December 1957. Mills resigned the chairmanship in December 1974. He remained on the committee for the Ninety-fourth Congress.

became chairman. Although their power intimidated younger members, most chairmen were not rigid authoritarians, but rather led by creating effective coalitions. Personal skill and a pattern of consensus-building, for example, were the keys to Wilbur Mills' success for much of his 16-year tenure as chairman.

The Leadership of Wilbur Mills

The leadership of Wilbur Mills was not based on a simple exercise of power. While he centralized control over the committee, even to the point of abolishing the use of subcommittees shortly after he became chairman, he did not dictate policy. Mills strove to build a consensus within the committee—a consensus that would survive intact through floor debate in the House. Mills was able to lead, as John Manley put it, because "like all leaders, he also follows." [12] Although he was personally an inscrutable figure to his colleagues, Mills nonetheless understood his committee and its members, and he accommodated their views in the decision-making process.

In building a consensus within the committee, the chairman bargained, compromised, coaxed, and cajoled as many members as he could to support committee decisions. Mills particularly sought to achieve the most bipartisan support possible, what Manley referred to as "the norm of restrained partisanship." His relationship with ranking minority member John W. Byrnes (R-WI) was so close that many members felt that the two jointly led the committee. As one Republican member observed, "If we had a partisan chairman the Committee would become partisan overnight." Another Republican added: "[Mills] never pushes things to votes, we reach a compromise. Nothing bothers me more than to read as you do in the newspapers, that he's an authoritarian—'the little authoritarian from Kensett, Arkansas.' That's not it, he's no authoritarian." [13]

Chairman Mills maintained an open atmosphere by remaining flexible. He closely guarded his own opinion on most issues, prefer-

PARTY RATIOS IN THE COMMITTEE AND THE HOUSE 1959–1975

CONGRESS	COMMITTEE	HOUSE	PRESIDENT
Eighty-sixth (1959–1961)	15 D–10 R	283 D–153 R	Eisenhower (R)
Eighty-seventh (1961–1963)	15 D–10 R	263 D–174 R	Kennedy (D)
Eighty-eighth (1963–1965)	15 D–10 R	258 D–177 R	Kennedy/ Johnson, L. (D)
Eighty-ninth (1965–1967)	15 D–10 R	295 D–140 R	Johnson, L. (D)
Ninetieth (1967–1969)	15 D–10 R	247 D–187 R	
Ninety-first (1969–1971)	15 D–10 R	243 D–192 R	Nixon (R)
Ninety-second (1971–1973)	15 D–10 R	254 D–180 R	
Ninety-third (1973–1975)	15 D–10 R	239 D–192 R	Nixon/Ford (R)

R—Republican D—Democrat

ring to allow other members to articulate positions in closed sessions. Once a position had attained acceptance, usually as a result of Mills' guided questioning, the chairman would step in to legitimize the decision. Manley quoted one firsthand observer of committee discussions: "Mills is an eminently successful opportunist. He does not announce his position and force it through. He sits and listens to the members and knows what will go. I'd say 80 percent of it is consensus, 20 percent Mills, but certainly not 50 percent Mills." [14] An added advantage to the chairman's policy of consensus-building was that it allowed the committee to subject its decisions to a thorough analysis before submitting them to the House.

Mills regarded technically correct bills that could pass the House as the best means for maintaining his own personal reputation and the prestige of the committee. The chairman believed that his reputation and that of his committee were on the line with every House vote on a Committee on Ways and Means bill. To Mills, building a consensus within the committee was tantamount to House passage: "I think if I can get a vast majority of the membership of the Ways and Means Committee to agree on something, that I've got a vast majority of the House agreed upon the same thing. Because our committee is a cross section of the membership of the House." [15] The passage of most

Chairman Mills confers with Senator Russell Long, left, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and Dr. Laurence Woodworth, staff director of the Joint Committee on Taxation (JCT), prior to a conference committee meeting involving Ways and Means and Finance Committee members. The tenure of these two chairmen coincided for nine years. The chairmen of the Ways and Means and Senate Finance Committees alternate Congresses as the head of JCT. Created in 1926 to provide objective, bipartisan, and expert information and advice on tax issues to the tax-writing committees, JCT speeds the flow of information between the committee and the Senate and the executive branch.

Ways and Means bills also benefited from consideration under a closed rule. The technical nature of revenue and Social Security bills, as well as the chairman's reputation for reporting sound legislation, contributed to the grant of closed rules for most committee bills during this period.

The presentation of a Ways and Means bill to the Rules Committee served as a test run for subsequent House action. Mills used the Rules Committee as one last sounding board to judge the acceptability of the committee's consensus. Most often, Manley found, the Rules Committee granted Mills his closed rule, though occasionally a final compromise was needed. A closed rule prohibited a bill from being amended on the floor without committee approval. Of 96 committee bills debated between 1947 and 1966, 72 were considered under closed rules.[16]

The chairman's thorough mastery of the details of the subjects the committee considered—Mills reputedly had memorized most of the tax code—was a key component of his influence. Members were impressed by the chairman's knowledge and diligence. As one remarked, Mills was more like a tax scholar: "He knows the tax code inside and out," to which another colleague added, "He's so single minded, never goes out, no social life or cocktail parties. He's thoroughly absorbed, goes home and thinks about the legislation." [17] All of the members of the committee shared in the prestige of the committee's success under Mills. Furthermore, because the chairman and a few key colleagues performed most of the laborious detail work, most members were spared the effort, anxiety, and time spent in mas-

tering complex and esoteric issues. In other words, they shared in the rewards without bearing much of the costs. Most members, until the late 1960s, apparently appreciated Mills' leadership.

Mills' influence was further enhanced by his fairness in distributing rewards. One of the major rewards, as noted, was that Mills worked to maintain the committee's reputation. Other rewards included doing favors for members, including such things as making trips and speaking engagements in members' home districts. The chairman never explicitly asked for anything in return for such favors, but members implicitly understood that reciprocal obligations had been incurred. Mills' leadership, in sum, relied upon rewards, favors, expertise, persuasion, negotiation, and bargaining, not upon coercion.[18]

Mills' accommodationist, consensus-building leadership style was made possible, perhaps even made necessary, by the process by which members of the committee were selected. Both Democrats and Republicans assigned members of the Committee on Ways and Means in a fashion that both fostered party conflict and paradoxically restrained partisanship. Leaders of both parties took an active interest in assign-

President John F. Kennedy signs the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. Afterwards, the President acknowledged the outstanding leadership that Chairman Mills had executed in pulling together the trade agreement. Considered a key legislative victory for Kennedy, the act provided the President with a five-year authority to negotiate tariff reductions of up to 50 percent, especially with the European Common Market. Kennedy signed the bill on October 11, 1962, referring to the act as "the most important international piece of legislation . . . affecting economics since the passage of the Marshall plan." Standing at Chairman Mills' right shoulder is Ways and Means member Hale Boggs (D-LA), who, while Majority Leader in 1972, was lost in a plane crash in Alaska. Directly behind the President is John Byrnes. Committee member Cecil King (D-CA), Howard Baker (R-TN), and Eugene Keogh (D-NY) stand at right.

ing members to the committee because of its importance. Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-TX), for example, reportedly would veto the appointment of any member who did not suppport the oil depletion allowance. For Democrats, the role of its members on the Committee on Ways and Means as the party's Committee on Committees further enhanced the significance of the assignment procedure, since these 15 members would determine the appointment of Democratic members to all House standing committees.

Leaders of each party tended to select party regulars for the Committee on Ways and Means. This meant that Republicans selected conservatives and that Democrats appointed a disproportionate share of conservative Southern Democrats. These factors created the possibility—in effect the reality—of a bipartisan conservative coalition within the committee.

These partisan appointment considerations had the potential to stimulate overt partisanship on the committee. Several factors, on the other hand, hindered the development of partisanship: 1) the generally moderate, pragmatic style of members, 2) the apprenticeship period in which members had to prove themselves "good" party men with the requisite attributes for membership on the committee, 3) the safeness of most members' seats that allowed time to develop expertise in the committee's subject areas as well as informal techniques of conflict resolution, and 4) the veto power over appointments held by Chairman Mills and ranking minority member Byrnes that ensured obstructionist or difficult members were not appointed to the committee. The attractiveness of the committee—its importance, power, and prestige—also helped to restrain partisan conflict, because a committee that operated with accommodation and consensus enjoyed the respect of the House and maintained its standing. Political scientist John Manley has concluded that the recruitment process created a committee of members bound to disagree, but equally bound to manifest that disagreement within the confines of a pragmatic, compromising, consensus-seeking framework.[19]

The hard-won consensus achieved by the committee was undermined, many members believed, when the Senate bowed to pressures from interest groups and executive departments to alter House bills. Many members thought that the Senate acted irresponsibly in amending House bills. One member put it this way: "With all due respect to the Senate, they don't know what the hell they're doing over there. They're so damn irresponsible you can get unanimous consent to an amendment that costs a *billion* dollars. And the Senate is supposed to be a safety check on the House. We really act as the stabling influence, the balance." [20] For their part, senators obviously felt no reluctance to amend Ways and Means bills. Congressman Charles M. Teague (R-CA) satirically recounted the legislative history of H.R. 1839 in 1964, which had left the House as a bill for the free importation of wild birds and animals for exhibition, only to return after major Senate surgery as import quotas on meat and meat products:

> The operation was a great success by the standards which prevail in the Senate hospital. My little fellow was completely gutted. All that remained of him was the identification number on his poor little wrist. He no longer even bore my name. His little shell, however, had been stuffed with all sorts of things entirely foreign to [H.R.] 1839, his heritage and ancestry.[21]

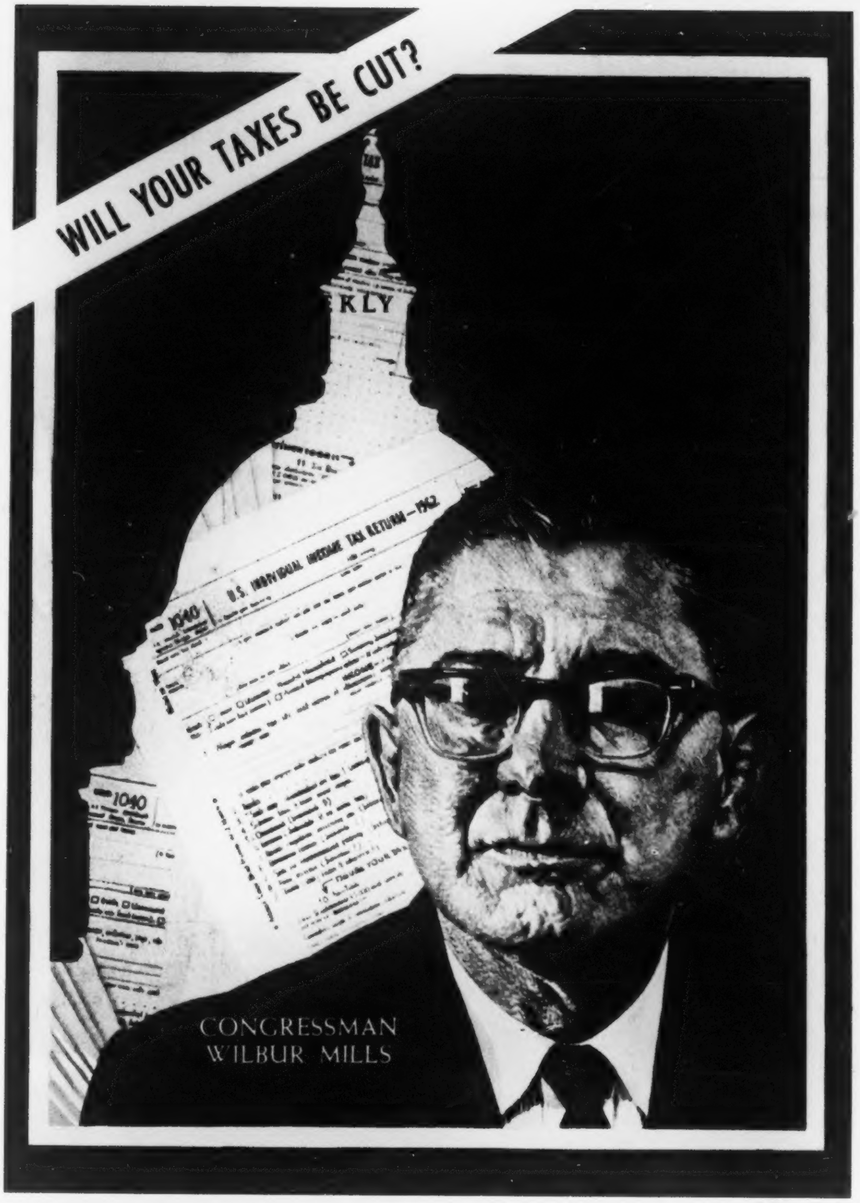
Although few committee bills were so "gutted," once amended by the Senate, these bills then went to a conference committee. The conservative coalition controlled the conference committee because its members were among the most senior on both the Committee on Ways and Means and the Senate Committee on Finance during this period. Based on Manley's analysis of 17 major tax bills between 1947 and 1966, the Senate most often lowered the tax rates of House bills. Senate versions were closer to the final conference committee reports than the House bills, which was also the case with appropriations bills. The Senate succeeded, political scientists have suggested, because its decisions were more responsive to the wishes of interest groups, lobbyists, and constituents, and were therefore easier for the House and the Senate to accept. The House, on the other hand, was dominant in Social Security legislation. Trade legislation exhibited greater diversity, with the Senate being more protectionist—as it had historically been—but with no clear pattern of dominance.[22]

The Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation

Both the Committee on Ways and Means and the Senate Committee on Finance could call upon the resources of the professional staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation (JCIRT), founded in 1926. The committee was authorized to appoint, on the basis of merit, a Chief of Staff and a staff of tax experts. The committee was composed of five members each from the House and the Senate—three majority and two minority members each from, and chosen by, the House Committee on Ways and Means and the Senate Committee on Finance, usually the chairmen and ranking members. In 1976, the committee's title was changed to the Joint Committee on Taxation. Currently, the Ways and Means chairman chairs the committee every other Congress.

Created to provide objective, bipartisan, and neutral expert information and advice, the staff of the JCIRT provided linkage and continuity between the House and the Senate. The members of the Com-

As a pivotal force behind Kennedy's effort to reduce taxes across the board, Chairman Mills makes the cover of Time *magazine on January 11, 1963. Kennedy had proposed a quick-fix investment tax credit to stimulate business and a series of reforms designed to close tax loopholes. Chairman Mills opened committee debate on the tax issue by saying, "The purpose of this tax reduction and revision bill is to loosen the constraints which the present federal taxation imposes on the American economy." With this direction, Ways and Means drafted a bill that paid more attention to tax cuts than it did to the revenue-raising reforms that Kennedy had envisioned. With Mills' stamp of approval, the committee's bill easily passed the House and formed the core of the resulting Revenue Act of 1964.*


WILL YOUR TAXES BE CUT?
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U.S. INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RETURN—1962
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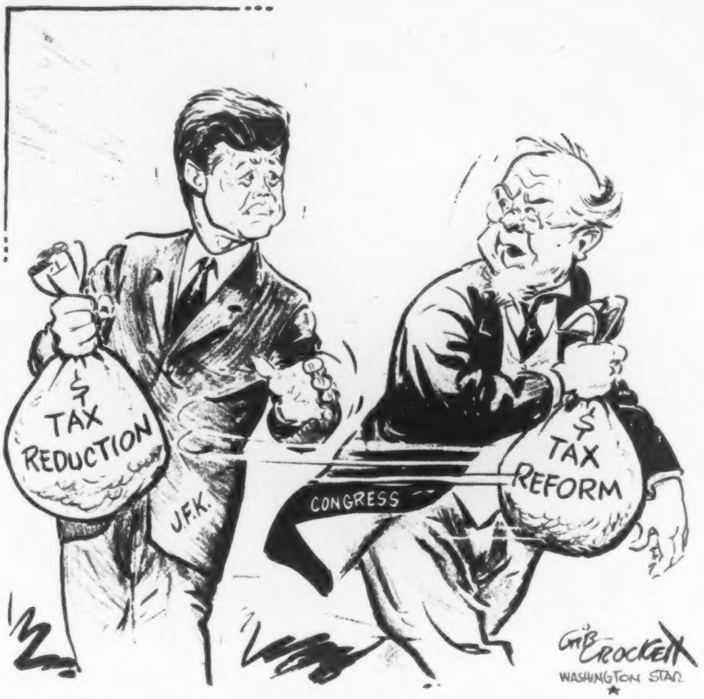
CONGRESSMAN
WILBUR MILLS

mittee on Ways and Means valued the advice of the staff above that of the executive branch. One member observed, "Between the Joint Committee staff and the House Legislative Counsel, Congress has developed a more competent staff for drafting tax legislation than has the Treasury." [23] The Chief of Staff of the JCIRT from 1938 to 1964, Colin P. Stam, was considered as important a player in tax legislation as the committee chairmen. Liberals thought that Stam biased the

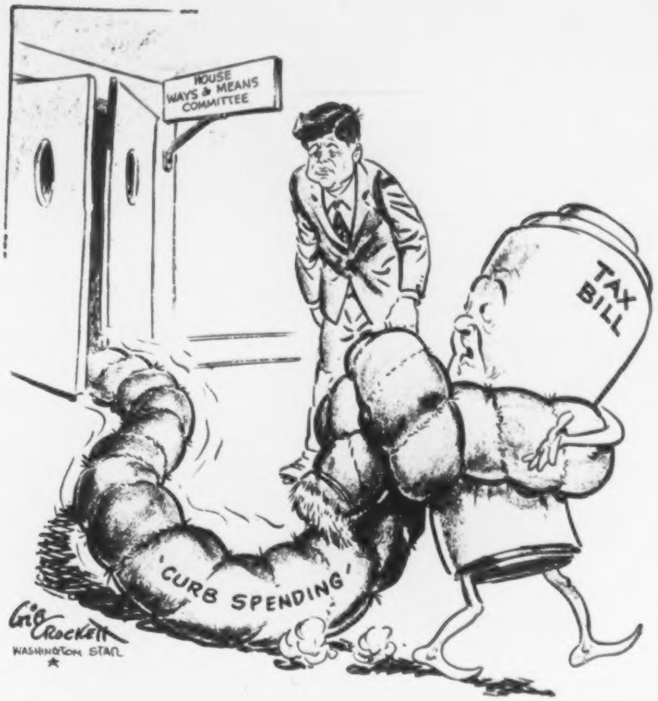


Congress hands tax reductions to Kennedy but yanks back tax reforms, which would have raised money to help offset the 7.3 billion tax dollars lost in the first year of the Revenue Act of 1964. While the Kennedy Administration had wanted the act to cut individual income taxes, it had also wanted the act to increase levies in other areas. However, of 19 tax-raising proposals, Ways and Means dropped all but four. Thus the intended tax-cut and reform bill ended up mainly as a measure for tax reduction. At right, a string tied to the 1964 tax act by Ways and Means was bad news for Kennedy. The new law meant that the White House would have to consider a curb on spending in order to live within the means of lower federal revenues.

staff's input in a conservative direction. His successor, Laurence N. Woodworth, responded to these criticisms by making the staff more available to all members of the Senate Finance Committee and the House Committee on Ways and Means.[24]

In addition to providing expert advice, the JCIRT staff served as an important link between the committee, the Treasury Department, and key interest groups. The staff met informally with their counterparts from the Treasury Department and the Internal Revenue Service in what were called staff subcommittees to discuss Treasury's tax proposals. "We get together in our subcommittees and discuss these ideas as to feasibility and technical possibility," one JCIRT staffer recalled. "We represent the Ways and Means Committee and let them know what the committee may or may not accept." [25] The JCIRT was also a focal point for interest-group lobbying. Stam, the staff director, held meetings in which groups of lobbyists could present their views. According to an unsubstantiated story, one lobbyist bought a dog to walk around Chevy Chase Circle in hopes of meeting Stam on one of his nocturnal canine excursions.

The JCIRT was but one of a set of complex, informal ties linking the Committee on Ways and Means with the Senate and with the executive branch. The committee not only relied upon its own tax experts and those of JCIRT for guidance but also upon the officials and staff of the Treasury Department, who sat in on executive mark-up



sessions. The President, through the Treasury Department and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), took the initiative in proposing legislation, but the executive branch had to anticipate the response of the Committee on Ways and Means. Executive initiative did not mean automatic acceptance. The Committee on Ways and Means yielded to executive direction only in the area of trade legislation, where a broad bipartisan coalition existed since 1934 that viewed trade as a foreign policy matter primarily the business of the executive. In the area of taxation the Committee on Ways and Means tended to demonstrate its independence and was far less susceptible to executive persuasion. Less conflict was evident in Social Security, with the notable exception of Medicare.[26]

Mills Committee Trade Legislation

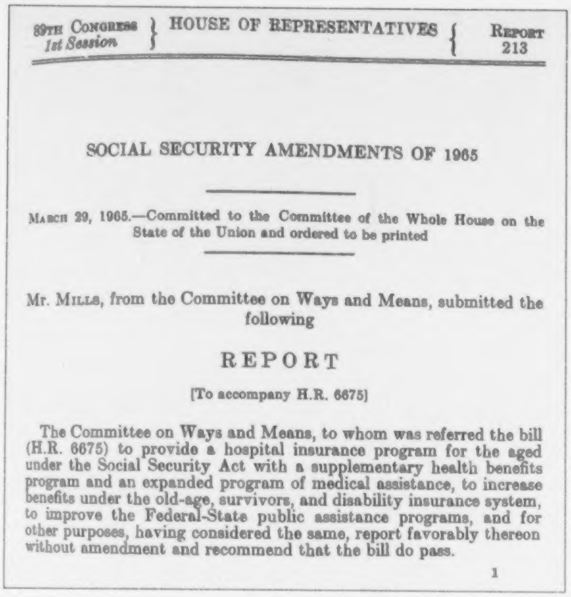
Two significant trade revisions were passed during Mills' chairmanship. The first, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, was considered by many political observers to have been President John F. Kennedy's most important legislative victory of the Eighty-seventh Congress (1961–1963). The act provided the President with a five-year authority to negotiate tariff reductions of up to 50 percent, especially with the European Common Market. When he signed the bill on October 11,

Former President Harry Truman and Vice President Hubert Humphrey help President Lyndon Johnson note the hour as he signs the Medicare Act on July 30, 1965. The signing took place in Independence, Missouri, the hometown of Truman, who was the first Chief Executive to endorse a health insurance plan to be financed by raising the Social Security tax. Loud objections to such a notion in 1949 softened over the years as medical costs soared. By 1965, the time was right and Johnson recommended Medicare. Previously opposed, Mills honored his committee's views and crafted the bill. It marked a major addition to the social insurance programs begun in the New Deal.

1962, President Kennedy referred to it as "the most important international piece of legislation . . . affecting economics since the passage of the Marshall plan [1948]." [27] It was appropriate that Kennedy conspicuously included Chairman Wilbur Mills among those responsible for passage of the law. The role of the committee in the consideration of the Trade Expansion Act represented a case study in the operation of the Committee on Ways and Means under Wilbur Mills.

The first step in the procedure was the formulation of an executive proposal on trade. On December 6, 1961, President Kennedy called for greater cooperation with the European Common Market in lowering tariffs in order to stimulate trade. The 1934 Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, Kennedy argued, "must not simply be renewed, it must be replaced." The administration submitted a draft bill to Congress on January 25, 1962, along with a message supporting the measure. The two key elements the administration sought were: 1) "a general authority to reduce existing tariffs by 50 percent in reciprocal negotiations," and 2) a special authority "to reduce or eliminate all tariffs on those groups of products where the United States and the EEC (European Economic Community, also known as the Common Market) together account for 80 percent or more of world trade in a representative period." Wilbur Mills introduced the bill (H.R. 9900) on the same day, and it was promptly referred to his committee for consideration.[28]

The Committee on Ways and Means held four weeks of hearings on the bill and a series of closed executive mark-up sessions over a six-week period. Over 245 witnesses testified, and the printed record



89th Congress, 1st Session } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { Report 213

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965

March 29, 1965.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. Mills, from the Committee on Ways and Means, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H.R. 6675]

The Committee on Ways and Means, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 6675) to provide a hospital insurance program for the aged under the Social Security Act with a supplementary health benefits program and an expanded program of medical assistance, to increase benefits under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system, to improve the Federal-State public assistance programs, and for other purposes, having considered the same, report favorably thereon without amendment and recommend that the bill do pass.

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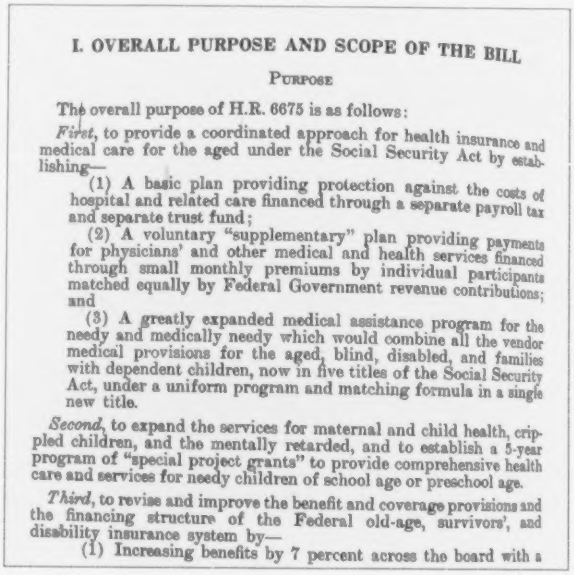


I. OVERALL PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THE BILL

Purpose

The overall purpose of H.R. 6675 is as follows:

First, to provide a coordinated approach for health insurance and medical care for the aged under the Social Security Act by establishing—

(1) A basic plan providing protection against the costs of hospital and related care financed through a separate payroll tax and separate trust fund;

(2) A voluntary "supplementary" plan providing payments for physicians' and other medical and health services financed through small monthly premiums by individual participants matched equally by Federal Government revenue contributions; and

(3) A greatly expanded medical assistance program for the needy and medically needy which would combine all the vendor medical provisions for the aged, blind, disabled, and families with dependent children, now in five titles of the Social Security Act, under a uniform program and matching formula in a single new title.

Second, to expand the services for maternal and child health, crippled children, and the mentally retarded, and to establish a 5-year program of "special project grants" to provide comprehensive health care and services for needy children of school age or preschool age.

Third, to revise and improve the benefit and coverage provisions and the financing structure of the Federal old-age, survivors', and disability insurance system by—

(1) Increasing benefits by 7 percent across the board with a

A favorable report from Ways and Means on the proposed Medicare bill enumerates the scope and philosophy of the measure, which was written to amend the Social Security Act. The struggle to draft a Medicare bill involved several factions. The Johnson Administration insisted on compulsory national health care, a plan opposed by the American Medical Association. Also against it were Republicans and conservative Democrats; they wanted a voluntary health care system. Ways and Means accommodated both views with a compromise. Medicare Part A provided for insurance coverage of hospital expenses for persons age 65 and over, but excluded the services of physicians. Revenue for this plan would come from an increase in payroll taxes. Medicare Part B, a supplementary voluntary plan for those over 65, allowed for additional coverage that included the services of physicians. Money for this purpose would come from monthly premiums deducted from participants' benefits, matched by government payments from general revenues. An amendment also extended the Medical Assistance for the Aged to the medically needy under a disability program, known as Medicaid. The Medicare Act of 1965 brought some 36 million Americans under the protection of national health insurance.

of the hearings filled six volumes, totaling 4,233 pages and weighing ten pounds. Nearly every major Kennedy Cabinet member testified on behalf of the bill, led by Commerce Secretary Luther H. Hodges and Under Secretary of State George W. Ball. Most of the testimony was of a general nature, such as Treasury Department Secretary Douglas Dillon's assertion that "trade legislation of this scope is essential if we are to achieve and maintain a reliable balance between our foreign payments and receipts in the years ahead." Most representatives of

In 1973, Mills pledges support for a trade measure requested by President Richard Nixon. "I would give the President whatever it takes . . . to promote the exportation of goods from this country into other countries. . . . That means, more or less, the reduction or elimination of nontariff barriers." The Trade Act of 1974 became a landmark legislative achievement under Mills. The authority that it gave the President to negotiate trade agreements influenced U.S. policy for the next 15 years. President Gerald Ford signed the bill after the Watergate scandal forced Nixon to resign.

industry, trade, or labor organizations supported the bill, although one witness argued against an "extreme concentration of power in the President," which would leave the control of Congress over tariffs "completely atrophied." [29] The last two days of questioning were devoted to a cross-examination of Hodges and Ball by committee Republicans.

The committee went into closed executive session on the trade bill on April 12, 1962. By May 23, the committee had given approval to an amended form of the administration's draft bill. An entirely new bill (H.R. 11970) was drafted to incorporate these changes, which Mills introduced on June 4. The new bill retained the basic purpose of the administration measure virtually intact, but it also considerably revised the procedures and safeguards that were either omitted or only vaguely stated in the original bill. The most conspicuous committee additions were: 1) the escape clause, a previous feature of trade acts that would permit the United States to withdraw from any commitment to reduce tariffs when required to do so by domestic considerations, 2) a provision that Congress could override the President if he rejected a Tariff Commission recommendation to invoke the escape clause, and 3) a suspension of the most-favored-nation status of Poland and Yugoslavia.

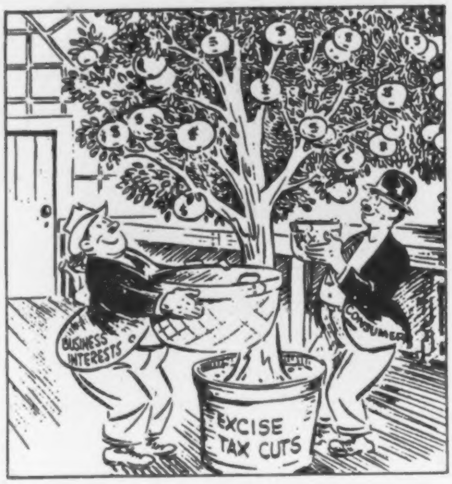
On June 4, the committee voted 20–5 to report H.R. 11970 to the House. Five Republicans joined all 15 Democrats to support the bill. The House Rules Committee voted 8–7 to grant a closed rule to the trade bill. Under closed rules, only amendments approved by the reporting committee could be considered during floor debate. The only opportunity to change the bill was a motion to recommit to the committee with instructions to make certain changes. Recommittal motions are the prerogative of the reporting committee's ranking minority member. In this case, Noah M. Mason (R-IL), then ranking Republican on the Committee on Ways and Means, moved to recommit H.R. 11970 with instructions to prepare a substitute bill extending existing trade agreements legislation for one year. Mason's motion was defeated by a vote of 171–253. Subsequently, H.R. 11970 was passed by the House on June 27 by a roll call vote of 298–125.

The trade bill passed the Senate in September by a wide margin. The conference committee easily compromised differences between the House and Senate versions in one meeting. The House's suspension of most-favored-nation status for Poland and Yugoslavia was retained, as were some of the Senate's provisions to authorize the President to retaliate against foreign import restrictions. The conference report was agreed to by the House and the Senate on October 4. The House expressed its gratitude to Mills for his committee's work on the bill when several members suggested that it should be known as the Mills Act.

The Trade Expansion Act of 1962 provided the legislative authorization for the Kennedy Round of tariff reduction negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) of 1947. As a result of this round of negotiations, the United States agreed to lower import duties an average of 35 percent on nearly 6,000 items over a five-year period (1968–1973) in return for reduced tariffs on American goods.[30]

The second significant item of trade legislation during the Mills era was the Trade Act of 1974. On April 10, 1973, President Richard M. Nixon requested congressional authority for the upcoming Tokyo Round of GATT multilateral trade negotiations. The administration's request reflected both the increasingly complex nature of modern international trade relationships and the importance of trade issues to the American economy. The two key provisions of Nixon's request were authority to address the proliferation of nontariff trade barriers to U.S. access to overseas markets, and a special procedure for swift congressional consideration of legislation to implement nontariff trade agreements. The administration's plan also proposed: 1) measures to grant temporary relief to domestic industries and workers harmed by increased import competition, 2) the normalization of trade relations with Communist nations, and 3) a new program of preferential tariff treatment for imports from developing nations.

The committee held 24 days of public hearings, receiving testimony from 369 witnesses and hundreds of written communications, recorded in 14 volumes of 5,169 pages. The committee conducted 60 closed executive sessions during 39 days before reporting a revised bill on October 10, 1973. Among the major developments adopted by



"HOTHOUSE HARVEST"

Big business and consumers stand under the money tree awaiting a rich harvest from a cut in excise taxes during the administration of President Lyndon Johnson. The Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965 eliminated the 10 percent luxury tax on such items as jewelry, furs, and cosmetics. It also rolled back manufacturers' taxes on appliances, sporting goods, business machines, auto parts, and similar products. By 1969, the repeal of excise taxes had saved businesses and consumers 4.7 billion dollars.

the committee was an amendment proposed by Congressman Charles A. Vanik (D-OH) to condition the extension of nondiscriminatory trade relations with the Soviet Union and other Communist countries on their emigration policies.

The House passed the bill after two days of debate, but it was another year before the Senate acted on the renewed request by President Gerald R. Ford to pass the legislation. The Committee on Ways and Means, under new Chairman Al Ullman, and the Senate Committee on Finance reached agreement on the conference report on December 19, 1974. The report passed both Houses the following day, the last day of the Ninety-third Congress. The bill was signed into law by President Ford on January 3, 1975. The Trade Act of 1974 established a new procedure for the negotiation and implementation of trade agreements that provided the statutory basis for U.S. trade policy over the next 15 years.

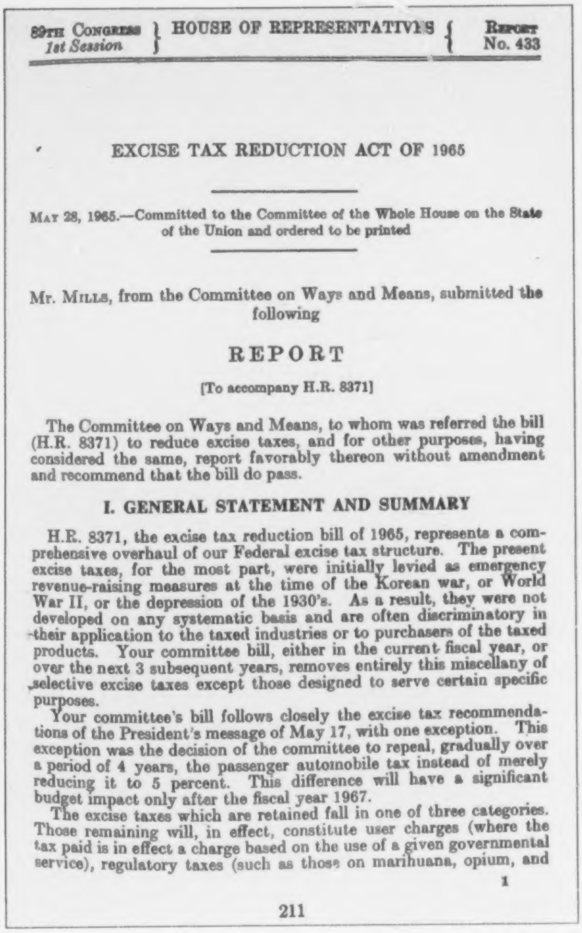
Social Security Legislation in the 1960s

Several increases in Social Security benefits were enacted in the 1960s, especially in the Social Security Amendments of 1960, 1961, and 1967. The major innovation in this field of legislation was the passage of the Medicare Act in 1965 to provide medical assistance to senior citizens. The principal congressional roadblock to this program for nearly a decade had been Mills' Committee on Ways and Means. The chairman reversed his opposition only after a set of circumstances had transformed the committee into a majority in favor of Medicare.

An attentive Chairman Wilbur Mills listens as President Johnson announces that he will ask Congress for cuts in federal excise taxes. Standing behind the President are Senate Finance Committee Chairman Russell B. Long, Mills, and Treasury Secretary Henry H. Fowler. Passage of the bill continued the trend toward lessening reliance on excise taxes to fund the cost of government.

The origins of Medicare dated back to the development of the Social Security Act in 1935. The Committee on Economic Security, appointed by President Roosevelt, endorsed the principle of compulsory national health insurance in its report, although the President declined to recommend it to Congress. No congressional action was taken until 1943 when Senators Robert F. Wagner (D-NY) and James E. Murray (D-MT) and Ways and Means member John D. Dingell (D-MI) proposed that the Social Security Act of 1935 be amended to include a compulsory national health insurance plan financed by a payroll tax. Although the bill failed, the phrase Wagner-Murray-Dingell was synonymous with what has become known as Medicare, President Truman endorsed the plan as early as 1945, and in his 1949 State of the Union Message, he proposed that prepaid health insurance for persons of all ages could be financed by raising the Social Security tax. No action was taken on Truman's proposal by Congress, but the controversy surrounding national health insurance focused public attention on the problem.[31]

The Eisenhower Administration (1953–1961) was opposed to compulsory national health insurance, but some Democrats in Congress continued to press the issue. Aime J. Forand (D-RI), a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, introduced a bill in 1957 to provide hospitalization, surgical, and other benefits to all retired persons covered by Social Security. The benefits were to be financed by an increase in payroll taxes. The Committee on Ways and Means held hearings on the Forand bill from July 13 to 17, 1959. HEW Secretary Arthur S. Flemming stated that although the administration was opposed to compulsory health insurance, "we are reviewing our position on the basic principles embodied in such legislation." [32]



89TH CONGRESS 1st Session } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT No. 433

EXCISE TAX REDUCTION ACT OF 1965

MAY 28, 1965.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. MILLS, from the Committee on Ways and Means, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H.R. 8371]

The Committee on Ways and Means, to whom was referred the bill (H.R. 8371) to reduce excise taxes, and for other purposes, having considered the same, report favorably thereon without amendment and recommend that the bill do pass.

I. GENERAL STATEMENT AND SUMMARY

H.R. 8371, the excise tax reduction bill of 1965, represents a comprehensive overhaul of our Federal excise tax structure. The present excise taxes, for the most part, were initially levied as emergency revenue-raising measures at the time of the Korean war, or World War II, or the depression of the 1930's. As a result, they were not developed on any systematic basis and are often discriminatory in their application to the taxed industries or to purchasers of the taxed products. Your committee bill, either in the current fiscal year, or over the next 3 subsequent years, removes entirely this miscellany of selective excise taxes except those designed to serve certain specific purposes.

Your committee's bill follows closely the excise tax recommendations of the President's message of May 17, with one exception. This exception was the decision of the committee to repeal, gradually over a period of 4 years, the passenger automobile tax instead of merely reducing it to 5 percent. This difference will have a significant budget impact only after the fiscal year 1967.

The excise taxes which are retained fall in one of three categories. Those remaining will, in effect, constitute user charges (where the tax paid is in effect a charge based on the use of a given governmental service), regulatory taxes (such as those on marihuana, opium, and

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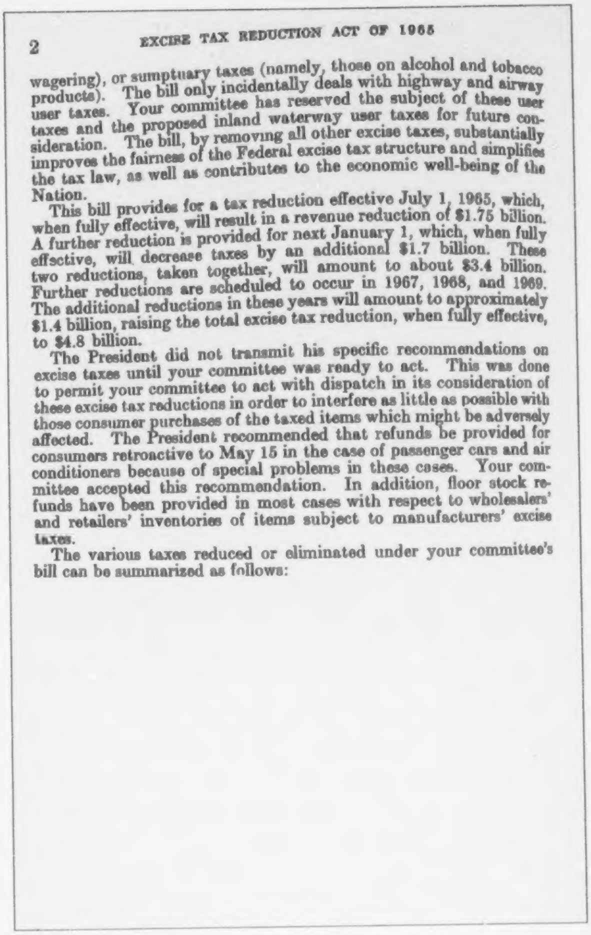


2 EXCISE TAX REDUCTION ACT OF 1965

wagering), or sumptuary taxes (namely, those on alcohol and tobacco products). The bill only incidentally deals with highway and airway user taxes. Your committee has reserved the subject of these user taxes and the proposed inland waterway user taxes for future consideration. The bill, by removing all other excise taxes, substantially improves the fairness of the Federal excise tax structure and simplifies the tax law, as well as contributes to the economic well-being of the Nation.

This bill provides for a tax reduction effective July 1, 1965, which, when fully effective, will result in a revenue reduction of $1.75 billion. A further reduction is provided for next January 1, which, when fully effective, will decrease taxes by an additional $1.7 billion. These two reductions, taken together, will amount to about $3.4 billion. Further reductions are scheduled to occur in 1967, 1968, and 1969. The additional reductions in these years will amount to approximately $1.4 billion, raising the total excise tax reduction, when fully effective, to $4.8 billion.

The President did not transmit his specific recommendations on excise taxes until your committee was ready to act. This was done to permit your committee to act with dispatch in its consideration of these excise tax reductions in order to interfere as little as possible with those consumer purchases of the taxed items which might be adversely affected. The President recommended that refunds be provided for consumers retroactive to May 15 in the case of passenger cars and air conditioners because of special problems in these cases. Your committee accepted this recommendation. In addition, floor stock refunds have been provided in most cases with respect to wholesalers' and retailers' inventories of items subject to manufacturers' excise taxes.

The various taxes reduced or eliminated under your committee's bill can be summarized as follows:

The committee held executive sessions to consider the Forand bill between March 14 and June 13, 1960. Flemming once more stated the administration's firm opposition, noting that they were considering a program of federal assistance to the states to promote health care for the aged. The American Medical Association also opposed what President Eisenhower had called "a very definite step in [the direction of] socialized medicine." [33] The bill (H.R. 12580) the committee reported to the House on June 13 replaced Forand's proposals with a plan authored by Chairman Mills that was closer to the administration's program. The chairman's bill authorized federal grants to the states for the purpose of medical care to persons over 65 whose incomes were deemed inadequate to meet their medical needs. The states were allowed to determine eligibility standards as well as levels of benefits. The plan was to be financed from Treasury funds rather than an increase in payroll taxes.

"The Committee on Ways and Means . . . recommend[s] that the bill do pass. . ." reads the panel's report submitted on the Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965. The proposed cut that caused the most controversy involved the federal excise on automobiles. Martha Griffiths of Michigan, the first woman to serve on Ways and Means, pressed for the elimination of the tax. Treasury Department officials balked, saying that such action would slice federal revenues by another billion dollars. Chairman Mills engineered a compromise that gave the automobile industry and Treasury part of what each wanted. In this report the committee justifies its overhaul of the present excise taxes because they ". . . were initially levied as emergency . . . measures at the time of the Korean war, or World War II, or the depression of the 1930's. As a result, they were not developed on any systematic basis and are often discriminatory. . . ."

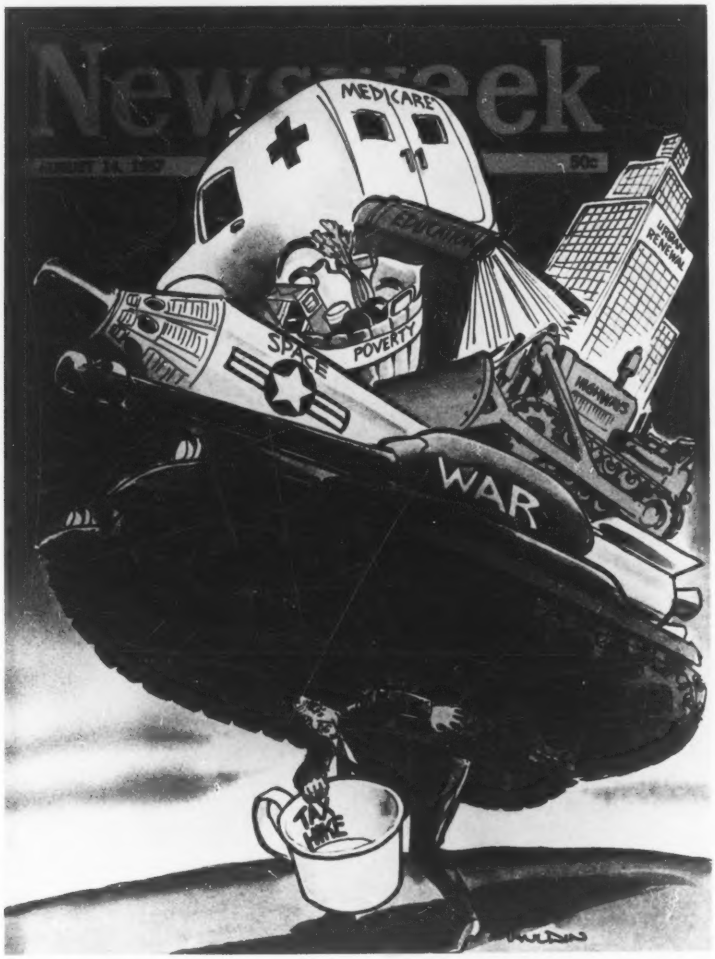
H.R. 12580 passed the House on June 23, 1960, by a vote of 381–23 under a closed rule. The Senate version of the bill with a slightly modified federal-state assistance plan authored by Senator Robert S. Kerr (D-OK) passed on August 23, and the conference committee report was adopted three days later in the House and six days later in the Senate. Now known as Kerr-Mills, the act was signed by President Eisenhower on September 13. Although Forand called it "a sham and a mirage . . . a watered-down version of a no-good bill that came from the White House," the size of the vote indicated that the majority agreed with Republican Victor A. Knox of Michigan that the act was "a step in the right direction." [34]

John F. Kennedy had sponsored a version of the Forand bill while serving in the Senate in 1960. As President in 1961, he recommended a similar program, arguing that it was "not a system of socialized medicine." [35] Congress took no action on health care in the Eighty-seventh Congress (1961–1963), but it did pass an increased Social Security benefits package in 1961.

Kennedy asked Congress to increase the minimum monthly benefit from $33 to $43 to keep up with the rising cost of living. He also requested broadening the disability provisions, increasing widows' benefits, and assigning 62 as the age at which workers could retire and receive benefits on a reduced basis. The package was to be financed by an increased payroll tax of .25 percent on employers and employees. The Committee on Ways and Means held only five days of executive sessions on the bill in March 1961. HEW Secretary Abraham A. Ribicoff testified on behalf of the administration. There was little evident opposition to the bill, which was approved by the committee 22–2 on March 29. The committee did make several alterations to the administration's proposals: 1) increasing the monthly minimum only to $40, 2) increasing the payroll tax only .125 percent, 3) rejecting the broadened disability protection, and 4) lowering the increase for widows' benefits. The House passed the bill on April 20 by an overwhelming 400–14 margin. The bill passed the Senate in late June, and President Kennedy signed the Social Security Amendments of 1961 on June 30.[36]

By the mid-1960s, the paradox of poverty amid plenty as well as the rising costs of medical care had focused public attention upon medical assistance for the aged. President Lyndon B. Johnson instructed Democratic congressional leaders to give top priority to passage of Medicare in 1965; accordingly, the bill was assigned H.R. 1 in the House and S. 1 in the Senate. The congressional elections in 1964 had much to do with the success of the bill in the Committee on Ways and Means.

The committee had rejected a similar health care program in 1960 by a vote of 17–8, with all ten Republicans and seven Democrats, including Chairman Mills and all six Southern Democrats, in the



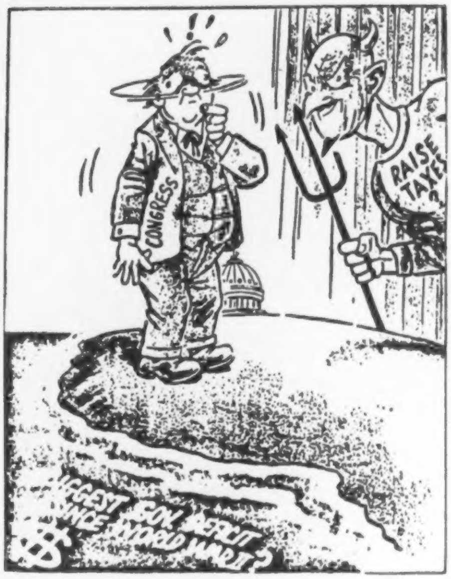
Heavy spending burden of the Vietnam conflict, space program, urban renewal, Medicare, and other federal programs bends the back of the Johnson Administration, which grasps an empty tax cup in this 1967 cover of Newsweek. *The strain of the President's "guns and butter" programs in the wake of lost revenues led Johnson to request an extension of excises due to expire under the reduction act of 1965. The President also asked for a 10 percent income tax surcharge. Mills tried to bottle up the bill in committee, but when forced to report it, he attached a big condition to the measure. The Revenue and Expenditures Control Act of 1968 granted the 10 percent surcharge on personal and corporate income for 1969, but only if federal spending was cut by six billion dollars.*

opposition. Within five years the Democratic House leadership replaced every Democrat who left the committee, including three who were opposed to Medicare, with a Medicare supporter. With the Democratic landslide in the 1964 elections, in which two Republican members of the committee were defeated, the ratio of the committee was changed for the Eighty-ninth Congress from 15 Democrats and 10 Republicans to 17 Democrats and 8 Republicans. The ratio reverted to 15–10 in the succeeding Congresses until the committee was enlarged in 1974. What had been a 17–8 majority against Medicare was transformed by the election and the enlargement of the committee into a tenuous 13–12 majority in favor of the program.[37]

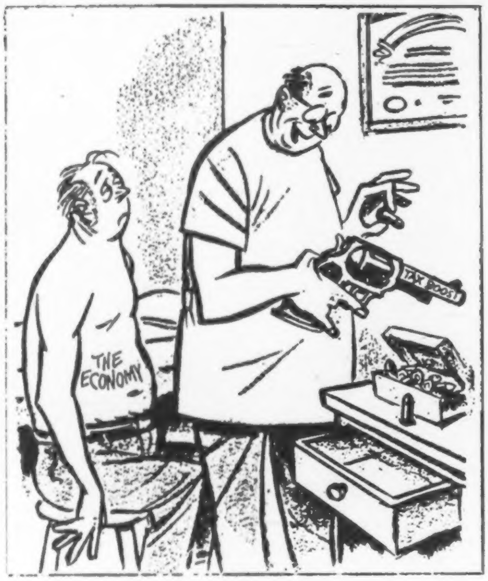
Confronted with a committee majority favorable to the administration's bill, Chairman Mills reversed his position on Medicare. No hearings were held on the bill because the majority considered them unnecessary. The Medicare Act passed in 1965 owed much to the consensus-building process within the Mills committee. H.R. 1, the administration bill, was replaced by a compromise bill, H.R. 6675, whose provisions reflected suggestions made by ranking minority member John W. Byrnes. The Wisconsin Republican proposed an optional rather than a mandatory program for those over 65 that included an expanded benefits package financed by federal contributions taken from general revenues and by small monthly payments from beneficiaries. Mills was impressed by his colleague's recommendations, although he was dubious about the wisdom of financing Medicare through general revenues rather than payroll taxes. The chairman designed a bill that incorporated aspects of the administration's proposals, Byrnes' alternative, and a plan submitted by the American Medical Association. Under the terms of the Mills bill, hospital insurance would be financed through payroll taxes, but added medical care benefits would be financed through general revenues and participant contributions.

H.R. 6675 provided two health insurance plans that became Title XVIII (Medicare) of the Social Security Act. The basic health insurance plan for persons over 65 (Medicare Part A) provided hospitalization coverage, except for the services of physicians. This plan was to be financed by an increase in payroll taxes. A supplementary voluntary plan for those over 65 (Medicare Part B) provided additional coverage that encompassed the services of physicians, including specialists such as radiologists, anesthesiologists, pathologists, and psychiatrists. This plan was to be financed through monthly premiums deducted from participants' benefits, matched by government payments from general revenues. The bill also amended the Kerr-Mills program of federal-state assistance by extending the Medical Assistance for the Aged program to the medically needy under the dependent children, blind, and permanently and totally disabled programs. This extension of Kerr-Mills became Title XIX (better known as Medicaid) of the Social Security Act.

The House considered H.R. 6675 under a closed rule on April 8, 1965, when it passed the bill by a 313–115 vote. "After all these years," Chairman Mills observed, the committee and the administration had been able to develop a bill "that I could wholeheartedly and conscientiously . . . support. . . . I believe we have finally worked out a satisfactory and reasonable solution of an entire problem, not just a partial solution." [38] President Lyndon Johnson signed Medicare into law on July 30, 1965, at Independence, Missouri, in the presence of the first President to propose a national health insurance program, Harry Truman. The law provided health care coverage to some 36 million persons. The estimated cost of the program for the first full year's operation was 6.5 billion dollars. Both in scope and philosophy, Medicare marked a major addition to the social welfare legislation begun in the New Deal.


CONGRESS
RAISE TAXES ?
BIGGEST $50 BIL. DEFICIT SINCE WORLD WAR II $

"BETWEEN THE DEVIL AND THE DEEP RED SEA"



'Feeling a little sluggish, eh? What you need is a good shot in the arm.'

In 1967, the President requested the Ninetieth Congress to enact a 15 percent across-the-board increase in monthly Social Security benefits, as well as the expansion of Medicare to cover 1.5 million disabled Americans under the age of 65. The Committee on Ways and Means under Mills' leadership refused to extend Medicare, arguing that the additional cost would have threatened the financial soundness of the program. The committee did agree to a 12 percent increase in Social Security benefits, which was later raised to 13 percent in the final conference committee report.

The most controversial committee action concerning the Social Security Amendments of 1967 was the provision relating to Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). The committee recommended mandatory work-training programs for all able-bodied AFDC recipients. Mothers with preschool children would have to place them in federally supported day-care centers while receiving job training in order to remain eligible for AFDC payments. This was the only provision to elicit debate during the four hours in which the House considered the committee bill under a closed rule on August 17. Chairman Mills argued that the provision was designed to make "taxpayers out of taxeaters." He strongly defended the work-training program: "What in the world is wrong with requiring these people to submit themselves, if they are to draw public funds, to a test of their ability to learn a job? Is it not the way we should go? Is that not the thing we should do?" Ranking minority member Byrnes likewise thought that the AFDC provision was the "right road." But several Democrats, re-

Caught between the devil of higher taxes and the deep red sea of the biggest federal deficit since World War II, a befuddled Congress in 1967 wonders how to deal with these unpopular issues. A companion cartoon from that year suggests the pain of giving the economy a shot in the arm with a big tax boost. The Tax Reform Act of 1969 tackled the dilemma. Ways and Means proposed the most extensive changes in the tax code's history up to that time. Important provisions included an increase in captial gains taxes, an about-face repeal of the 7 percent investment tax credit, and a surprising reduction in the previously untouchable oil depletion allowance.

flecting the administration's position, criticized the bill's welfare provision. According to Charles Vanik of Ohio for example, "we can endeavor to hold down the cost, we can endeavor to train adults capable of work and rehabilitate families, but we must not deny help to those who remain needy after our best thought-out plans." [39] When President Johnson signed the bill on January 2, 1968, he also appointed a commission to make recommendations for changes in the "outmoded" welfare system. In 1972, amendments to the Social Security Act introduced the concept of indexing, that is, linking benefit increases to rises in the cost of living.

Although each of the four major Social Security bills in the 1960s originated from administration proposals, the Mills committee revised them all in a conservative direction. The committee refused to act on a compulsory national health insurance proposal in 1960, substituting the Kerr-Mills plan for federal-state assistance. President Kennedy's request for increased benefits in 1961 were also substantially reduced by the committee. Even when political changes created a committee favorable to Medicare, Mills was able to tack on a supplementary voluntary insurance plan favored by the AMA. The committee had displayed its independence in Social Security legislation; in the area of revenue, the Mills committee played an even more important role.

Mills Committee Tax Legislation

Because administrations usually presented tax proposals in the form of general messages, and because the committee placed so great a reliance upon the technical tax-writing expertise of the JCIRT staff and the House Legislative Counsel, the Committee on Ways and Means played a creative role in drafting tax legislation. There were four major tax reforms during Mills' tenure: two during the Kennedy-Johnson years—the Revenue Act of 1964 and the Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965—and two during Richard Nixon's Presidency—the Tax Reform Act of 1969 and the Tax Reduction Act of 1971. During the Eisenhower years, the tax code had been stabilized, and it had gone virtually unchanged since 1954. The tax reform acts of 1964 and 1969, however, consisted of dozens of major alterations, and as tax experts have pointed out, hundreds if not thousands of minor technical changes. The tax bills of the 1960s, and those of the 1970s as well, with one exception, all called for tax cuts, and all were touted as tax reforms; and yet, with each bill the tax code became increasingly more complex and difficult to administer.[40]

The Revenue Act of 1964 resulted from discussions held early in the Kennedy Administration involving Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon. Because of the nation's faltering economy, the administration devised a two-stage approach: a quick-fix investment tax credit to

DUN'S
OCTOBER 1971
ONE DOLLAR

The cover of Dun's *magazine directs the attention of the business community to tax-cut deliberations underway in Ways and Means in 1971. Runaway inflation had spurred President Nixon to come up with a plan for economic recovery. Supply-side economics, he reasoned, would lead to business expansion which in turn would revitalize the economy. Thus he transmitted to Ways and Means tax-reform requests that included reductions weighted in favor of business. Leaders of industry, as well as the nation's business press, watched closely as the committee pondered the last major tax revision of the Mills era.*

stimulate business, and a thorough reform effort to close tax loopholes. The investment tax credit recommended by Kennedy on April 21, 1961, ran into opposition in the Committee on Ways and Means. In the committee's hearings, business was divided over the way the credit was formulated, and organized labor was adamantly opposed. Chairman Mills utilized all of his consensus-building skill in order to fashion legislation in 1962 that increased the investment tax credit, in effect broadening tax reduction in order to increase support for the bill.[41]

Believing that "tax reductions set off a process that can bring gains for everyone," and that "tax deterrents to private initiatives have too long held economic activity in check," President Kennedy recommended across-the-board tax reductions in January 1963. The administration's proposals called for cutting individual tax rates from the then current range of 20–91 percent to 14–65 percent and for lowering corporate rates from 52 to 49 percent. Tax reductions were also proposed in provisions on child care, moving expenses, charitable contributions, income averaging, and research and development. To somewhat offset losses in revenue, several revenue-raising changes were suggested concerning capital gains.

Secretary Dillon emphasized the coordinated nature of the tax reform package in his testimony before the Committee on Ways and

Means. Generally, the committee took the view that tax reduction was tied to economic growth. The committee chose to increase the provisions reducing taxes and to reduce the provisions increasing taxes. The committee's bill was considered under a closed rule, with Mills commencing debate by arguing that, "The purpose of this tax reduction and revision bill is to loosen the constraints which the present federal taxation imposes on the American economy." The bill passed the House and formed the basis for the version favored by the conference committee. The resulting Revenue Act of 1964 enacted across-the-board reductions of from 20 to 30 percent, slightly more favorable for lower income groups and more proportional for middle income groups. As estimated by the JCIRT, the total revenue impact of the act was a revenue loss of 7.3 billion dollars for 1964 and 11.3 billion dollars for 1965. What began as tax reform had ended as tax reduction.[42]

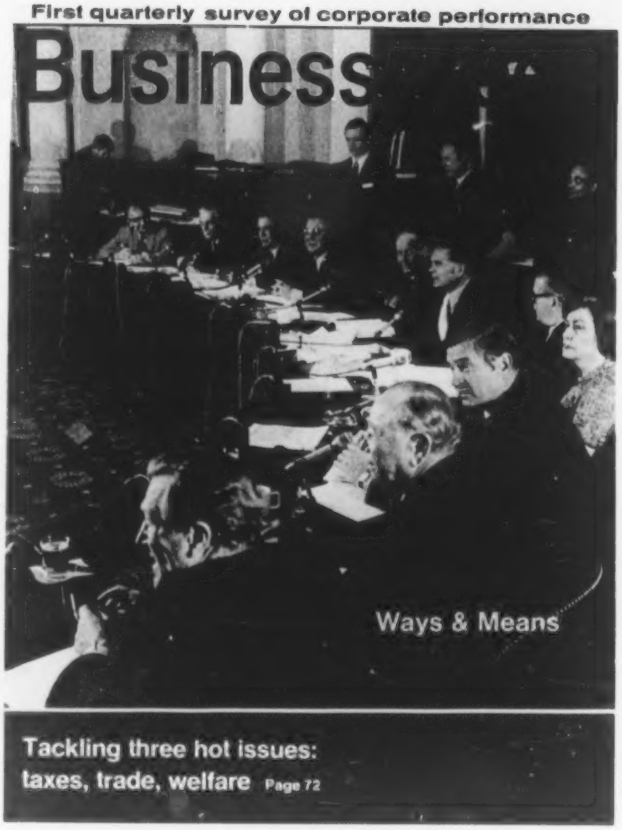
The political appeal of tax cuts proved irresistible. In 1965 the administration and Congress agreed to a large cut in excise taxes. These taxes had produced nearly one-eighth of federal revenue in the postwar period, as much as ten billion dollars a year. Excises on liquor and tobacco accounted for two-fifths of the total, with automobiles and fuels accounting for one-third. The Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965 reduced excises by 4.7 billion dollars between June 22, 1965 and January 1, 1969. The 10 percent luxury tax on items such as jewelry and furs was eliminated, but the most controversial reduction, and the one that the Committee on Ways and Means most altered, was the phasing out of the federal excise on automobiles. The administration recommended reducing the 10 percent tax by stages to 5 percent in 1967. Representative Martha Griffiths (D-MI), the first woman to serve on the committee, urged that the entire tax should be eliminated, arguing that the savings would be passed on to consumers in lower car prices that would stimulate the economy. The Treasury projected that outright elimination of the tax would cost another one billion dollars in lost revenues. Ranking minority member John Byrnes suggested phasing out the tax over a three-year period to lessen the impact on federal revenues. Chairman Mills supported the principle of a phase-out, changing only the first year's rate from Byrnes' proposed 8 percent to 7 percent. Like most compromises, it did not satisfy everyone, but it succeeded in giving both the Treasury and the automobile industry part of what they wanted.[43]

The next major tax revisions did not come until the late 1960s. Although the conflict in Vietnam placed added strains on the budget, President Johnson had little evident interest in tax policy. In 1968, the size of the deficit led the President to request an extension of excises due to expire and a temporary 10 percent income tax surcharge. Mills kept the bill in committee until he was forced to release it when the Senate attached a tax increase to another House bill. The Committee on Ways and Means bill tied the tax increase to a six billion dollar spending cut. The resulting Revenue and Expenditures Control Act of 1968 imposed a 10 percent surcharge on personal and corporate income for 1969, provided spending was cut six billion dollars below projected levels.[44]

The Johnson Administration held its proposals for major tax reform until after the election of Richard Nixon in 1968. Before Nixon's inauguration in January 1969, the Treasury released its proposals. The Committee on Ways and Means held extensive hearings on these proposals beginning in February. The bill drafted by the committee provided the most extensive changes in the tax code's history up to that time. The bill called for a six-month extension of the 10 percent tax surcharge to partially offset general reductions in the rate schedules. Personal tax exemptions were also increased. New tax benefits were written for pollution control equipment, railroad improvements, and renovations on rental properties. But in the most striking departure from current tax policy, the committee greatly increased revenue-raising provisions by increasing taxes on capital gains and by repealing the 7 percent investment tax credit, a complete about-face from the committee's position in 1964. For the first time, the committee lowered the sacrosanct oil depletion allowance previously protected zealously by Chairman Mills and Speaker Rayburn. The committee also eliminated the tax-exempt status of interest on state and municipal bonds, but this reform was not included in the Senate and conference committee versions.[45]

The committee bill was hurriedly drawn in order that it might pass before the August recess. During the House Rules Committee's consideration of a rule for the bill, the Democratic Study Group (DSG) found that one lower income group benefited less from the reforms. Mills called his committee together and wrote additional tax breaks of 2.5 billion dollars during a lunch break in the Rules Committee's proceedings. After the bill was granted a closed rule, the House passed it by an overwhelming 395–30 vote. The Senate made major changes to the bill in the direction of even greater tax reductions. President Nixon threatened to veto the bill, but the conference committee compromised the House and Senate versions to create an act that the JCIRT estimated would result in overall revenue *gains* of 5.7 billion dollars in fiscal year 1970. The added expenses of the military conflict in Vietnam provided part of the reason for tax reform rather than tax reduction, but tax scholars have argued that a more likely reason was the liberal ideology of Johnson's Great Society. The Tax Reform Act of 1969 instituted highly progressive tax changes, lowering the comparable tax liabilities more for lower income groups than for higher income groups, and in fact increasing by 7.2 percent the liabilities on incomes above $100,000.[46]

The committee engaged in the last major tax revision of the Mills


First quarterly survey of corporate performance
Business
Ways & Means
Tackling three hot issues:
taxes, trade, welfare Page 72

Revenue issues under consideration by Ways and Means in 1971 turns a picture of the committee into front-page news for Business Week *magazine In addition to paring business taxes as a counter-inflation move, President Nixon had asked Ways and Means for reinstatement of the investment tax credit and added depreciation benefits. The final bill reported by the committee followed the spirit of the President's request but altered most of the details. In general, Ways and Means more than doubled tax reductions for individuals, while providing one of the largest business tax cuts in history. The committee's work cleared the Senate virtually unchanged. The Tax Reduction Act of 1971 reduced revenues some 26 billion dollars over a three-year period.*

era in 1971. With inflation seemingly out of control, President Nixon asked Congress for wage and price controls, a 10 percent import surcharge, and a 10 percent cut in foreign aid. Following supply-side economic reasoning, the President also requested a tax cut weighted in favor of business in order to stimulate economic recovery. The administration specifically requested the reinstatement of an investment tax credit, added depreciation benefits (known as Asset Depreciation Range, or ADR), and the creation of a new kind of tax-exempt overseas sales organization (known as a Domestic International Sales Corporation, or DISC). Chairman Mills opposed this "trickle down" economics and suggested raising the low-income allowance from $300 to $1,300. The Committee on Ways and Means bill, drafted in only three days of executive sessions, scaled down the administration's requested 10 percent investment tax credit to 7 percent, approved the ADR, but revised the DISC proposal. The committee's bill more than doubled reductions for individuals, while also providing one of the largest business tax cuts in history. The Senate once again made major changes, only to abandon them in conference. The final bill, almost identical to the Committee on Ways and Means bill, reduced revenue an estimated 25.9 billion dollars over a three-year period. After the 1969 aberration, congressional tax policy had returned to the normal political expediency of tax reduction.[47]

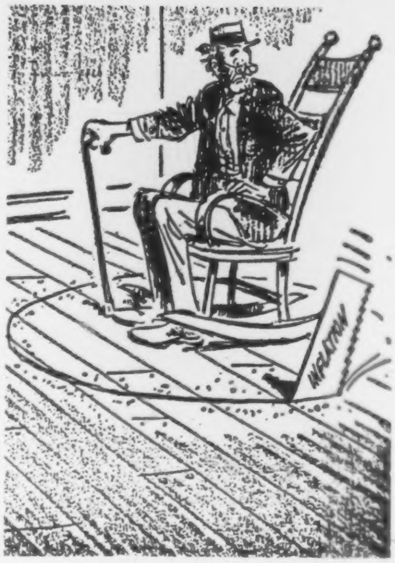
Two changes in the Internal Revenue Code recommended by the Mills committee sought to provide tax incentives for the establishment of private pension plans. From the late 1950s until its passage in 1962, committee member Eugene J. Keogh (D-NY) introduced in each Congress a plan to allow self-employed individuals to take a deduction from gross income for contributions to a retirement account. Such plans became commonly known as Keogh accounts. Further development of pension legislation peaked with the passage of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (ERISA). In addition to protecting the pension rights of employees, the act allowed workers not covered by an employer-provided plan to establish tax deductible individual retirement accounts to supplement their future retirement income. Unlike other social insurance legislation, ERISA depended almost exclusively on the private sector. In addition, the protections it afforded were established and enforced through the tax code rather than through direct federal spending. The code was clearly a more comfortable arena for the efforts of the Mills committee.

Congressional Reform, 1970–1975

By 1970, Wilbur Mills had chaired the committee for over a decade. His committee had drafted all of the major as well as routine trade, revenue, and Social Security legislation of the 1960s. Almost all committee bills had been considered by the House under closed rules that prevented amendments from the floor. The Mills committee in effect had dominated House policy within its jurisdiction. Some members of the House resented the committee's power, such as Morris Udall (D-AZ) who said, "I represent a half-million people, and I'm forbidden to have any say in the tax code." [48]

A study of the House Committee on Ways and Means in the early 1970s sponsored by a consumer rights group concluded that the committee was "secluded and secretive . . . indifferent to the public and uncooperative with the rest of Congress. This negligent privacy does not make for good government nor good laws," the authors insisted, "but it does make for powerful men." [49] The presumption, shared by some members of Congress as well, was that closed committee meetings and closed rules constituted a perversion of the democratic process. Open up congressional procedure to public scrutiny and input, the critics suggested, and the result would be legislation better attuned to the needs of the people. By implication, an important step in opening up the process was to remove perceived obstructions such as Chairman Mills.

Social insecurity: The elderly in the 1960s find themselves in a precarious seat as spiraling inflation undercuts their slow-rising federal benefits. Ways and Means under Mills generally maintained a leading role in Social Security legislation. Mills abhorred unbridled welfare. In 1967, he argued in vain for a mandatory work-training program that would make "taxpayers out of taxeaters." He did respond, however, to the plight of the elderly by overseeing a bill that became the Social Security Amendments Act of 1972. Its most notable contribution was the indexing of government benefits to the rise in the cost of living.



"SOCIAL INSECURITY"

Such criticism was not solely reserved for the Committee on Ways and Means; Congress as a whole received extremely low performance ratings in public opinion polls in the early 1970s. Several factors contributed to the negative public image of Congress and the Mills committee. The quagmire of the undeclared war in Vietnam and the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy, and Martin Luther King turned sour much of the idealism of the Kennedy-Johnson years. The "Imperial Presidency" seemingly indicated the powerlessness and ineptitude of Congress. A series of political scandals culminating with Watergate seemed to confirm the public's distrust of politicians. Finally, in spite of all the technical modifications to Social Security and the tax code, the plight of the elderly and the taxpayer seemed no better, only more complicated by layers of bureaucracy and red tape.

Younger and more liberal Democratic members of Congress in the early 1970s began to respond to both internal and external criticisms by launching a movement for major congressional reform, much of which was aimed at the Committee on Ways and Means under Wilbur Mills. Reformers chafed under what they perceived to be a repressive seniority system that thwarted liberal legislation. Conservative-minded Southern Democratic chairs, such as Mills, W. R. Poage (D-TX) of Agriculture, Wright Patman (D-TX) of Banking, and F. Edward Hébert (D-LA) of Armed Services, were considered autocrats who exercised a disproportionate share of power. Reformers sought to make the legislative process more responsive—at least more responsive to the changing majority within the Democratic Caucus. The decade's first effort at reform, the Legislative Reorganization Act of

1970, reflected this desire to open committee actions to public scrutiny.

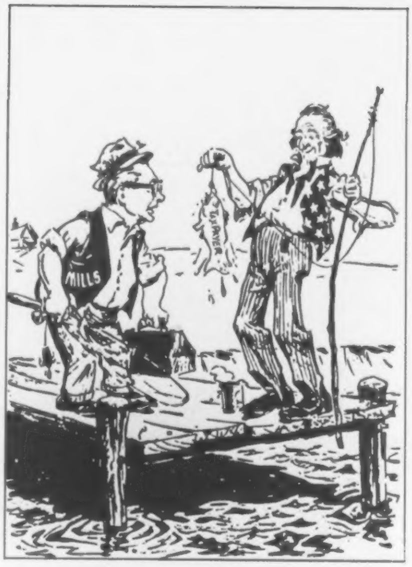
The result of several years of study by two joint committees, the Legislative Reorganization Act did not contain any of the provisions the committees had recommended concerning seniority or lobbying. The act did require committees to make public all recorded committee votes. It also allowed a majority to call meetings, rather than just the chairman. Although the act encouraged but did not require committees to hold open meetings and hearings, it did represent a first step toward congressional committee reform.[50]

The major reform group in the House in the early 1970s was the Democratic Study Group, an informal organization of liberal reform-minded Democrats. The DSG in 1970 persuaded the party caucus to appoint an 11-member Committee on Organization, Study, and Review to examine the seniority system. Chaired by Julia Butler Hansen (D-WA), the committee reported two sets of recommendations, one in 1971, and another in 1973. The first set, adopted by the caucus on January 21, 1971, was designed to limit the power of committee chairs. Democratic chairmen were restricted to one legislative subcommittee chair. Subcommittee chairs were allowed to select one professional staff member for their subcommittee. Also, the caucus procedure for electing committee chairs and members was amended to allow the consideration of one committee at a time rather than the entire slate of committees.

In 1973, the Democratic Caucus ratified changes recommended by the Hansen committee that were designed to increase the power of the caucus, including the creation of a 23-member party Steering and Policy Committee, and the requirement of automatic votes on committee chairs to make them more responsive to the rank-and-file. Most importantly for the Committee on Ways and Means, the 1973 reforms expanded the Democratic Committee on Committees, previously composed solely of Ways and Means Democrats, to include the caucus chair, the majority leader, and the Speaker, who would now chair the committee. The purpose of this reform was to diminish the control of Ways and Means Democrats over committee assignments. The caucus also approved a procedure allowing the caucus to demand more open rules for floor consideration, especially of Ways and Means bills.[51]

To resolve a decade of debate and dispute among the various congressional panels and executive departments involved in the preparation of the annual budget, Congress created the Joint Study Committee on Budget Control in 1972. The committee's 32 members were drawn principally from the Committee on Ways and Means, the Senate Finance Committee, and the House and Senate Appropriations Committees. The Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 that resulted from the study created separate House and Senate Budget Committees, the Congressional Budget Office for inde-

Major tax anglers, Mills and Uncle Sam examine the catch in 1969. Throughout his 16 years as chairman of Ways and Means, Mills could outfish almost any legislator in the legal waters of taxation, welfare, trade, and Social Security. Envious critics called his powerful skill "jurisdictional imperialism." By 1970, Mills was out of step with reform liberals. The chairman's publicized personal problems handed his detractors the final victory. Acknowledging his flaws, the workaholic Mills admitted himself to a hospital and in 1975 resigned the chairmanship.



" 'YEAH—BUT WHAT ABOUT THE ONES THAT GET AWAY?' "

pendent analysis, and a timetable for the preparation of the budget. The party caucus elected the Democratic members of the House Budget Committee, who were specified by rule to include three members of the Appropriations Committee, three members of the Committee on Ways and Means, and at least one member from the Rules Committee. The first chairman of the committee was Al Ullman of Oregon, the second-ranking Democrat on the Committee on Ways and Means. The Budget Committees were responsible for the preparation of two annual budget resolutions—one in May to provide guidelines, and a second binding resolution in September—with a reconciliation process to enforce these binding decisions.[52]

The congressional reform effort intensified with the creation of the House Select Committee on Committees in early 1973. Chaired by Richard Bolling (D-MO), an eloquent and erudite reform advocate, the committee held extensive hearings and recommended sweeping changes not only in procedure, but also in committee jurisdiction. The Mills committee was Bolling's principal target. The Missouri Democrat believed that the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means was "so vast that it can't possibly be handled by a committee that doesn't even have subcommittees." The Bolling committee therefore recommended shifting the responsibility for trade and most nontaxation aspects of health and welfare legislation to other standing committees:

MILESTONES IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMMITTEE
1959–1975

1960	Social Security Amendments of 1960
1961	Social Security Amendments of 1961
1962	Trade Expansion Act Revenue Act of 1962
1964	Revenue Act of 1964
1965	Medicare Act Excise Tax Reduction Act
1967	Social Security Amendments of 1967
1969	Tax Reform Act
1971	Tax Reduction Act
1972	Social Security Amendments
1974	Democratic Caucus reforms and House Rules changes Trade Act of 1974

> The present jurisdiction of the Ways and Means Committee is entirely too broad to permit ongoing and thorough legislative and oversight review. The select committee therefore recommends that the Ways and Means Committee retain its historic jurisdiction over taxes, tariffs and Social Security and relinquish direct control of other jurisdiction not directly related to those matters.[53]

Specifically, the recommendations included transferring: 1) nontax aspects of health care to a proposed Committee on Commerce and Health, 2) nontax aspects of unemployment compensation to the Committee on Labor, 3) renegotiation of government contracts to the proposed Committee on Banking, Currency, and Housing, 4) general revenue sharing to the Committee on Government Operations, 5) work incentive (WIN) programs to the Committee on Labor, and 6) trade to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. In terms of the Committee on Ways and Means' historic jurisdiction, the last item—the transfer of trade to Foreign Affairs—marked the most significant recommended reduction.

The Bolling plan encountered strong opposition in the House when it was reported on March 19, 1974. The Democratic Caucus referred the plan to the Hansen committee, which drafted a substitute proposal. Under the terms of the resulting House Resolution 988 (the Committee Reform Amendments of 1974), the House Rules were amended to mandate that committees with more than 15 members, specifically the Committee on Ways and Means, establish at least four subcommittees. Committee staff members were also increased, and at least one-third of the staff was guaranteed to the minority. House Resolution 988 (more commonly known as the Bolling/Hansen reforms) lessened the impact of the jurisdictional changes proposed by the Select Committee on Committees. The Committee on Ways and Means retained its jurisdiction over trade, but ceded authority over export controls and international commodity agreements to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Jurisdiction was also transferred on: 1) general revenue sharing to Government Operations, 2) health care and health facilities not supported by payroll taxes to Commerce, 3) renegotiation of government contracts to Banking, and 4) work incentive programs to Education and Labor.

The rules changes also authorized the procedure known as multiple referrals. The Speaker of the House was authorized to refer the same piece of legislation to more than one committee, in instances in which jurisdiction was shared by more than one committee. In subsequent years, this practice has had its greatest impact upon the Committee on Ways and Means in the area of health care policy, which is shared with the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

The Democratic Caucus subsequently instituted even more thorough reforms. In the fall elections of 1974, House Democrats gained 52 seats and added 75 new members. Most of this newer generation of members were anxious to exert influence in Congress. Most were also responsive to the movement for liberal congressional reform. At the party caucus' organizational meeting in December 1974, Ways and Means Democrats were shorn of their role as the party's Committee on Committees, and that function was transferred to the party's Steering and Policy Committee. Furthermore, the Committee on Ways and Means was expanded from 25 to 37 members, and the ratio of majority to minority was altered from 15–10 to 25–12, allowing for the appointment of more junior and liberal members.[54] These reforms, it was hoped, would liberalize the committee's actions. In a further assault upon seniority, three senior chairmen, Poage, Patman, and Hébert were deposed in January 1975. However, it was not necessary for the caucus to remove Mills. He had already done that himself.

The origin of Mills' ouster may well have begun in 1972, when he launched an unsuccessful bid for the Democratic presidential nomination, during which he unexpectedly and uncharacteristically pledged to support a huge increase in Social Security benefits. The chairman's actions raised doubts about his judgment and fears that he had abandoned a bipartisan consensus-seeking approach. As one member stated in 1974, "Since his run for the Presidency, Mills has acted more and more like a politician." [55]

Mills had been ill for over a year prior to the caucus meeting in early December of 1974. Drinking and medication for a chronic back problem weakened his previous workaholic constitution. With the chairman often absent from meetings due to back surgery, ranking majority member Al Ullman had conducted much of the committee's business. Mills' illness—which he later admitted included alcoholism—manifested itself in erratic behavior. Two well-publicized incidents were not only personally embarrassing, they also provided reformers with added ammunition. To his credit, Mills recognized his problems. He hospitalized himself, resigned from the committee chairmanship, and left Congress to overcome his illness and to establish a successful Washington legal practice.[56]

Conclusion

There was more than an element of irony—as well as more than a hint of tragedy—in Wilbur Mills' fall from power. Far more was involved than a bout with alcoholism and personal indiscretions—actions that violated the chairman's own stoic character. Other men in even higher positions have survived worse scandals. It was ironic—and inaccurate—for many observers to attribute his ouster to this single misstep.

It was also ironic that reformers would target Mills for removal as an authoritarian, obstructionist chairman. Throughout his chairmanship, Mills had led by accommodating differences and by building a consensus within the committee. He may have acquired the trappings of what some critics referred to as "jurisdictional imperialism," but Mills was no dictator. He wanted what all committee chairmen and most committee members wanted—success for his committee's bills and prestige for his committee.

Mills did not change, but the times, Congress, and his committee did. In the final analysis, the chairman found himself in a position that forced his resignation less because of his personal problems, but much more because he was out of step with the reform consensus emerging within his party. His methods were neither heavy-handed nor unrealistic, but the consensus he sought to build was both repressive and outmoded to the newer generation of Democratic congressmen anxious for access to power and confident in their ability to reform tax policy and welfare programs.

The reforms of the early 1970s did not fundamentally diminish the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means, but they did change its ground rules. Enlarging the size of the committee, changing the committee assignment procedure, and mandating the use of subcommittees collectively have made it more difficult to develop a Mills-like consensus. For a time, after 1975, the committee would have to confront the nation's revenue, trade, Social Security, and Medicare problems with lowered prestige and more fragmented resources.

1975 ★ 1989

The Post-Reform Committee

The congressional reforms of the 1970s resulted in an enlarged committee, one in which partisanship replaced the bipartisan consensus of the previous period. These developments made the committee more difficult to lead, a situation that was compounded by the open and permissive leadership style of Chairman Al Ullman (1975–1981). The chairman since 1981, Dan Rostenkowski, has adopted a more assertive leadership role. In the 1980s, the committee has continued to confront difficult and challenging tax, trade, Social Security, Medicare, and welfare issues, and it has been centrally involved in legislation to reduce the federal budget deficit.

"He likes a team player. This doesn't mean you have to march in lockstep. But once you've tried your best—and you lose or you win—you don't embarrass the committee, you don't undermine the committee's work." (Anonymous Ways and Means member describing Chairman Rostenkowski).[1]

The House reforms of the 1970s opened legislative procedure to greater participation by the rank-and-file. The autonomy and importance of standing committees were diminished somewhat as the Democratic Caucus exercised a greater role over the content and flow of legislation. The Committee on Ways and Means was particularly affected by these reforms. Wilbur Mills, its effective longtime chairman, had stepped aside, and limitations were placed upon his successor's exercise of leadership. Permanent autonomous subcommittees were mandated, the staff was enlarged and decentralized, and perhaps most importantly, the majority party caucus became the ultimate arbiter of the chairman's leadership. In addition, the committee lost its control over Democratic committee assignments, and its size was enlarged to accommodate more liberal freshman Democratic members.

Democrat Albert C. Ullman of Oregon assumed the chairmanship in 1975, at a time when the nation and the Congress were both in an antileadership mood. Committee member James R. Jones (D-OK), surveying the wreckage of Watergate and the Mills scandal, observed, "In the nation as well as the Congress the times are such that I'm afraid strong leadership is suspect."[2] The desire for openness, participation, and decentralization diminished as the 1970s progressed, and by the 1980s the majority of House members wanted stronger committee leadership. Since 1981, Chairman Dan Rostenkowski has adopted a more forceful leadership style, yet he has also encouraged participation in a manner and to a degree that Ullman could not achieve. The committee's prestige has correspondingly risen, to judge simply upon the basis of the respect accorded to it by the membership of the House of Representatives.

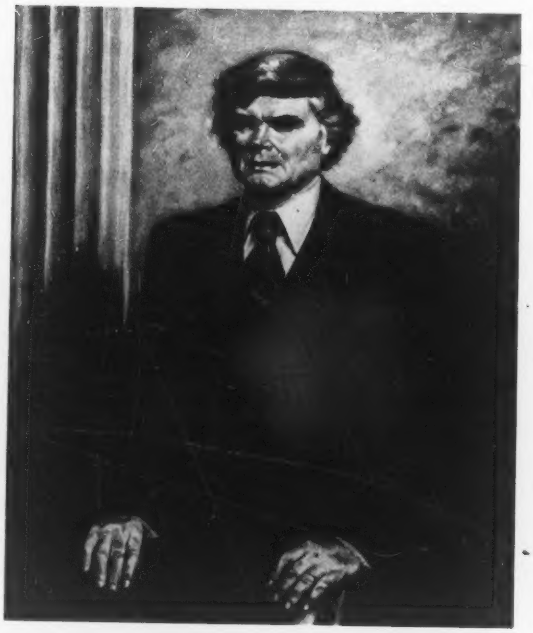
The Committee and the House Since 1975

The Committee on Ways and Means remained one of the most important congressional committees in the aftermath of the Committee Reform Amendments and the Democratic Caucus reforms of 1974, but its standing in the eyes of House members declined in the late 1970s. A political scientist who has computed statistical measures of the attractiveness of committee assignments has found that for the period 1963–1971, the Committee on Ways and Means was by far the most prestigious of House standing committees. By the period of 1973–1981, however, it had fallen measurably to a close second behind the Appropriations Committee.[3] (More recent figures have not been computed.)

The reasons for the committee's diminished status were intimately related to the impact of congressional reform. The loss of the Democratic committee assignment function removed what was a principal attraction to many members of that party. The enlargement of the membership from 25 to 37 (since reduced to 36) likewise lessened the distinction of serving on the committee, as did the fact that freshmen members were now being appointed, in stark contrast (with one exception) to the Mills era.

Committee membership nevertheless continued to be characterized by continuity and stability. All 44 members who left the committee between 1973 and 1986 were members who had either left the House or died in office. Additionally, there were few changes in the criteria for assignment to the committee even though the procedure for selecting members from the majority party had changed. Indeed, the only discernible difference from the Mills era was the increased numbers of freshman Democrats assigned to the committee.

The advent of Democratic freshman appointments was heralded two days before the end of the Ninety-third Congress when Richard F. Vander Veen, a first-term member from Michigan, was named to fill the vacancy created when Martha W. Griffiths (D-MI) retired from the House. To accommodate the freshman caucus' demand that at least two first-term members be appointed to Ways and Means, the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee named three freshmen to the committee for the Ninety-fourth Congress in 1975—Joseph L. Fisher (VA), Harold E. Ford (TN), and Martha Keys (KS). Four freshmen followed in 1977—Richard A. Gephardt (MO), Ed Jenkins (GA), Raymond F. Lederer (PA), and Jim Guy Tucker (AR)—and, in 1979 Frank J. Guarini (NJ) and James M. Shannon (MA). No first-term members have been assigned to the committee since the Ninety-sixth Congress,



"I don't believe in running a closed shop or too tight a ship," stated Al Ullman of Oregon. His permissive leadership style as Ways and Means chairman from 1975 to 1981 took its direction from a nation suspicious of powerful leaders. Encouraging openness and participation in committee dealings, he delegated authority to the chairmen of six permanent subcommittees. Such actions, and an expansion of the committee, intensified partisanship. During Ullman's tenure, Ways and Means passed America's most extensive tax reform measure up to that time. The Tax Reform Act of 1976 broadened the income tax base, simplified the tax code, and revised estate and gift tax laws for the first time in 35 years.

suggesting that the assignment procedure has become more restrictive in the 1980s.[4]

The criteria for committee assignment of the previous era have continued to influence the composition of Ways and Means in the post-reform period. For both Democrats and Republicans, the support of the candidate's state delegation, the party leadership, and the ranking party member on the committee have been necessary for appointment. The support of Chairman Rostenkowski has been especially important to Democrats because of his membership on the party's Steering and Policy Committee since 1979. Beginning in 1981 the chairs of Ways and Means, Rules, Budget, and Appropriations have been ex officio members as well. Both parties have also followed a state or regional assignment procedure whereby vacancies have been filled by a member from the same state, or more rarely, the same region. Members have continued to be selected who have proven their ability to win reelection, and whose seats have been considered safe. Seniority was less a factor for Democratic assignments between 1975 and 1981, as indicated by the numbers of freshman appointments, but it has again become a consideration since 1981.

Although Democrats opened up the assignment process in the last half of the 1970s, committee members still tended to be responsible party regulars with safe seats. During the Mills era, these characteristics contributed to both partisanship and the need to restrain party conflict. Some of the members appointed in the early post-reform era, however, did not share the goals of the consensus-seeking

CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
1975–1989

Albert C. Ullman (D-OR)	Ninety-fourth–Ninety-sixth Congresses, 1975–1981
Daniel D. Rostenkowski (D-IL)	Ninety-seventh–One Hundred First Congresses, 1981–1989

Mills committee. A number of the younger, more liberal, Democrats were attracted to the committee's impact on policy. The purpose of enlarging the committee and altering its party ratio from 3–2 to 2–1 was to increase liberal representation, but the reform also enhanced the possibility of partisan conflict.

Some of the new members of the committee rejected the traditional consensus politics of the previous period. Some members even opposed their own committee's bills on the floor. One member observed in 1975 that if the committee bill did not reflect his philosophy, "the hell with it." [5] Even Chairman Ullman admitted in 1976, "I don't worry about being defeated on the floor," a statement Mills and members who sought to maintain the committee's winning reputation would have found heretical.[6] The result of the increased partisanship was a committee that found it both more difficult and less important to agree.

The difficulty in reaching a consensus was due in part to the diffusion of power within the committee resulting from the creation of permanent subcommittees and the greater access subcommittee chairmen were accorded to an increased committee staff. Near the end of the Ninety-third Congress, the committee established the six permanent subcommittees mandated by the Committee Reform Amendments: Social Security, Health and Medicare, Trade, Oversight, Welfare, and Unemployment Compensation. The Subcommittee on Welfare was renamed Public Assistance when the subcommittees were reappointed for the Ninety-fourth Congress. Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation were merged into a single subcommittee for the Ninety-fifth Congress (1977–1979), and it was renamed the Subcommittee on Human Resources in the One Hundred First Congress. The committee also created ~~a~~ new Subcommittee on Miscellaneous Revenue Measures in the Ninety-fifth Congress, which has been titled Select Revenue Measures since 1979.

The existence of subcommittees decentralized decision-making and provided greater access to interest and pressure groups. The committee encountered serious scheduling problems in 1975 as the six subcommittees competed for members' time with the full committee's deliberations on tax matters.[7] More serious was the opportunity that these panels provided to members to pursue their own policy interests. Subcommittee chairmen additionally acquired power within their spheres of influence. For instance, subcommittee chairmen frequently served as floor managers of bills from their subcommittees, rather than the chairman of the committee. They also tended to take the lead in conference committees on those bills. During the Ullman years subcommittee chairmen also acquired access to the committee's vastly enlarged staff.

Chairman Mills had kept the staff small in order to place it under his control. After 1974, the staff increased three-fold from 32 in 1974 to 103 in 1987. The addition of more tax expertise diminished the committee's reliance upon the Treasury Department and the professional staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation. Moreover, the creation of the Congressional Budget Office (with a staff of over 200 in the 1970s) and the House Budget Committee (with a staff of over 80) further diffused information on revenue-related issues throughout the House membership.[8]

Autonomous subcommittees, the diffusion of tax expertise, and the increased partisan and ideological conflict within the committee due to changes in the appointment process all reflected the House's—or at least the Democratic Caucus'—desire to circumscribe the power and influence of the Committee on Ways and Means. The decline in the committee's status from 1973 to 1981 was no accident; it was the inevitable result of the 1974 reforms. The Democratic Caucus wanted a more open, liberal, and responsive committee, whose decisions, unlike those of the Mills committee, would not be sacrosanct but would be subject to change on the House floor. The first post-reform chairman, Al Ullman, shared these goals and assumptions. By relying upon openness, participation, and a decentralized committee structure, his leadership encouraged rancorous partisan confrontations and contributed to charges that he was a weak and ineffective chairman in comparison to Wilbur Mills.

Leadership in the Post-Reform Committee: Al Ullman

Openness and participation were the words that Chairman Al Ullman used to describe his leadership style. In a 1978 interview, he stated, "I don't believe in running a closed shop or too tight a ship." The specter of Wilbur Mills hung heavily over the new chairman as he tried to explain his own leadership role:

> I see my role as altogether different than chairmen used to see theirs. They were worried about image and not losing any bills and not bringing a bill to the floor unless they had

> all the votes in their pockets. You can't operate that way anymore. I see my role as one of leadership and trying to expand the thinking of Congress in new directions in order to meet the long-term needs of the country.[9]

The new chairman had served as the first chairman of the Budget Committee, resigning to become Ways and Means chairman when Mills stepped down. But Ullman could not lead the way Mills had because the Ways and Means Committee and the environment in which it operated had changed.

The open hearings and mark-up sessions encouraged by the reform movement were one example of the changed environment. In 1973, some 30 percent of committee meetings were closed to the public, but in 1975 only 2 percent were closed. Lobbyists and special interest representatives took advantage of open meetings to press their cases. As one member of the committee observed, "Open meetings put special interests into the process and gave them an active input." Another member commented disapprovingly that at one mark-up session, several members of the committee "went down and sat in the audience and talked with a specific interest and wrote an amendment, came back up and offered it." [10]

By 1978, 26 of the 37 members of the Committee on Ways and Means had not served on the Mills committee. By then, it was a new committee in both composition as well as tone, which Ullman had to lead under a new set of guidelines. The reforms in essence demanded a permissive chairman. Ullman allowed subcommittee chairmen to hire staff and to operate with little interference. The larger numbers of liberal Democrats meant that the chairman had to rely more heavily on caucuses of the majority members to formulate coalitions. Perhaps most important, the chairman had to constantly look over his shoulder to see if his actions and decisions would be overruled by the Democratic Caucus.

As Republican Barber Conable of New York put it, "[Ullman's] position depends on his party, not on us." [11] Consequently, the chairman pursued a more partisan role than his predecessor. Committee bills were much less likely to be considered by the House under closed rules, which meant that the majority party would be able to amend, alter, or rescind Ways and Means legislation. Ullman abandoned the previous practice of completing one section of a bill before moving on to the next in mark-up sessions. Rather, he allowed the entire bill to be subject to continuous refinement. This approach lengthened the mark-up process, increased the number of recorded roll call votes, and intensified partisanship.

There had been only 32 and 75 roll call votes in the last two Congresses of the Mills committee, but there were 235, 161, and 112 in the three Congresses of Ullman's tenure. Two political scientists

Agreeing on the need for tax reform but failing to see eye-to-eye on the fine print, Chairman Ullman and President Jimmy Carter discuss their differences in August 1977. That year, a new jobs tax credit backed by Ullman became law as part of the Tax Reduction and Simplification Act. Carter had called the income tax "an insult" because of its complexity, and Ullman came to believe the nation needed a value-added tax to make the revenue collection system fairer.

who have examined these votes have found a pattern of partisan and ideological conflict. The chairman followed a "middleman" leadership style to consolidate his heavy Democratic majority during the Ninety-fourth and Ninety-fifth Congresses, but subsequently he moved to an even more partisan stance, identifying with the liberal bloc in the party. Ullman's strategy proved to be successful in the committee—he was on the winning side on most committee roll call votes—but less successful on the House floor, where the success rate of committee bills fell from over 90 percent to 80 percent. A committee, which during the Mills era had been bipartisan and consensus-seeking, had become more partisan and less effective; or as member James Jones put it, "We have more democracy and less of a good work product."[12]

Committee Legislation, 1975–1980

The impact of congressional reform upon the substance of Ways and Means legislation was not precisely what reformers had hoped for. Committee member William J. Green (D-PA) observed after the first year of the Ullman committee that liberal expectations had proven to be "a lot of journalistic excess," even though the composition of the committee had been altered in a liberal direction.[13] While the ratings of both the liberal Americans for Democratic Action and the conservative Americans for Constitutional Action indicated that the Ways and Means membership was more liberal by 1981 than it had been ten years earlier, the nature of the legislation which it reported did not change dramatically. Opening up the committee procedure, paradox-

On July 26, President Carter signs the Trade Agreements Act of 1979, which liberalized trade. The bill culminated six years of trade talks, known as the Tokyo Round. These negotiations among ministers of more than 100 nations represented the most ambitious and far-reaching international trade talks ever held to that time. The bill, which was unanimously approved by Ways and Means, provided for improved discipline over unfair trade practices, sought to dismantle some existing trade barriers and stop the spread of others, and instituted a better system for settling trade disputes.

ically perhaps, opened tax legislation to demands for even greater tax reductions and benefits that were not always in the public interest.[14]

In the areas of legislation within the committee's jurisdiction, Chairman Ullman encountered serious problems with both Presidents Gerald Ford (in the Ninety-fourth Congress) and Jimmy Carter (in the Ninety-fifth and Ninety-sixth Congresses). He also differed with Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill on procedural matters. Ullman preferred to draft his own committee version of tax bills, rather than accept presidential initiatives. Although Ford had extensive congressional experience, Carter's inexperience was painfully obvious. "My impression is that the President [Carter] pays little attention to anyone in Congress, including Al Ullman," ranking Republican Barber Conable observed in 1978.[15] The chairman differed with the President on substantive issues. For example, the committee rejected the President's recommendations to include provisions in the 1977 Social Security Amendments Act removing the ceiling on earnings subject to payroll taxation and providing for the "countercyclical" use of general revenues to finance the system. Because Speaker O'Neill tried to expedite passage of Carter's legislative proposals, he and Ullman did not always agree. The Speaker wanted to create ad hoc committees to consider Carter's energy and welfare reform recommendations, but the chairman favored the traditional committee procedure. Ullman also encountered trouble in conference committee, where Senate forces were led by Finance Committee Chairman Russell Long (D-LA), who was similar in style and temperament to Wilbur Mills, and who was an acknowledged master of the conference committee process.

Following the Tax Reduction Act of 1971, no major tax legislation was enacted until the Tax Reduction Act of 1975 and the more significant Tax Reform Act of 1976. To a certain extent, the personal difficulties of Chairman Mills after 1972 stymied tax reform, but in 1974 he was able to thwart members of his own committee who sought to phase out the oil depletion allowance. The following year, Ways and Means began another round of tax reduction with a new chairman, an enlarged committee, and a Congress eager to reassert itself in the wake of Watergate. President Ford suggested a tax rebate of 12 percent for all taxpayers and an increase in the investment tax credit from 7 to 12 percent. The Committee on Ways and Means significantly altered Ford's proposals by scaling the rebate down to 10 percent on incomes up to $20,000, with a decreasing sliding scale for higher incomes, and by recommending only a 10 percent investment credit. The committee also created a major tax innovation with a 5 percent earned income credit for the working poor. Chairman Ullman bowed to pressures within the committee to eliminate the oil depletion allowance. The Senate dropped the bill's oil provisions (which were restored in conference), but it also doubled the tax cuts. The conference committee produced a compromise closer to the House bill. The Tax Reduction Act of 1975 applied only to that fiscal year, for Congress was already at work on more substantive tax reform.[16]

The Tax Reform Act of 1976 was one of the most extensive tax reform measures in history. It broadened the income tax base by reducing tax expenditures by eight billion dollars and maintained a mildly progressive personal income tax. The new law mounted a concerted attack on tax shelters, tightened the minimum tax, revised certain foreign income provisions of the Internal Revenue Code, made substantial simplifications in some of the most widely used provisions of the tax law, repealed many obsolete provisions, and provided the first comprehensive revision of the estate and gift tax law in nearly 35 years.

The two additional pieces of major tax legislation of Ullman's chairmanship were enacted during Carter's Presidency, but, as scholars have pointed out, the Tax Reduction and Simplification Act of 1977 and the Revenue Act of 1978 bore little resemblance to the President's proposals. In 1977, the Committee on Ways and Means dropped Carter's recommendations for corporate tax reduction in favor of a new jobs tax credit favored by Ullman. The bill also contained provisions on the standard deduction and a tax rebate. The bill was debated under a modified closed rule permitting votes on these provisions. The committee bill survived all votes. The key provision for a new jobs tax credit was defended by the chairman as "a new and simple kind of exciting, dynamic tax concept."[17]

The only significant trade legislation considered by Ways and Means during this period was the Trade Agreements Act of 1979.

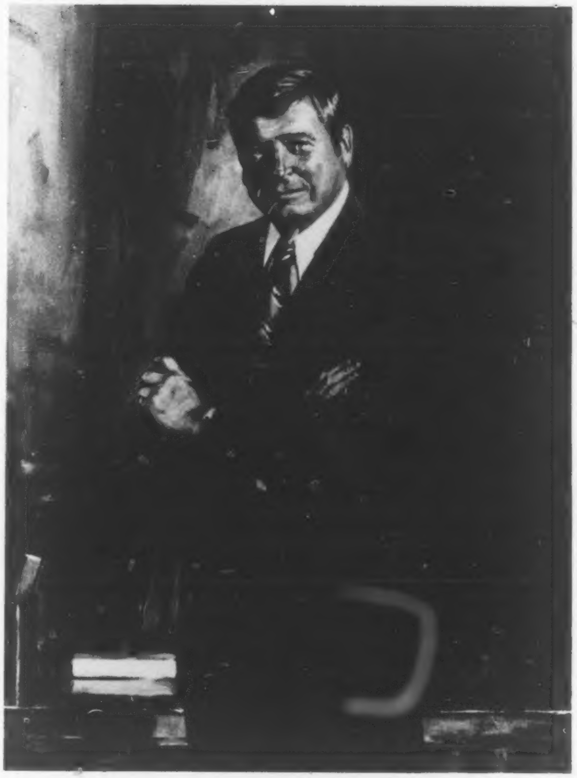
Debate concerning international trade in the mid- and late 1970s was dominated by the Tokyo Round (1973–1979), the most ambitious and far-reaching international trade negotiations ever held to that time. The Tokyo Round and the passage of the Trade Agreements Act of 1979 also represented the first major legislative test of the consultative procedure established under the 1974 Trade Agreements Act. Committee members were appointed as official advisers to the negotiations, attended negotiating sessions, met frequently with foreign delegations, and provided advice to the negotiators in periodic briefings.

The President notified Congress on January 4, 1979, of his intention to enter into the agreements. The "fast track" procedure mandated by the 1974 law expedited committee and floor consideration of the implementing bill, which could not be amended following its formal submission by the President. The Subcommittee on Trade held closed executive sessions with administration officials from March to May of 1979 in order to review the agreements and to develop recommendations for the content of the implementing bill. On May 21–23, the Subcommittee on Trade met in closed meetings with the Senate Committee on Finance, together with other committees of House and Senate jurisdiction, to resolve differences in the implementing recommendations. On May 24, Subcommittee Chairman Charles Vanik and Senate Finance Chairman Long announced the resolution of differences and completion of the consultation process. The implementing bill involved extensive changes in U.S. laws, including revisions of the antidumping and countervailing duty statutes. The bill extended the negotiating authority under the special procedures for an additional eight years. The legislation was formally submitted on July 3, 1979, and passed both Houses with only 11 opposing votes. The Trade Agreements Act of 1979 was signed into law by President Carter on July 26.

Although consideration of the trade bill had been characterized by harmony between the two branches, Congress almost completely ignored the Carter Administration's proposals for tax reform in 1978. Chairman Ullman told the President that reform was not possible, but ranking Republican Conable perhaps put it better, "The [administration's] proposals have a lot of appeal . . . provided we don't stick it in the ear of the middle class." In the context of a populist tax revolt, an agreement between Ullman and Conable led to a Ways and Means bill providing for 16.3 billion dollars in tax cuts, which the Senate raised to 29.1 billion dollars. The bill extended or increased tax benefits for broad categories—primarily middle and upper income groups—and for numerous special groups as diverse as the states of Maryland and North Carolina, New York City, the Gallo winery, and two Arkansas chicken farmers.[18]

The defeat of tax reform in 1978 indicated the waning influence of the reform effort that had swept through Congress earlier in the

Forceful and effective leader, Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois accepted the chair of Ways and Means in 1981 rather than seek appointment as party whip for the Democratic majority. He sought to reverse the committee's diffused structure of the 1970s and reinstated the chairman's historical function as power broker. By building consensus through consultation and negotiation, he has steered Ways and Means to viable solutions in the problem-laden fields of tax, trade, Social Security, Medicare, and welfare.



decade. Early in 1979, both Ullman and Senate Finance Chairman Long admitted that any further tax legislation was unlikely until after the 1980 presidential election. The political appeal of supply-side economics, evident in 1978 when Representative Bill Steiger (R-WI) successfully moved in committee to reduce the capital gains tax rate, was confirmed by the 1980 elections. President-elect Ronald Reagan advocated the theory that major tax reductions in individual and corporate tax rates would stimulate economic incentives and increase the revenue base in the long run. For the first time since 1954, the Republicans also won control of the Senate in 1980 (53–46). Although the Democrats retained control of the House 243–192, they lost 34 seats (27 incumbents were defeated), including that of Al Ullman who was defeated by a conservative Republican in Oregon.

The Leadership of Chairman Rostenkowski

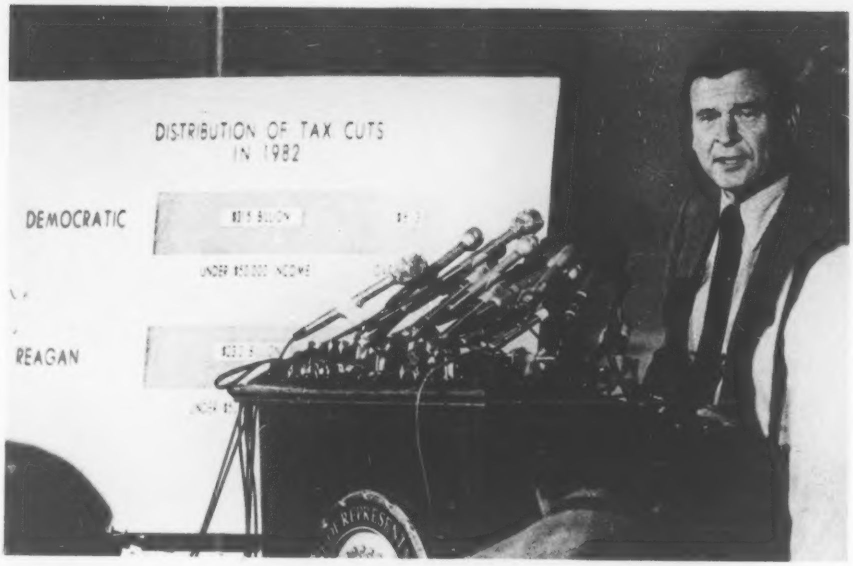
The new chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in the Ninety-seventh Congress (1981–1983) was Dan Rostenkowski (IL). The similarities between Rostenkowski's leadership style and that of Wilbur Mills are striking. When he assumed the chairmanship, Ros-

Opposition leaders to President Ronald Reagan's 1981 tax plan, House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, Jr., left, House Majority Leader Jim Wright, and Dan Rostenkowski tell the press in June 1981 that Reagan's proposed three-year tax-cut package amounts to a "windfall to the rich." O'Neill predicted the House would defeat Reagan's "supply side economics." But the defection of conservative Democrats, a Republican Senate, and a personal television appeal to the public by Reagan clinched a resounding victory for the President's plan.

tenkowski recognized that, unlike Mills, he was not a tax expert, but like his Arkansas predecessor, his goal was to write substantively sound legislation that would receive bipartisan support. In a sharp departure from Ullman, who was less concerned with the success of committee bills than he was with their content, the current chairman has striven to draft sound legislation that would be approved by a majority of his colleagues on the House floor. After a particularly painful loss on his first tax bill in 1981—also a striking parallel to Mills—Rostenkowski has reasserted forceful and effective leadership.

When he assumed the chairmanship, Rostenkowski was a 22-year veteran of the House who was a protégé of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley. "I think that a lot of people assume that because I'm from the big city and from, quote unquote, a machine operation, that all I want to do is play politics," he has observed, but his political education has enabled Rostenkowski to serve as a broker among the competing interests on the committee.[19] The chairman is also committed to maintaining the prestige of the Committee on Ways and Means, which he is fond of referring to as "the Cadillac of committees." He accepted the chairmanship in 1981 because of the committee's importance, rather than taking the post of party whip, the third-ranking position in the House Democratic leadership.

Rostenkowski has acquired considerable influence over Democratic assignments to his committee, having served since 1979 on the

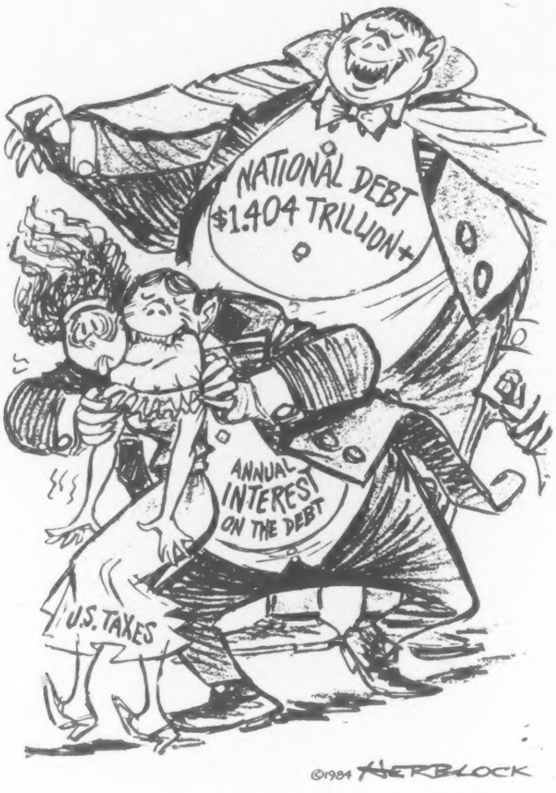


Charting the realities of the 1981 tax cuts, Chairman Rostenkowski shows reporters that people in the upper income brackets would profit the most under Reagan's tax-reduction plan. In contrast, the Democratic plan for 1982, which was drafted by Ways and Means members, would distribute the greatest amount of tax savings among middle-class workers.

party's Steering and Policy Committee. As a party loyalist himself, the chairman has favored the traditional prerequisites for committee membership of experience, safe seats, and party loyalty. In contrast to the nine freshmen Democrats appointed during the three Congresses of Ullman's chairmanship, none has been assigned during Rostenkowski's five-term tenure as chairman.

Committee resources had been decentralized under the previous chairman, but Rostenkowski has centralized control over staff and substantially diminished the autonomy of subcommittee chairs. Rather than allowing subcommittee chairmen to hire staff as Ullman did, the current chairman has permitted them only the one professional staff member and one clerical appointment required by the House rules. Subcommittee chairs typically coordinate with the chairman when planning hearings and other meetings. Although Rostenkowski rarely intervenes or interferes on the subcommittee level, he monitors their deliberations, fully expecting that they will report measures to the full committee that he can support.

In order to encourage consensus, since 1983 the chairman has held more closed committee meetings than his predecessor. Although open meetings during the "sunshine" era of the 1970s were meant to improve the committee's proceedings by exposing them to public scrutiny, the public that attended committee meetings was composed mainly of lobbyists. Committee members appreciate the opportunity closed meetings provide for candid discussion, and they believe that their legislative product is improved because of closed sessions. Bill Frenzel (R-MN), for instance, has reversed his opposition to closed meetings: "Since our meetings have been closed, our work has been



"YOU FIRST, SON"

Taxpayers feel the bite of interest spawned by a monstrous federal deficit in this Herblock cartoon. President Reagan's Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 provided the largest tax cut in history for individuals and corporations. Loss of tax revenue as a result contributed to the nation's frightening indebtedness.

"This bill demonstrates for all our Nation's ironclad commitment to Social Security," President Reagan says as he signs the Social Security Amendments Act of 1983. Witnesses at the ceremony on March 24 include J.J. Pickle of Texas, second from left. He chaired the Ways and Means Social Security subcommittee that first proposed remedies to the program's financing problems. Ranking Ways and Means minority member Barber Conable stands at right rear. The bill restored the system to solvency, insuring the continued payment of benefits. Among its financing provisions, the bill laid out a time frame for the gradual increase in retirement age.

less flawed . . . and our consensuses much stronger. I think it's the only way to fly." [20]

Although the chairman prefers to build a consensus through the extensive consultation and negotiation that closed meetings afford, he also knows how to exercise sanctions that were unthinkable in the individualistic and permissive Ullman era—and that are still unusual in the 1980s. Committee members understand and respect the chairman's selective use of power. As is often the case, the mere threat of retaliation has often been just as effective as its actual use, which is most likely what Rostenkowski meant when he once observed, "If you're against me, I might as well screw you up real good." [21] One incident has approached legendary proportions. When Democrat Kent Hance of Texas, a new member of the committee, defected from the committee's position to cosponsor the Reagan Administration's tax proposals in 1981, the chairman reportedly blocked Hance from accompanying a committee group on a trip to China and even had the wheels removed from his chair in the committee's hearing room.[22]

The committee's cohesiveness has increased noticeably during Rostenkowski's chairmanship. Although partisanship remains an active

ingredient in the committee's composition, the chairman has encouraged a feeling of group solidarity. He continually reminds members of their committee's traditions and history. A fraternity-like atmosphere—in the best sense of the term—pervades the committee. Indeed, the analogy to a university setting is doubly apt. Not only does the spirit of camaraderie in the pursuit of a shared interest characterize the committee, but the chairman has also instituted new procedures along lines similar to graduate school seminars.

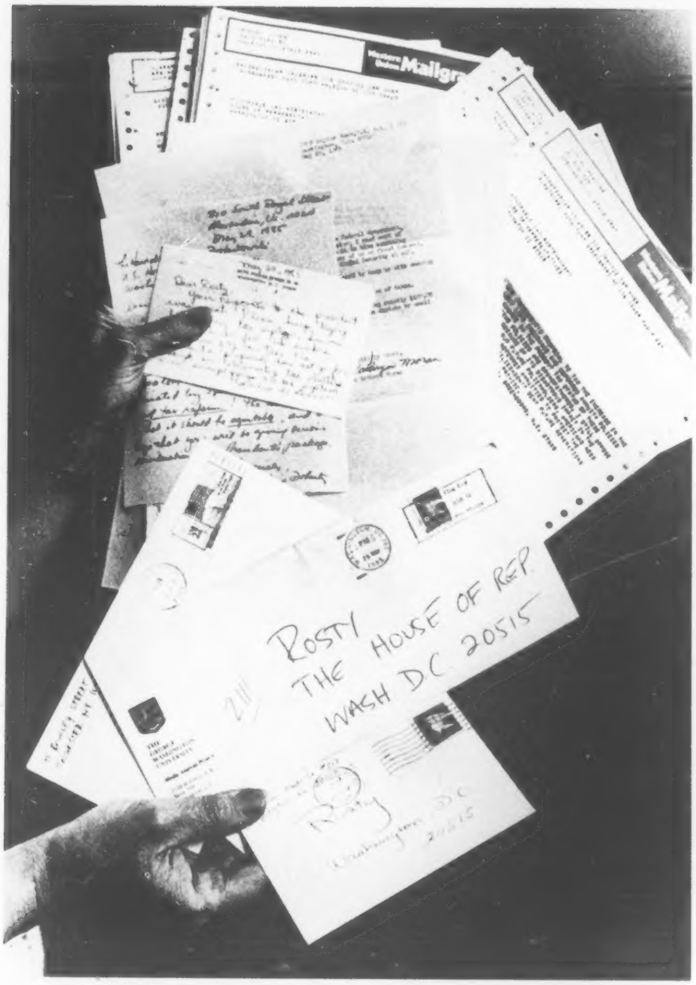
During the committee's tax reform deliberations in 1985, the chairman implemented two new procedures that continue to facilitate the committee's work.[23] The first was the initiation of a series of weekend issue-oriented seminars that have become an annual event for the Committee on Ways and Means. (The first was actually held in 1985 on Medicare issues.) At the direction of the chairman, the majority and minority staffs plan the subject of the seminar and select policy experts to serve as the seminar faculty. Faculty are drawn from "think tanks" and academia and are chosen to represent the widest range of views on the given subject of the seminar. The committee travels to a secluded retreat site where, isolated from family and other

In front of television cameras in May 1985, Chairman Rostenkowski follows President Reagan's television address to the nation and states that he welcomes the President's commitment to tax reform. Reagan earlier had laid out his plan for tax overhaul. Rostenkowski pledged to accept the President's initiative to reform the tax code and urged the public to let their congressmen know that it was time for a tax change. "Write Rosty," he said. In the following weeks, more than 70,000 letters poured in from taxpayers. The House postmaster said that he had never seen so many handwritten letters (right) on a single topic.

distractions, the members are able to interact with one another and the seminar faculty. The chairman encourages informality and frankness in discussions that are off-the-record and nonpartisan. The committee's staff believes that these weekend seminars have improved the personal relationships within the committee, and that they have familiarized members with issues and experts that they will encounter in committee hearings. Ways and Means is the only committee to have adopted this innovative technique on a regular basis.

The second new procedure also seeks to improve the information-gathering process. By their nature, public hearings have certain limitations. Witnesses have little time to present testimony, and members have only five minutes to question each witness. Because of these deficiencies, the committee instituted a series of informal, off-the-record, early morning discussions. Selected witnesses representing differing points of view scheduled to testify that day are invited to discuss the issue in an informal give-and-take session. Away from the public spotlight, members' questions are often more candid, and the information exchanged more useful.

These procedural innovations perhaps best illustrate Rostenkowski's mixture of old and new techniques of political leadership. His use of sanctions, the centralization of resources in the chairmanship, and the emphasis upon bargaining, consultation, and cooperation to achieve consensus are clearly derived from traditional congressional politics. Although such techniques might seem out of place in the



post-reform congress, they work for Rostenkowski, perhaps because he has also encouraged an atmosphere of open and cordial participation. The complicated and technical tax, trade, and Social Security problems that the committee has faced in the 1980s have tested both the committee's capacity to achieve viable solutions and the chairman's ability to lead.

Committee Legislation in the 1980s

After an initial defeat on its 1981 tax bill, the Committee on Ways and Means has rebounded to play a key role in some of the most significant congressional accomplishments of the decade—the 1983 effort to ensure the fiscal stability of Social Security, the 1986 Tax

PARTY RATIOS IN THE COMMITTEE AND THE HOUSE
1975–1989

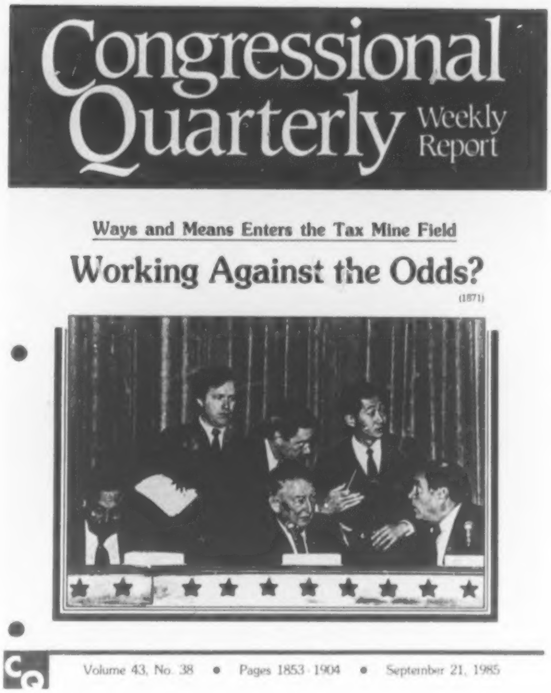
CONGRESS	COMMITTEE	HOUSE	PRESIDENTS
Ninety-fourth (1975–1977)	25 D–12 R	291 D–144 R	Ford (R)
Ninety-fifth (1977–1979)	25 D–12 R	292 D–143 R	Carter (D)
Ninety-sixth (1979–1981)	24 D–12 R	276 D–157 R	
Ninety-seventh (1981–1983)	23 D–12 R	243 D–192 R	Reagan (R)
Ninety-eighth (1983–1985)	23 D–12 R	268 D–166 R	
Ninety-ninth (1985–1987)	23 D–13 R	252 D–182 R	
One Hundredth (1987–1989)	23 D–13 R	258 D–177 R	
One Hundred First (1989–)	23 D–13 R	258 D–175 R	Bush (R)

Reform Act, the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988, the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988, the Family Support Act of 1988, and several deficit reduction measures.

The committee has operated in the 1980s within the context of divided government and a federal deficit that has grown so large that it dominates public policy debates. Both of these phenomena have had an important impact on the legislative efforts of the committee. Divided government has made cooperation and compromise between the legislative and executive branches much more critical to the successful enactment of legislation. The deficit, in turn, has restricted the legislative options available to policy-makers, even when there is widespread bipartisan support to achieve a particular goal.

The Democratic Party has maintained its control over the House of Representatives, but since the inauguration of Ronald Reagan in 1981, the Republican Party has controlled the Presidency. During the Ninety-seventh through Ninety-ninth Congresses, moreover, the Republican Party also attained majorities in the Senate for the first time since the mid-1950s. During the Reagan years, therefore, the committee had to operate within the context of a potentially obstructionist executive and Senate.

In the case of the 1981 tax bill, the combined weight of the new administration, the Republican Senate, and the defection of conserva-



Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report

Ways and Means Enters the Tax Mine Field

Working Against the Odds?

(1871)

Volume 43, No. 38 • Pages 1853-1904 • September 21, 1985

A two-month markup session on the tax reform bill begins after Labor Day 1985 in the Ways and Means Committee. Shown here are committee members Jake Pickle, Sam Gibbons, and Chairman Rostenkowski, seated left to right, and Bob Matsui, standing at right. An initial setback and slow deliberations raised fears that the bill was doomed. But deft leadership from Rostenkowski, compromises, and a personal visit to Capitol Hill by President Reagan pushed the bill past Republican opposition and through the House. The 1,379-page bill drafted by Ways and Means contained only four rates for individuals, ranging from 15 to 38 percent. In contrast, the old law had 14 such tax brackets, ranging from 11 to 50 percent. The committee's new proposal also lowered the top corporate tax rate from 46 to 36 percent.

tive Democrats defeated the committee's bill. The dramatic fight over the 1981 tax bill proved to be the exception to the rule, however, as the committee, in subsequent legislation, was more successful in reaching consensus among its members and with the White House.

The Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 provided the largest tax cut in history for individuals and corporations. With tax cuts spread out over a multiyear period, the law resulted from the Reagan Administration's commitment to supply-side economics. Arguing that the government's taxing power "must not be used to regulate the economy to bring about social change," President Reagan proposed a 30 percent proportionate tax cut in personal rates, increased depreciation allowances, and phase-out of the distinction between earned and unearned income. David Stockman, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, later revealed that the primary motivation for the cut was to lower the top income tax bracket from 70 to 50 percent. "In order to make this palatable as a political matter," Stockman recalled, "you had to bring down all the brackets." [24]

The Committee on Ways and Means drafted an alternate single-year tax reform package that targeted cuts at the middle class (wage earners between $20,000 and $50,000). The committee's plan included a 10 percent deduction for two earner married couples to offset the "marriage penalty," and an increase in IRA limits. In announcing the committee's proposal, Chairman Rostenkowski declared: "This is

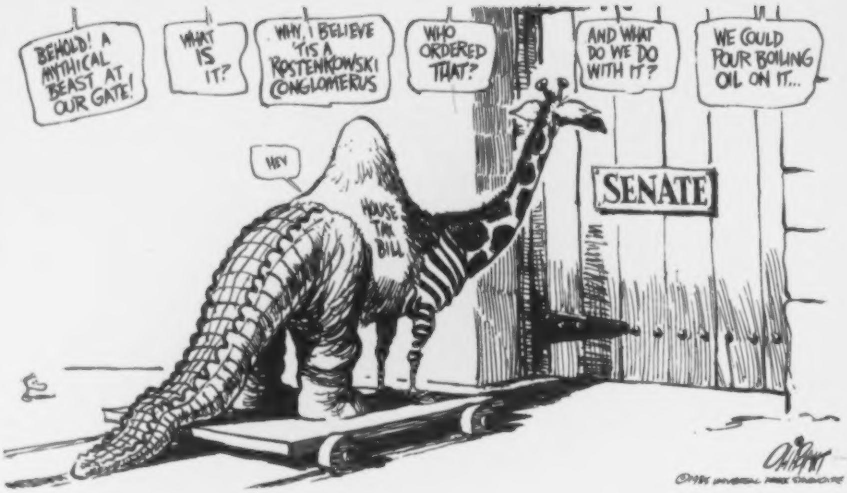
GONE FISHIN'

With the difficult task of arbitrating the tax reform bill successfully completed in committee, Rostenkowski celebrates with Ways and Means members Bill Gradison, left, and Marty Russo. Later, toasting the passage of the bill by the House on December 17, Rostenkowski realized that the tax package faced "a bumpy ride in the Senate."

not my package, this is not a Democratic package. This is a consensus package. Components came from all the Ways and Means Committee."[25]

The committee's consensus broke down before the bill came to a vote in the House. Because the Senate Finance Committee, chaired by Republican Robert Dole of Kansas, had been working independently on a tax bill, the bipartisan leadership of both committees met in May to reach agreement on the tax package. Differences between the two groups centered on the timing of the cuts and the targeted income groups. Agreement was reached on a two-year tax cut, but left unresolved was the question of which income group would benefit most. President Reagan rejected the two-year cut and announced that he would support a substitute bill to be introduced by the ranking Republican on Ways and Means, Barber Conable, and a newly appointed Democrat, Kent Hance of Texas, who was also a leader of the Conservative Democratic Forum.

The Conable-Hance substitute package led to a climactic confrontation between the administration's supporters and Democratic forces led by Speaker O'Neill and Chairman Rostenkowski. The President delivered a personal appeal for public support for his version of the tax reduction during a prime time televised speech. The House was deluged with calls supporting the Conable-Hance substitute, which was adopted 238–195, with 48 Democrats in the affirmative. The final margin of victory of the bill was even greater, 323–107. The confer-

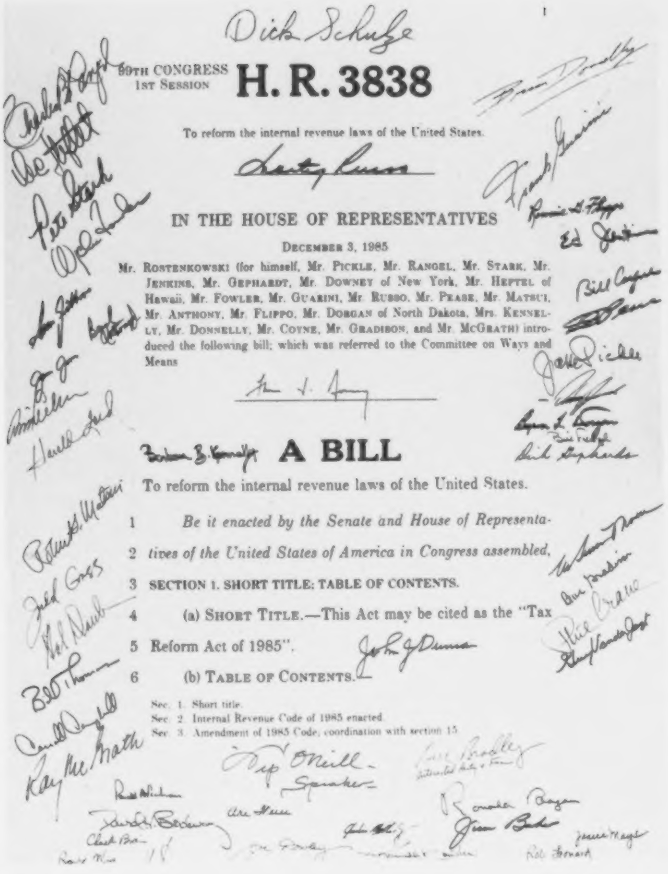

BEHOLD! A MYTHICAL BEAST AT OUR GATE!
WHAT IS IT?
WHY, I BELIEVE 'TIS A ROSTENKOWSKI CONGLOMERUS
WHO ORDERED THAT?
AND WHAT DO WE DO WITH IT?
WE COULD POUR BOILING OIL ON IT...
HEY
HOUSE TAX BILL
SENATE

Opposition and indifference greets the House tax reform bill as it rolls up to the Senate in this illustration. Through the spring and into the summer of 1986, the Senate considered its own tax reform bill. By autumn, hard bargaining between Rostenkowski and Senate Finance Chairman Robert Packwood had hammered out a compromise. Key provisions were the reduction of tax rates and the removal of six million taxpayers from the rolls, financed by broadening the income tax base. On October 22, President Reagan signed the unprecedented Tax Reform Act of 1986 into law.

ence committee's deliberations were relatively uneventful because of the similarity between the House and Senate bills.

Refinancing the Social Security trust funds became the focus of the committee by 1983. Life spans had lengthened, the postwar baby boom had collapsed, and wage levels had not kept pace with inflation. All of these factors spelled both short-term and long-term trouble for the system. When President Reagan entered office in 1981, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Social Security, J.J. "Jake" Pickle (D-TX), pledged bipartisan support to reach a formula to provide long-term solutions. In February 1981, the Social Security Subcommittee of the Committee on Ways and Means began hearings on the system's financing problems. At the close of these hearings, the subcommittee commenced consideration of short-term and long-term financing legislation that would have provided for the partial financing of the system from general revenues, gradually increased the retirement age, and reduced benefits for persons with pensions from employment not covered by the Social Security system.

The Reagan Administration had formulated its policies on Social Security and announced its financing recommendations on May 12, 1981. The administration's recommendations, Secretary of Health and Human Services Richard Schweiker stated, would "keep the system from going broke, protect the basic benefit structure and reduce the tax burden of American workers." The administration's package included proposals to reduce benefits for early retirement and for workers who retire with a pension based on work that was not covered by Social Security. Benefit levels in general were to be reduced by restraining their growth for five years, and by delaying the automatic cost-of-living adjustment for three months for current retirees.



Dick Schulze

99TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 3838

To reform the internal revenue laws of the United States.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DECEMBER 3, 1985

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI (for himself, Mr. PICKLE, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. STARK, Mr. JENKINS, Mr. GEPHARDT, Mr. DOWNEY of New York, Mr. HEFTEL of Hawaii, Mr. FOWLER, Mr. GUARINI, Mr. RUSSO, Mr. PEASE, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. ANTHONY, Mr. FLIPPO, Mr. DORGAN of North Dakota, Mrs. KENNELLY, Mr. DONNELLY, Mr. COYNE, Mr. GRADISON, and Mr. MCGRATH) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means

A BILL

To reform the internal revenue laws of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the "Tax Reform Act of 1985".

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—

Sec. 1. Short title.
Sec. 2. Internal Revenue Code of 1985 enacted.
Sec. 3. Amendment of 1985 Code; coordination with section 15.

John J. Duncan

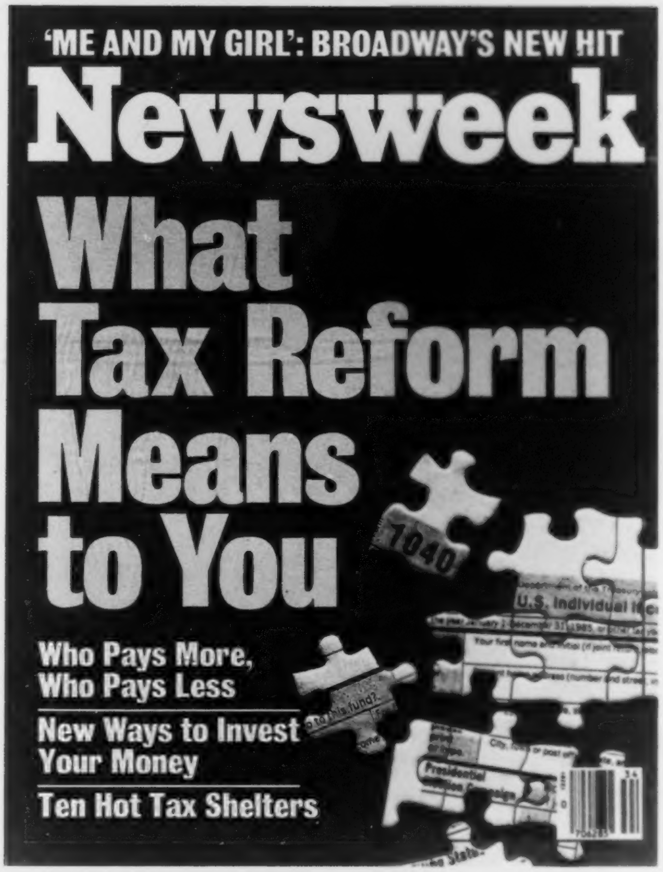
Tip O'Neill
Speaker

Ronald Reagan
Jim Baker

Signatures of Ways and Means members mark the final step of committee deliberations on tax reform bill H.R. 3838. During consideration of the conference report on tax reform, Ways and Means member Guy Vander Jagt commented on the bipartisan cooperation which made the bill possible: "Rosty would not have a bill without Dutch [President Reagan], but Dutch would not have had his bill without Rosty. When historians look back through the prism of decades, they will view the distinguished gentleman from the State of Illinois, Mr. Rostenkowski, as the legislative giant this bill proclaims him to be."

The President's proposals were seen by some critics as being motivated more by a desire to cut federal spending than to solve the Social Security financing crisis. As a result of the opposition to the administration's proposed reform, President Reagan withdrew the proposals on September 24, 1981, and requested that Congress refrain from further consideration of financing legislation during the remainder of the Ninety-seventh Congress. In addition, the President created a National Commission on Social Security Reform (NCSSR) in order to formulate a solution to the system's financing problems. The 15-member commission included two Ways and Means Republicans appointed by Speaker O'Neill—Conable and Bill Archer of Texas—but it did not include either Pickle or Chairman Rostenkowski. The latter two Ways and Means leaders preferred to wait and deal with the commission's report in committee.

On January 15, 1983, the NCSSR announced that it had reached an agreement concerning its recommendations to the President and the Congress. Its report contained a number of general policy state-


'ME AND MY GIRL': BROADWAY'S NEW HIT
Newsweek
What Tax Reform Means to You
Who Pays More, Who Pays Less
New Ways to Invest Your Money
Ten Hot Tax Shelters
1040
U.S. Individual

The exciting news of tax reform hits the front pages of national publications. This issue of Newsweek *addressed many of the questions of taxpayers about a reformed tax code, one with lower rates and fewer deductions and loopholes.*

ments that were endorsed unanimously by the commission members and a series of 11 recommendations dealing with the short-term financing situation that was characterized as a "bipartisan agreement" approved by 12 of the 15 commission members. However, the NCSSR could reach no decision as to how the long-term financing problem should be solved. Instead, they proposed a series of options for congressional determination. The commission's report was endorsed by President Reagan in his State of the Union speech on January 25, 1983.

A bill embodying these recommendations (H.R. 1900), and containing a provision to gradually increase the retirement age, was approved by the House of Representatives by a vote of 282–140 on March 9, 1983, and by the Senate on March 23, 1983, by a vote of 88–9. The conference committee appointed to resolve differences between the two versions completed its work on March 24. President Reagan signed the act into law on April 20, 1983, stating: "This bill demonstrates for all our Nation's ironclad commitment to Social Secu-

MR. ROSTENKOWSKI
CHAIRMAN
MR. ARCHER

A builder of consensual bridges, Chairman Rostenkowski confers with ranking minority leader on Ways and Means, Republican William Archer. Like Wilbur Mills, Rostenkowski believes that the drafting of sound legislation requires give-and-take between majority and minority members. To encourage a candid exchange among his committee members, the chairman reinstituted closed sessions. Members praise this tactic, saying that it enhances the bond of consensus and strengthens the legislative product.

Collage of legislation: Major issues other than taxes that confronted Ways and Means in the One Hundredth Congress included the Family Support Act, the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act, and the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act. A desire by the Reagan Administration to review welfare programs, reduce the trade deficit, and increase medical assistance for the elderly led to the passage of these bipartisan bills, although not always in the form recommended originally by the President.

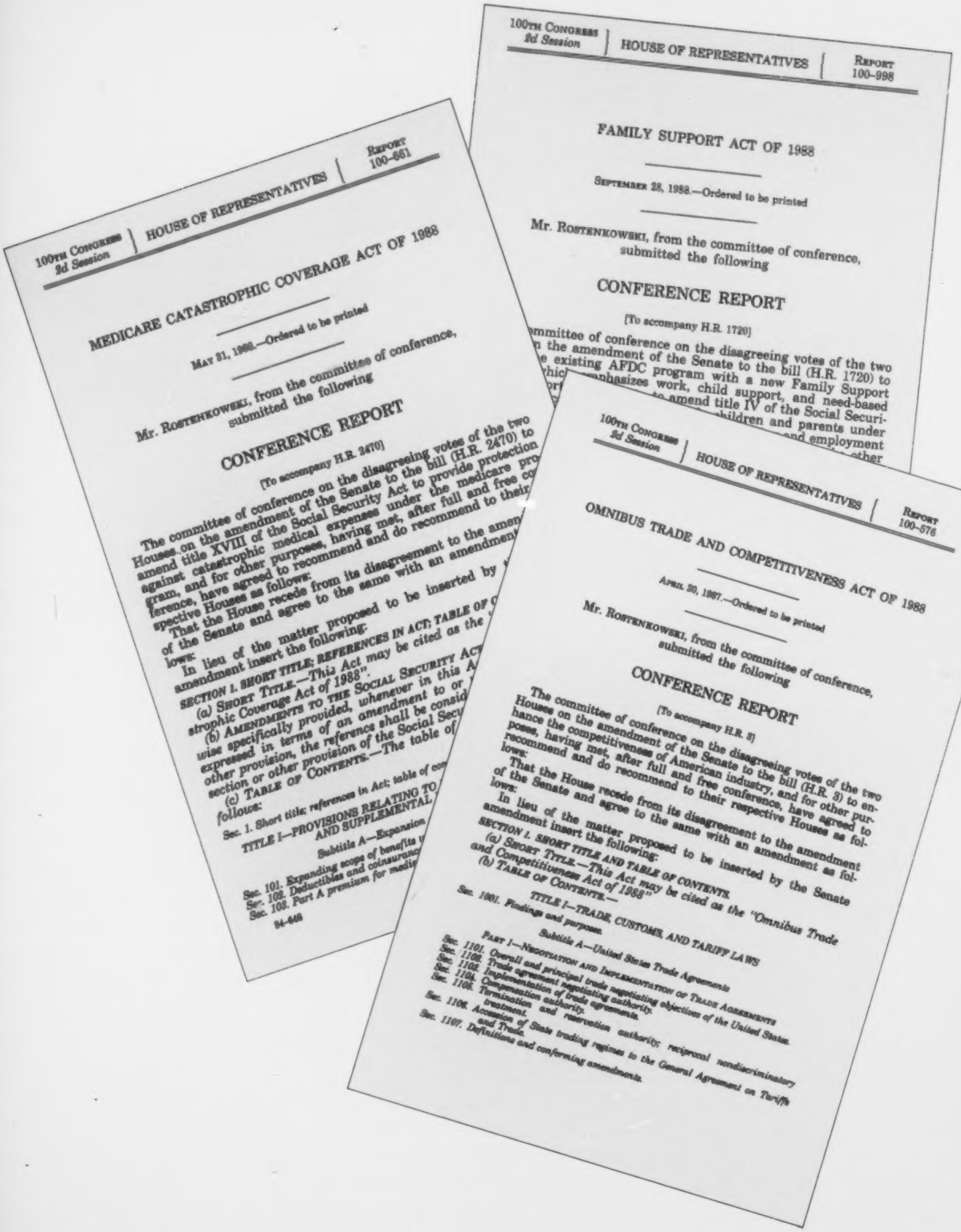
rity. It assures the elderly that America will always keep the promises made in troubled times a half a century ago."[26] Congressional leaders echoed President Reagan's statement.

Tax Reform in 1985–1986

The largest project undertaken by the Committee on Ways and Means during this period was the complete revision of the federal income tax laws, which commenced in 1985.[27] For decades, politicians and citizens had been criticizing the growing complexity of the tax laws. But, paradoxically, each effort to make the laws fairer resulted in new complications. In the early 1980s, Senator Bill Bradley (D-NJ) and Representative Richard Gephardt, a Ways and Means Committee member, came up with a plan that would simplify the tax code by reducing the number of tax rates, then more than a dozen, to a handful, and by paying for the lower rates by eliminating many special tax provisions. In their opinion, rates could be reduced by broadening the tax base.

The tax reform effort became bipartisan when it was endorsed by the Reagan White House. The President set the process in motion with a televised speech in late May 1985. Chairman Rostenkowski, in the televised response, welcomed the administration's commitment to tax reform and promised a bipartisan effort. He concluded by asking the public to "Write Rosty" to voice their support for tax reform. More than 70,000 letters were received in the following weeks.

The committee spent the summer of 1985 taking testimony on the President's plan. In marathon hearings more than 500 witnesses were heard in 28 days. Many hearings were preceded by informal breakfast sessions with witnesses, where there were frank discussions of the tradeoffs that change would require. After Labor Day, the com-



100TH CONGRESS
2d Session
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
REPORT
100-661

MEDICARE CATASTROPHIC COVERAGE ACT OF 1988

MAY 31, 1988.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI, from the committee of conference,
submitted the following

CONFERENCE REPORT

[To accompany H.R. 2470]

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two
Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 2470) to
amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide protection
against catastrophic medical expenses under the medicare pro
gram, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free co
ference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their
spective Houses as follows:
That the House recede from its disagreement to the amen
of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendmen
lows:
In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by
amendment insert the following:
SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; REFERENCES IN ACT; TABLE OF C
(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the
strophic Coverage Act of 1988".
(b) AMENDMENTS TO THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT
wise specifically provided, whenever in this A
expressed in terms of an amendment to or
other provision, the reference shall be consid
section or other provision of the Social Secu
(c) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of
follows:
Sec. 1. Short title; references in Act; table of co
TITLE I—PROVISIONS RELATING TO
AND SUPPLEMENTAL
Subtitle A—Expansion
Sec. 101. Expanding scope of benefits
Sec. 102. Deductibles and coinsuranc
Sec. 103. Part A premium for medi
94-648

100TH CONGRESS
2d Session
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
REPORT
100-998

FAMILY SUPPORT ACT OF 1988

SEPTEMBER 28, 1988.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI, from the committee of conference,
submitted the following

CONFERENCE REPORT

[To accompany H.R. 1720]

mmittee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two
n the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 1720) to
e existing AFDC program with a new Family Support
hich emphasizes work, child support, and need-based
ort to amend title IV of the Social Securi-
children and parents under
and employment
other

100TH CONGRESS
2d Session
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
REPORT
100-576

OMNIBUS TRADE AND COMPETITIVENESS ACT OF 1988

APRIL 20, 1987.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI, from the committee of conference,
submitted the following

CONFERENCE REPORT

[To accompany H.R. 3]

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 3) to enhance the competitiveness of American industry, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—*This Act may be cited as the "Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988"*

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—

TITLE I—TRADE, CUSTOMS, AND TARIFF LAWS

Sec. 1001. Findings and purposes.

Subtitle A—United States Trade Agreements

PART 1—NEGOTIATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF TRADE AGREEMENTS

Sec. 1101. Overall and principal trade negotiating objectives of the United States.
Sec. 1102. Trade agreement negotiating authority.
Sec. 1103. Implementation of trade agreements.
Sec. 1104. Compensation authority.
Sec. 1105. Termination and reservation authority; reciprocal nondiscriminatory treatment.
Sec. 1106. Accession of State trading regimes to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.
Sec. 1107. Definitions and conforming amendments.

MILESTONES IN THE HISTORY OF THE COMMITTEE 1975–1989

1975	Tax Reduction Act of 1975
1976	Tax Reform Act of 1976
1977	Social Security Amendments of 1978
1978	Revenue Act of 1978
1979	Trade Agreements Act of 1979
1981	Economic Recovery Tax Act Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981
1982	Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 1982
1983	Social Security Amendments Act of 1983
1984	Deficit Reduction Act of 1984
1985	Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1985
1986	Tax Reform Act of 1986 Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986
1987	Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987
1988	Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988 Family Support Act of 1988 Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988.

mittee began to work on a bill of its own, starting with a weekend retreat at Airlie House in nearby Virginia. Chairman Rostenkowski subsequently put before the committee a draft bill representing his understanding of the committee's consensus. The hearing room was reconfigured so that all members could see one another during the ensuing discussion, most of which was in closed session. Bargaining began slowly. Abandoning existing tax preferences did not come easily. Ultimately, two issues marked the turning points of the debate. The first problem was disagreement over the chairman's opposition to an existing tax provision under which banks set aside funds to protect themselves against potential bad debts. Chairman Rostenkowski temporarily halted the proceedings when the committee voted to actually expand rather than tighten the provision. The press was critical and began writing an obituary on tax reform. By the time the committee was recalled a week later, the members were ready to reverse themselves—and quickly did so.

Meanwhile, a bloc of committee members created a second stumbling point—over whether state and local income and property taxes should remain as federal tax deductions. Both President Reagan and Chairman Rostenkowski sought to end this deduction. But representatives of high-tax states, particularly New York, found this unpalatable. Ultimately, the deduction for state and local income taxes, but not

A Ways and Means member in the 1960s, President-elect George Bush discusses the upcoming One Hundred First Congress with Chairman Rostenkowski in December 1988. Both leaders have pledged bipartisan cooperation as the pressure of tax and trade laws and the federal deficit impose an ever increasing burden on the Ways and Means Committee.

sales taxes, was retained. With this compromise, and with the creation of ad hoc task forces to make recommendations on specific issues, the committee completed a 1,379-page bill that included only four rates for individuals, ranging from 15 to 38 percent. The old law had 14 such brackets, ranging from 11 to 50 percent. The top corporate tax rate was reduced from 46 to 36 percent.

As the committee proceeded with its bill, Chairman Rostenkowski scheduled a series of breakfasts and luncheons with groups of Democratic members. At each he presented a progress report, solicited questions, and asked members not to make a public decision until they had seen the entire bill. He had earlier elicited a similar promise from the President. But the chairman's efforts to expedite a floor vote were unable to overcome Republican opposition. The rule to bring the bill to the House floor was initially defeated, with most Republicans voting against it. President Reagan then made a quick trip to Capitol Hill and defended the committee's work as a starting point. Enough Republicans changed their vote on the rule to allow consideration of the bill. The bill itself was shouted through without a recorded vote. As Chairman Rostenkowski savored his committee's difficult but gratifying victory in the House, he realized that the House bill faced "a bumpy ride in the Senate." [28]

The bill drafted by the Senate Finance Committee, chaired by Robert Packwood (R-OR), differed from the House bill on most key provisions. The Senate bill included only two individual income tax brackets—15 and 27 percent. It also lowered the upper corporate tax rate from the 36 percent figure of the House bill to 33 percent. Among other changes in the 1,489-page Senate version was a limitation of the deductibility of sales taxes to 60 percent of the amount paid in excess of state and local income taxes. Rostenkowski chaired the ensuing conference and set the agenda by announcing that he would accept the lower Senate rates if the House could prevail on many issues of reform. "If [we] have one mission, it's to guarantee fairness for middle-income families," he said.[29]

The conference involved nearly a month of hard bargaining between Rostenkowski and Packwood. The two leaders finally agreed on a compromise that raised the top individual rate of the Senate version to 28 percent, the top corporate rate to 34 percent, eliminated the sales tax deduction, and removed six million taxpayers from the tax rolls through increases in the personal exemption and standard deduction. Although it is too soon to render historical judgments on the Tax Reform Act of 1986, tax scholars, students of congressional procedure, and members of Congress alike were astounded by its passage. "Overhaul of the tax code! My God, I didn't think I'd see that in my lifetime," observed one senior specialist in the Library of Congress' Congressional Research Service. Republican committee member Bill Frenzel admitted that even though he did not like everything about the bill, "you've got to consider it our biggest accomplishment."[30]

Although the committee's involvement in the tax legislation of 1981 and 1986 and the Social Security rescue plan of 1983 have been its most dramatic and well-publicized actions, the legislative record of the One Hundredth Congress provided other examples of the committee's varied and busy agenda.

The Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 was the result of a three-year effort to address the nation's burgeoning trade deficit and to avoid protectionist measures. High unemployment and a worsening trade deficit created much interest in trade reform but little consensus about the proper approach. A trade bill had passed the House late in the Ninety-ninth Congress, but even its supporters did not expect it to become law. The administration's decision at the beginning of the One Hundredth Congress to support a trade bill made the crucial difference in the bill's passage.

Although the issue of Medicare coverage of the costs of catastrophic illness had been discussed for some time, it was not until President Reagan's Secretary of Health and Human Services, Dr. Otis R. Bowen, advocated such coverage that the idea had some realistic chance of becoming law. The endorsement of such a plan by a con-

With a firm grasp of the historical role of Ways and Means, Chairman Rostenkowski confidently presides over the committee as it begins its third century. His conviction that the role of a legislator is to make difficult decisions in the face of political pressure led him to comment during the debate on the Tax Reform Act of 1986, "Do we want to give back to middle-income taxpayers the fairness they don't believe will ever come, or do we want to preserve the status quo that goes hard on the poor and easy on the rich? What's more important, the special interest or the public interest?"

servative Republican President allowed the committee to move forward without being charged with budget busting. The committee, under Rostenkowski, expanded the administration's proposal, but not so much that the bill lost the support of the President. The financing of the program under the committee bill was made more progressive, but it retained an important feature of the President's proposal: The elderly themselves were to bear the cost of catastrophic health insurance.

Similarly, President Reagan's call for a review of the country's welfare system in his State of the Union address in 1986 provided the momentum for the passage of the Family Support Act of 1988. In the development of this legislation, liberal concerns about the erosion of welfare benefits and the need to improve the health and well-being of welfare recipients were balanced against the conservative theme of work requirements for welfare recipients.

The Committee on Ways and Means remains among the most important and active of all House standing committees, performing a large share of the legislative business of the House. From the Ninety-fifth through One Hundredth Congresses, for instance, the House referred nearly one-fourth of all public bills to the Committee on Ways and Means. The committee was referred 3,922 bills (22 percent of all public bills introduced in the House) in the Ninety-fifth Congress, 2,372 (22.8 percent) in the Ninety-sixth Congress, 2,414 (26.3 percent) in the Ninety-seventh Congress, 1,904 (23.5 percent) in the Ninety-eighth Congress, 1,568 (20.8 percent) in the Ninety-ninth Congress, and 1,419 (22.1 percent) in the One Hundredth Congress.[31]

The enormous growth of the federal deficit during the 1980s, moreover, has significantly increased the committee's role in determining domestic public policies. In January 1981, the public debt of the United States totaled 741 billion dollars. Eight years later, in January 1989, it stood at 2.1 trillion dollars. Legislative efforts to reduce the deficit have dominated much of Congress' legislative agenda during the 1980s. Omnibus deficit reduction bills, containing both spending reductions and tax increases, were enacted in 1981, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1986, and 1987. Tax and spending provisions within the committee's jurisdiction accounted for 70 percent of the total deficit reduction achieved in these acts, totaling approximately 300 billion dollars.

As the committee begins its third century, the deficit appears to be firmly established as the single most important issue facing the Congress. Budget deficits and divided government continue to form the framework for the committee in the One Hundred First Congress. Republican George Bush, a former member of Ways and Means, was elected President in 1988 on a platform that pledged declining deficits and no new taxes. Chairman Rostenkowski and the Democratic majority, accustomed to dealing with a Republican administration, expressed hope that compromises might be achieved to reduce the deficit. Speaking before a group of university students on February 27, 1989, the chairman stated: "There's got to be some compromises. Maybe, in the end, we'll swallow some tax enhancement of revenues. I quess I don't read lips too well. I think the deficit is serious and has to be faced." [32] With jurisdiction over both the tax laws and 40 percent of federal spending programs, it seems certain that the committee will continue to be called upon to bear a great deal of the legislative burden of addressing the deficit.

Conclusion

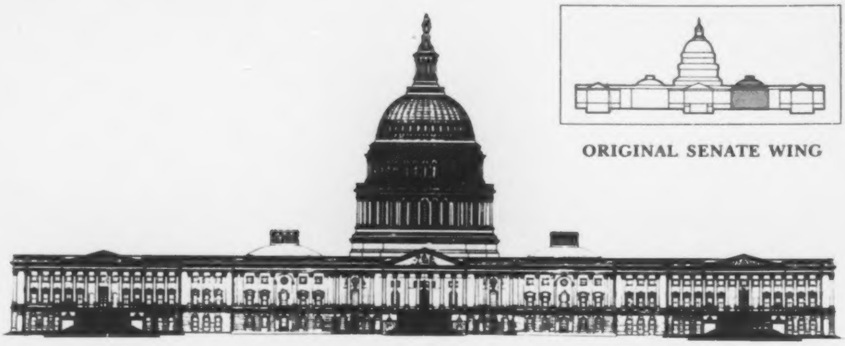
After two centuries, the Committee on Ways and Means continues to perform the function for which it was created: to raise revenue to support the federal government. The process has changed and the product has become ever more complex, but the purpose remains the same as that expressed in the 1794 resolution instructing the committee to "inquire whether any, or what further or other revenues are necessary . . . [and] to report the ways and means." [33] When the First Congress convened in 1789, the new nation faced an uncertain future with a heavy public debt. The federal deficit and foreign trade imbalance confronting the One Hundred First Congress continue to test the ability of the Committee on Ways and Means and the Congress to devise viable solutions to pressing national problems.

Meeting Places of the Committee

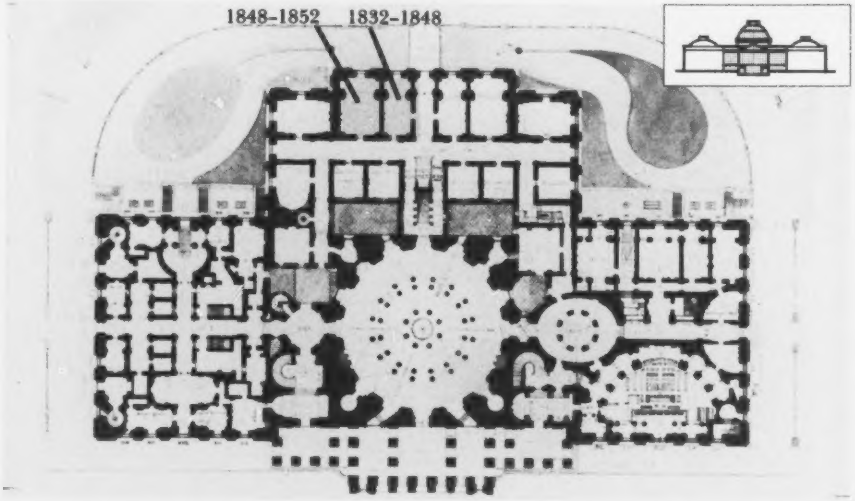
***Top:** This drawing depicts the east elevation of the U.S. Capitol as it appears today. In 1800, the House and Senate met in the Senate (north) wing, the first portion of the building to be constructed (inset). Committees of both Houses shared space until the old House (south) wing was first occupied in 1807. Latrobe's 1806 scheme (see page 40), which was partially built, suggests that Ways and Means had its own room in the old south wing. The fire of 1814 and subsequent repairs required the committee's temporary relocation until the reconstruction of the old House wing in 1819. The* Annals of Congress *indicate that the committee was assigned room space in the south wing, first floor, until the early 1830s.*

***Center:** Charles Bulfinch's handsome wood and copper dome and other additions gave the Capitol this general shape and appearance from 1825 to 1856 (inset). Thirty-seven years after George Washington laid its cornerstone, the Capitol was finally completed in 1826. From 1832 until 1852, the committee occupied space in the central part of the Capitol directly under the Library of Congress.*

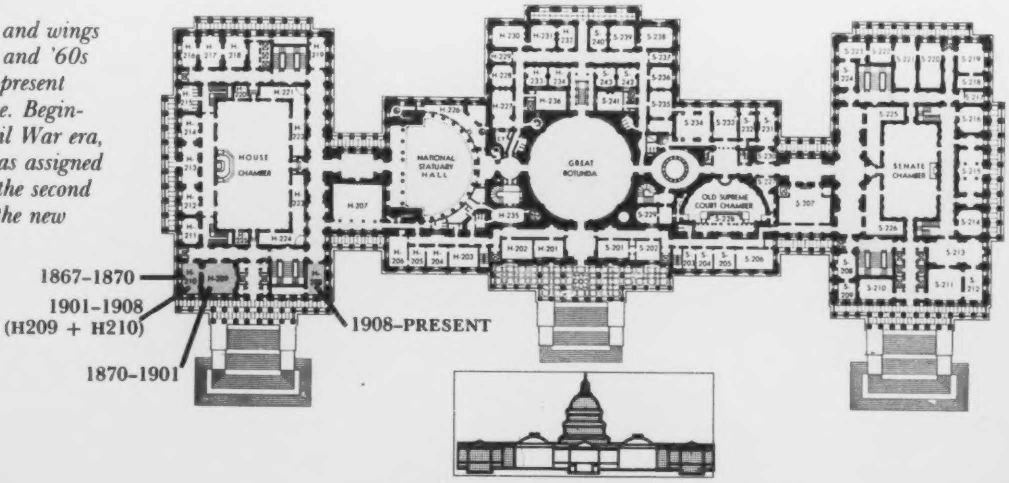
***Bottom:** The dome and wings added in the 1850s and '60s gave the Capitol its present form and appearance. Beginning in the post Civil War era, Ways and Means was assigned permanent space in the second (principal) floor of the new*


ORIGINAL SENATE WING

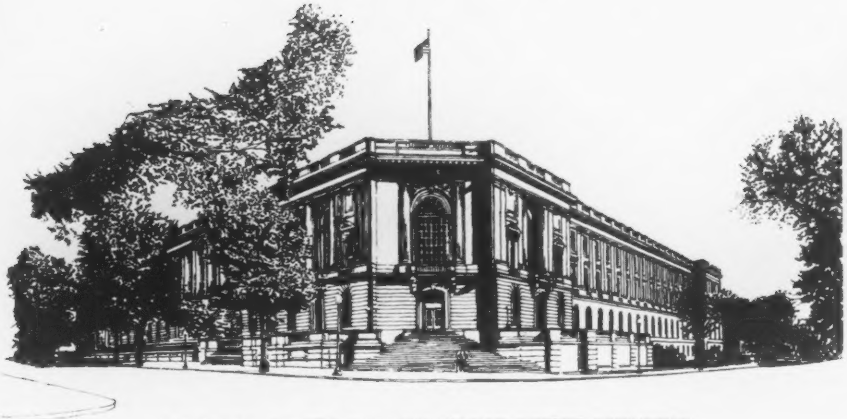
EAST ELEVATION OF THE U.S. CAPITOL


1848–1852
1832–1848

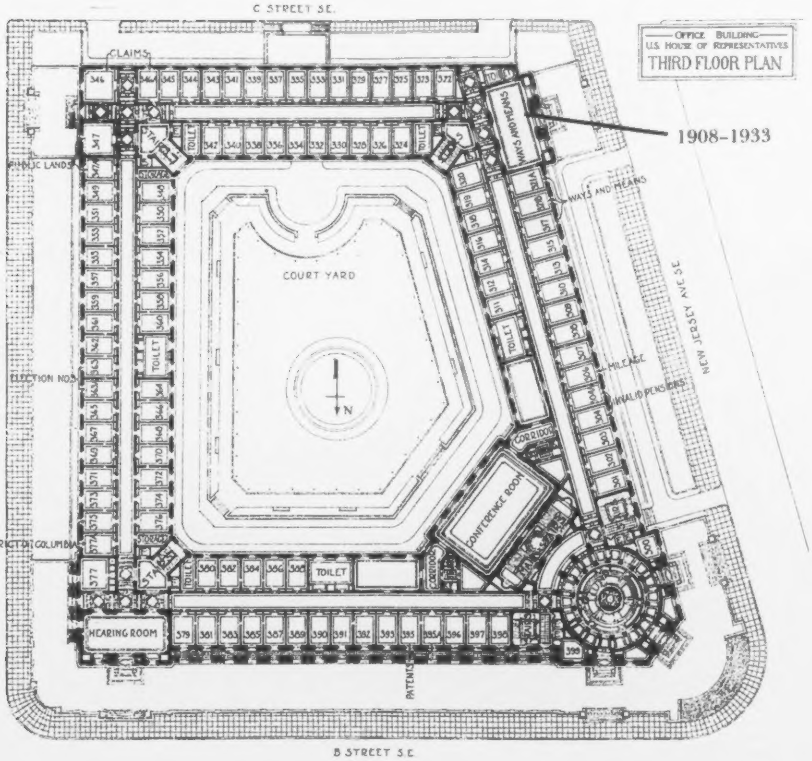
BASEMENT PLAN OF THE CAPITOL BY A.J. DAVIS, 1832


HOUSE CHAMBER
NATIONAL STATUARY HALL
GREAT ROTUNDA
OLD SUPREME COURT CHAMBER
SENATE CHAMBER
1867–1870
1901–1908
(H209 + H210)
1870–1901
1908–PRESENT

SECOND (PRINCIPAL) FLOOR PLAN, 1972



EXTERIOR OF THE CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING


C STREET S.E.
OFFICE BUILDING
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
THIRD FLOOR PLAN
1908–1933
CLAIMS
PUBLIC LANDS
WAYS AND MEANS
WAYS AND MEANS
STORAGE
TOILET
COURT YARD
N
FIRST STREET S.E.
ELECTION NOS.
MILEAGE
INVALID PENSIONS
NEW JERSEY AVE S.E.
CORRIDOR
CONFERENCE ROOM
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
HEARING ROOM
PATENTS
B STREET S.E.

THIRD FLOOR PLAN OF THE HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, 1926

south wing. It occupied H–210 from 1867 to 1870; then it moved to H–209, its assigned space for the next 31 years. In 1901, the committee was alloted an extra room (H–210), indicating its growth and prestige. The Speaker obtained use of this space in 1908, and the panel's room was changed to H–208, which it retains to the present.

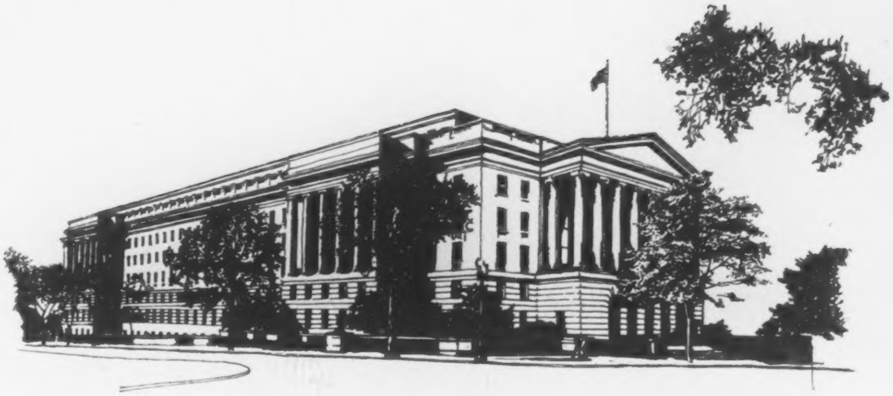
Top: *In 1908, the first House Office Building was completed. Today this structure is known as the Cannon House Office Building, named after Speaker Joseph G. Cannon. The building was designed by the New York firm of Carrére and Hastings and was built to accommodate all 391 Representatives then serving in Congress, as well as various committees and other support facilities. In February 1908, the committee was alloted four rooms in the southwest corner of the third floor.*

Bottom: *In addition to its space in the Capitol, the rooms shaded were utilized by the Committee on Ways and Means from 1908 to 1933. These rooms housed the chairman's office, the committee clerks' office, meeting and hearings space, and a library. By the end of the 1920s, many members recognized the need for a new office structure to ease overcrowded conditions in this building.*

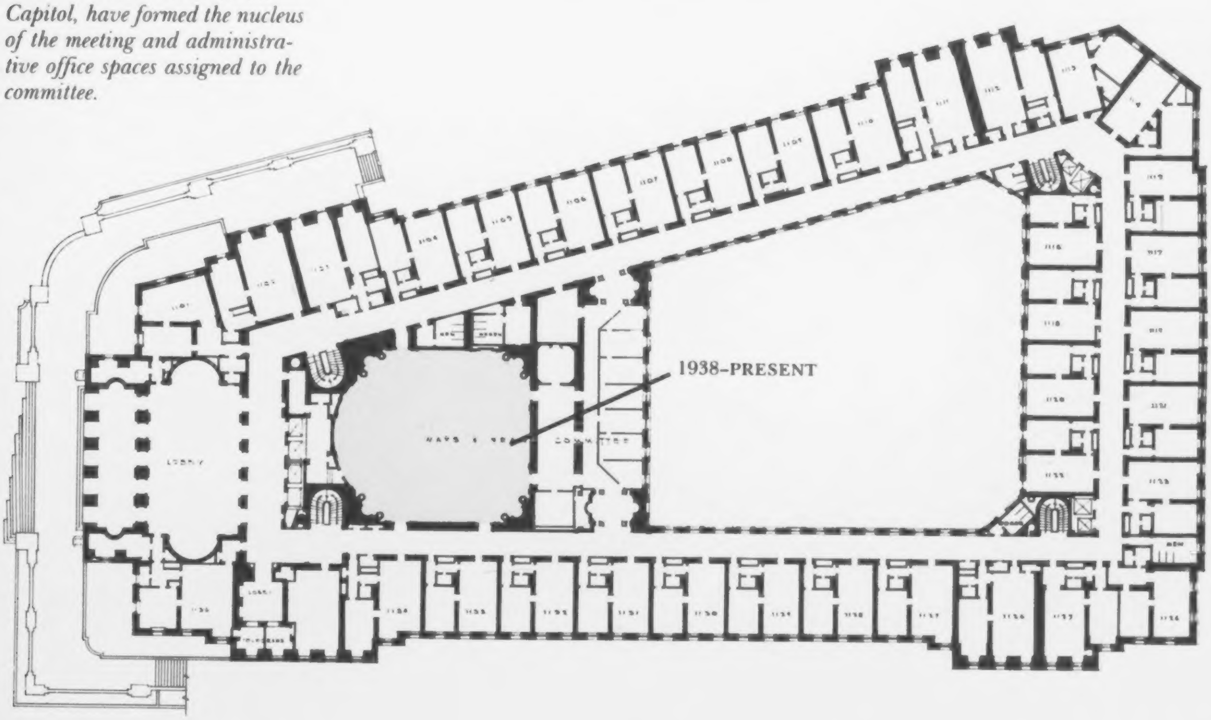
Top Right: *Completed in 1933 at a cost of 6.5 million dollars, the building known today as the Longworth House Office Building (named for former committee member and Speaker Nicholas Longworth) was designed by the*

Washington, DC, firm The Allied Architects, Inc. For a period of five years (1933–1938), the committee occupied Room 1301 on the third floor of the building, before relocating on the first floor.

Bottom: *In the late 1930s, Ways and Means was allotted hearing space in the imposing Assembly Room (shaded area), on the first floor of the Longworth Building. In 1938, the committee's offices moved to Room 1102. This move accommodated a growing staff, which by this time included a majority and minority clerk, two assistant clerks, and two messengers. Since 1938, Room 1102 and the Assembly Room (1100), as well as Room H–208 in the Capitol, have formed the nucleus of the meeting and administrative office spaces assigned to the committee.*



EXTERIOR OF THE LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING



FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF THE LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, 1969

Chairmen of the Committee

Thomas Fitzsimons, PA, 1789
William Loughton Smith, SC, 1794–1797
Robert Goodloe Harper, SC, 1797–1800
Roger Griswold, CT, 1800–1801
John Randolph, VA, 1801–1805
Joseph Clay, PA, 1805–1807
George W. Campbell, TN, 1807–1809
John W. Eppes, VA, 1809–1811
Ezekiel Bacon, MA, 1811–1812
Langdon Cheves, SC, 1812–1813
John W. Eppes, VA, 1813–1815
William Lowndes, SC, 1815–1818
Samuel Smith, MD, 1818–1822
Louis McLane, DE, 1822–1827
George McDuffie, SC, 1827
John Randolph, VA, 1827
George McDuffie, SC, 1827–1832
Gulian C. Verplanck, NY, 1832–1833
James K. Polk, TN, 1833–1835
Churchill C. Cambreleng, NY, 1835–1839
John W. Jones, VA, 1839–1841
Millard Fillmore, NY, 1841–1843
James I. McKay, NC, 1843–1847
Samuel F. Vinton, OH, 1847–1849
Thomas H. Bayly, VA, 1849–1851
George S. Houston, AL, 1851–1855
Lewis D. Campbell, OH, 1855–1857
J. Glancy Jones, PA, 1857–1858
John S. Phelps, MO, 1858–1859
John Sherman, OH, 1859–1861
Thaddeus Stevens, PA, 1861–1865
Justin S. Morrill, VT, 1865–1867
Robert C. Schenck, OH, 1867–1871
Samuel D. Hooper, MA, 1871
Henry L. Dawes, MA, 1871–1875
William R. Morrison, IL, 1875–1877
Fernando Wood, NY, 1877–1881
John R. Tucker, VA, 1881
William D. Kelley, PA, 1881–1883
William R. Morrison, IL, 1883–1887
Roger Q. Mills, TX, 1887–1889
William McKinley, OH, 1889–1891
William M. Springer, IL, 1891–1893
William L. Wilson, WV, 1893–1895
Nelson Dingley, Jr., ME, 1895–1899
Sereno E. Payne, NY, 1899–1911
Oscar W. Underwood, AL, 1911–1915
Claude Kitchin, NC, 1915–1919
Joseph W. Fordney, MI, 1919–1923
William R. Green, IA, 1923–1928
Willis C. Hawley, OR, 1929–1931
James W. Collier, MS, 1931–1933
Robert L. Doughton, NC, 1933–1947
Harold Knutson, MN, 1947–1949
Robert L. Doughton, NC, 1949–1953
Daniel A. Reed, NY, 1953–1955
Jere Cooper, TN, 1955–1957
Wilbur D. Mills, AR, 1957–1975
Albert C. Ullman, OR, 1975–1981
Daniel D. Rostenkowski, IL, 1981–

Committee Members Serving in Higher Offices or Attaining Other Accomplishments

MEMBERS OF CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

Abraham Baldwin
Elias Boudinot
Lambert Cadwalader
Thomas Fitzsimons
Abiel Foster
Elbridge Gerry
Nicholas Gilman
William Hindman
John Laurance
Samuel Livermore
James Madison
John Patten
Theodore Sedgwick
William Smith
John Vining
Jeremiah Wadsworth

SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Elbridge Gerry

DELEGATES TO CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Abraham Baldwin
Thomas Fitzsimons
Elbridge Gerry
Nicholas Gilman
James Madison

SIGNERS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

Abraham Baldwin
Thomas Fitzsimons
Nicholas Gilman
James Madison

SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE

Nathaniel P. Banks
Philip P. Barbour
James G. Blaine
John G. Carlisle
Langdon Cheves
James B. (Champ) Clark
Howell Cobb
Charles F. Crisp
John Nance Garner
John W. Jones
Michael C. Kerr
Nicholas Longworth
John W. McCormack
James K. Polk
Henry T. Rainey
Samuel J. Randall
Thomas B. Reed
Theodore Sedgwick
Andrew Stevenson
John W. Taylor
Robert C. Winthrop

SUPREME COURT JUSTICES

Philip P. Barbour
Joseph McKenna
John McKinley
Fred M. Vinson, *Chief Justice*

PRESIDENTS

George H.W. Bush
Millard Fillmore
James A. Garfield
Andrew Jackson
James Madison
William McKinley
James K. Polk
John Tyler

VICE PRESIDENTS

John C. Breckinridge
George H.W. Bush
Charles Curtis
Millard Fillmore
John Nance Garner
Elbridge Gerry
Richard M. Johnson
John Tyler

CABINET MEMBERS

SECRETARIES OF STATE

James G. Blaine
William Jennings Bryan
Cordell Hull
Louis McLane
John Sherman

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY

George W. Campbell
John G. Carlisle
Howell Cobb
Thomas Corwin
Charles Foster
Albert Gallatin
Samuel D. Ingham
Louis McLane
Ogden L. Mills
John Sherman
Phillip F. Thomas
Fred M. Vinson

ATTORNEYS GENERAL

James P. McGranery
Joseph McKenna
A. Mitchell Palmer
Caesar A. Rodney

POSTMASTERS GENERAL

Samuel D. Hubbard
Cave Johnson
Horace Maynard
William L. Wilson

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY

Thomas W. Gilmer
Hilary A. Herbert
Victor H. Metcalf
Claude A. Swanson

SECRETARIES OF THE INTERIOR

Rogers C.B. Morton
Jacob Thompson

SECRETARY OF COMMERCE AND LABOR

Victor H. Metcalf

SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

Rogers C.B. Morton

SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

Clinton P. Anderson

KEY

COLUMN HEADINGS

CHS: Chamber seniority based on continuous term of service
SP: Senior party member status
CMS: Committee seniority
DOA: Date of Assignment
DOT: Date of termination
AE: Status of assignment at end of this congress
MN: Status of member in next congress
AN: Status of assignment in next congress

PARTY

AJ: Anti-Jacksonian
AM: Anti-Masonic
AP: American Party
CU: Constitutional Unionist
D: Democrat
F: Federalist
FS: Free Soil
I: Independent
ID: Independent Democrat
J: Jacksonian
JR: Jeffersonian Republican
LR: Liberal Republican
N: Nullifier
NAM: National Anti-Monopolist
OP: Opposition Party
PAU: Party Affiliation Unknown
P: Progressive
R: Republican
SRD: States Rights Democrat
U: Unionist
UU: Unconditional Unionist
UR: Union Republican
W: Whig

RANK

Org: Original
Rpl: Replacement
Maj: Majority
Min: Minority
MjR: Majority Replacement
MnR: Minority Replacement
MjA: Majority Addition

SP

Chr: Only Chairman
Ch1: First Chairman that Congress
Ch2: Second Chairman that Congress
RM: Ranking Minority
RM1: First Ranking Minority that Congress
RM2: Second Ranking Minority that Congress
RM3: Third Ranking Minority that Congress

AE

CA: Left this committee for *another* committee before adjournment.
CN: Completed Congress in chamber; left this committee for *no other* before adjournment.
LB: Not in chamber; left this committee *before* departing chamber.
MD: Not in chamber; Member *died*.
RH: Not in chamber; Member *resigned* to *hold* other office.
RS: Not in chamber; Member *resigned* before adjournment to *seek* other office unsuccessfully.
RN: Not in chamber; Member *resigned* but *neither* held nor sought other office.
. . .: Inapplicable; Member not assigned to a committee.

MN

DE: Member *defeated* for *election* to subsequent Congress.
DN: Member *defeated* for *nomination* to subsequent Congress.
EF: Member *elected* to other *federal* post.
ES: Member *elected* to *state* or local post.
AF: Member *appointed* to *federal* post.
AS: Member *appointed* to *state* or local post.
RT: Member *retired* from public life.
UC: *Unsuccessful contest* for other office.
. . .: Inapplicable; Member died or left chamber before end of previous Congress.

AN

NT: Member continues in the subsequent Congress but *not* on this committee or its successor.

Committee Membership by Congressional Session

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
1st Congress												
Fitzsimons, Thomas	PAU	PA	1st	1-Org	Chr	....	24 Jul 1789	to	3 Mar 1791		..	..
Vining, John	PAU	DE	1st	2-Org		....	24 Jul 1789	to	3 Mar 1791		..	..
Livermore, Samuel	PAU	NH	1st	3-Org		....	24 Jul 1789	to	3 Mar 1791		..	..
Cadwalader, Lambert	PAU	NJ	1st	4-Org		....	24 Jul 1789	to	3 Mar 1791		..	..
Laurance, John	PAU	NY	1st	5-Org		....	24 Jul 1789	to	3 Mar 1791		..	..
Wadsworth, Jeremiah	PAU	CT	1st	6-Org		....	24 Jul 1789	to	3 Mar 1791		..	..
Jackson, James	PAU	GA	1st	7-Org		....	24 Jul 1789	to	3 Mar 1791		..	..
Gerry, Elbridge	PAU	MA	1st	8-Org		....	24 Jul 1789	to	3 Mar 1791		..	..
Smith, William L.	PAU	SC	1st	9-Org		....	24 Jul 1789	to	3 Mar 1791		..	..
Smith, William	PAU	MD	1st	10-Org		....	24 Jul 1789	to	3 Mar 1791		..	..
Madison, James	PAU	VA	1st	11-Org		....	24 Jul 1789	to	3 Mar 1791		..	..
3rd Congress												
Smith, William L.	PAU	SC	3rd	1-Org	Chr	....	26 Mar 1794	to	3 Mar 1795		..	..
Bourn, Benjamin	PAU	RI	3rd	2-Org		....	26 Mar 1794	to	3 Mar 1795		..	..
Grove, William Barry	PAU	NC	2nd	3-Org		....	26 Mar 1794	to	3 Mar 1795		..	..
Orr, Alexander D.	PAU	KY	2nd	4-Org		....	26 Mar 1794	to	3 Mar 1795		..	..
Madison, James	PAU	VA	3rd	5-Org		....	26 Mar 1794	to	3 Mar 1795		..	..
Baldwin, Abraham	PAU	GA	3rd	6-Org		....	26 Mar 1794	to	3 Mar 1795		..	..
Christie, Gabriel	PAU	MD	1st	7-Org		....	26 Mar 1794	to	3 Mar 1795		..	..
Fitzsimons, Thomas	PAU	PA	3rd	8-Org		....	26 Mar 1794	to	3 Mar 1795		..	..
Boudinot, Elias	PAU	NJ	3rd	9-Org		....	26 Mar 1794	to	3 Mar 1795		..	..
Watts, John	PAU	NY	1st	10-Org		....	26 Mar 1794	to	3 Mar 1795		..	..
Tracy, Uriah	PAU	CT	1st	11-Org		....	26 Mar 1794	to	3 Mar 1795		..	..
Smith, Israel	PAU	VT	2nd	12-Org		....	26 Mar 1794	to	3 Mar 1795		..	..
Ames, Fisher	PAU	MA	3rd	13-Org		....	26 Mar 1794	to	3 Mar 1795		..	..
Gilman, Nicholas	PAU	NH	3rd	14-Org		....	26 Mar 1794	to	3 Mar 1795		..	..
Latimer, Henry	PAU	DE	1st	15-Org		....	26 Mar 1794	to	7 Feb 1795	RH	EF	..
4th Congress												
Smith, William L.	F	SC	4th	1-Org	Chr	....	21 Dec 1795	to	3 Mar 1797		..	..
Gilman, Nicholas	F	NH	4th	2-Org		....	21 Dec 1795	to	3 Mar 1797		..	..
Bourn, Benjamin	F	RI	4th	3-Org		....	21 Dec 1795	to	0 1796	RN	RT	..
Sedgwick, Theodore	F	MA	4th	4-Org		....	21 Dec 1795	to	0 Jun 1796	RH	EF	..
Buck, Daniel	F	VT	1st	5-Org		....	21 Dec 1795	to	16 Dec 1796	CA	..	..
Hillhouse, James	F	CT	3rd	6-Org		....	21 Dec 1795	to	0 1796	RH	EF	..
Gilbert, Ezekiel	F	NY	2nd	7-Org		....	21 Dec 1795	to	3 Mar 1797		..	..
Smith, Isaac	F	NJ	1st	8-Org		....	21 Dec 1795	to	3 Mar 1797		..	..
Gallatin, Albert	JR	PA	1st	9-Org		....	21 Dec 1795	to	3 Mar 1797		..	..
Patten, John	JR	DE	2nd	10-Org		....	21 Dec 1795	to	3 Mar 1797		..	..
Murray, William Vans	F	MD	3rd	11-Org		....	21 Dec 1795	to	16 Dec 1796	CA	..	..
Madison, James	JR	VA	4th	12-Org		....	21 Dec 1795	to	3 Mar 1797		..	..
Blount, Thomas	JR	NC	2nd	13-Org		....	21 Dec 1795	to	3 Mar 1797		..	..
Baldwin, Abraham	JR	GA	4th	14-Org		....	21 Dec 1795	to	3 Mar 1797		..	..
Greenup, Christopher	JR	KY	3rd	15-Org		....	24 Dec 1795	to	3 Mar 1797		..	..
Malbone, Francis	F	RI	2nd	16-Org		....	16 Dec 1796	to	16 Jan 1797	CN	..	..
Bradbury, Theophilus	F	MA	1st	1-Rpl		....	16 Dec 1796	to	3 Mar 1797		..	..
Smith, Nathaniel	F	CT	1st	2-Rpl		....	16 Dec 1796	to	3 Mar 1797		..	..
Smith, Israel	JR	VT	3rd	3-Rpl		....	16 Dec 1796	to	3 Mar 1797		..	..
Hindman, William	F	MD	3rd	4-Rpl		....	16 Dec 1796	to	3 Mar 1797		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Jackson, Andrew	JR	TN	1st	5-Rpl		....	16 Dec 1796	to	3 Mar 1797		..	..
Potter, Elisha R.	F	RI	1st	6-Rpl		....	16 Jan 1797	to	3 Mar 1797		..	..
5th Congress												
Smith, William L.	F	SC	5th	1-Org	Ch1	....	10 Jun 1797	to	10 Jul 1797	RH	AF	..
Gallatin, Albert	JR	PA	2nd	2-Org		....	10 Jun 1797	to	3 Mar 1799		..	..
Otis, Harrison Gray	F	MA	1st	3-Org		....	10 Jun 1797	to	4 Dec 1797	CA	..	..
Giles, William B.	JR	VA	5th	4-Org		....	10 Jun 1797	to	4 Dec 1797	CA	RT	..
Williams, Robert	JR	NC	1st	5-Org		....	10 Jun 1797	to	4 Dec 1797	CA	..	..
Coit, Joshua	F	CT	3rd	6-Org		....	10 Jun 1797	to	4 Dec 1797	CA	..	..
Cochran, James	F	NY	1st	7-Org		....	10 Jun 1797	to	4 Dec 1797	CA	..	..
Harper, Robert Goodloe	F	SC	3rd	8-Org	Ch2	....	4 Dec 1797	to	3 Mar 1799		..	..
Griswold, Roger	F	CT	2nd	9-Org		....	4 Dec 1797	to	14 Dec 1798	CA	..	..
Blount, Thomas	JR	NC	3rd	10-Org		....	4 Dec 1797	to	3 Mar 1799		..	..
Hindman, William	F	MD	4th	11-Org		....	14 Dec 1798	to	3 Mar 1799		..	..
Craik, William	F	MD	2nd	12-Org		....	4 Dec 1797	to	14 Dec 1798	CA	..	..
Brent, Richard	JR	VA	2nd	13-Org		....	4 Dec 1797	to	14 Dec 1798	CA	..	..
Foster, Abiel	F	NH	3rd	14-Org		....	4 Dec 1797	to	14 Dec 1798	CA	..	..
Sewall, Samuel	F	MA	2nd	15-Org		....	4 Dec 1797	to	14 Dec 1798	CA	..	..
Morris, Lewis R.	F	VT	1st	16-Org		....	4 Dec 1797	to	14 Dec 1798	CA	..	..
Davis, Thomas T.	JR	KY	1st	1-Rpl		....	4 Dec 1797	to	14 Dec 1798	CA	..	..
Sinnickson, Thomas	F	NJ	2nd	2-Rpl		....	4 Dec 1797	to	3 Mar 1799		..	..
Claiborne, William C. C.	JR	TN	1st	3-Rpl		....	4 Dec 1797	to	14 Dec 1798	CA	..	..
Bayard, James A.	F	DE	1st	4-Rpl		....	4 Dec 1797	to	14 Dec 1798	CA	..	..
Champlin, Christopher G.	F	RI	1st	5-Rpl		....	4 Dec 1797	to	14 Dec 1798	CA	..	..
Baldwin, Abraham	JR	GA	5th	6-Rpl		....	4 Dec 1797	to	14 Dec 1798	CA	..	..
Smith, Nathaniel	F	CT	2nd	7-Rpl		....	14 Dec 1798	to	4 Feb 1799	CN	..	..
Cochran, James	F	NY	1st	8-Rpl		....	14 Dec 1798	to	3 Mar 1799		..	..
Jones, Walter	JR	VA	1st	9-Rpl		....	14 Dec 1798	to	3 Mar 1799		..	..
Parker, Isaac	F	MA	1st	10-Rpl		....	14 Dec 1798	to	3 Mar 1799		..	..
Hosmer, Hezekiah L.	F	NY	1st	11-Rpl		....	4 Dec 1797	to	14 Dec 1798	CA	..	..
Griswold, Roger	F	CT	2nd	12-Rpl		....	4 Feb 1799	to	3 Mar 1799		..	..
6th Congress												
Harper, Robert Goodloe	F	SC	4th	1-Org	Ch1	....	9 Dec 1799	to	19 Dec 1800	CA	..	..
Griswold, Roger	F	CT	3rd	2-Org	Ch2	....	9 Dec 1799	to	3 Mar 1801		..	..
Otis, Harrison Gray	F	MA	2nd	3-Org		....	9 Dec 1799	to	20 Nov 1800	CA	..	..
Gallatin, Albert	JR	PA	3rd	4-Org		....	9 Dec 1799	to	20 Nov 1800	CA	..	..
Powell, Levin	F	VA	1st	5-Org		....	9 Dec 1799	to	3 Mar 1801		..	..
Brown, John	F	RI	1st	6-Org		....	9 Dec 1799	to	20 Nov 1800	CA	..	..
Stone, David	JR	NC	1st	7-Org		....	9 Dec 1799	to	20 Nov 1800	CA	..	..
Nott, Abraham	F	SC	1st	8-Org		....	9 Dec 1799	to	20 Nov 1800	CA	..	..
Platt, Jonas	F	NY	1st	9-Org		....	9 Dec 1799	to	20 Nov 1800	CA	..	..
Bartlett, Bailey	F	MA	2nd	1-Rpl		....	20 Nov 1800	to	3 Mar 1801		..	..
Nicholas, John	JR	VA	4th	2-Rpl		....	20 Nov 1800	to	3 Mar 1801		..	..
Imlay, James H.	F	NJ	2nd	3-Rpl		....	20 Nov 1800	to	3 Mar 1801		..	..
Nicholson, Joseph H.	JR	MD	1st	4-Rpl		....	20 Nov 1800	to	3 Mar 1801		..	..
Taliaferro, Benjamin	F	GA	1st	5-Rpl		....	20 Nov 1800	to	3 Mar 1801		..	..
Woods, Henry	F	PA	1st	6-Rpl		....	20 Nov 1800	to	3 Mar 1801		..	..
Smilie, John	JR	PA	2nd	7-Rpl		....	20 Nov 1800	to	3 Mar 1801		..	..
7th Congress												
Randolph, John	JR	VA	2nd	1-Org	Chr	....	8 Dec 1801	to	3 Mar 1803		..	..
Griswold, Roger	F	CT	4th	2-Org		....	8 Dec 1801	to	3 Mar 1803		..	..
Smith, Israel	JR	VT	4th	3-Org		....	8 Dec 1801	to	14 Dec 1802	CA	..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Bayard, James A.	F	DE	3rd	4-Org		....	8 Dec 1801	to	14 Dec 1802	CA	..	..
Smilie, John	JR	PA	3rd	5-Org		....	8 Dec 1801	to	3 Mar 1803		..	..
Read, Nathan	F	MA	2nd	6-Org		....	8 Dec 1801	to	3 Mar 1803		..	..
Nicholson, Joseph H.	JR	MD	2nd	7-Org		....	8 Dec 1801	to	3 Mar 1803		..	..
Van Rensselaer, Killian K.	F	NY	1st	8-Org		....	8 Dec 1801	to	3 Mar 1803		..	..
Dickson, William	JR	TN	1st	9-Org		....	8 Dec 1801	to	4 Jan 1802	CN	..	..
Milledge, John	JR	GA	4th	1-Rpl		....	4 Jan 1802	to	0 May 1802	RH	ES	..
Holland, James	JR	NC	2nd	2-Rpl		....	14 Dec 1802	to	2 Mar 1803	CN	..	..
Dickson, William	JR	TN	1st	3-Rpl		....	2 Mar 1802	to	3 Mar 1803		..	..
8th Congress												
Randolph, John	JR	VA	3rd	1-Org	Chr	....	17 Oct 1803	to	4 Mar 1805		..	..
Nicholson, Joseph H.	JR	MD	0	2-Org		....	17 Oct 1803	to	5 Nov 1804	CA	..	..
Griswold, Roger	F	CT	5th	3-Org		....	17 Oct 1803	to	4 Mar 1805		..	..
Rodney, Caesar A.	JR	DE	1st	4-Org		....	17 Oct 1803	to	5 Nov 1804	CA	..	..
Hastings, Seth	F	MA	2nd	5-Org		....	17 Oct 1803	to	5 Nov 1804	CA	..	..
Clay, Joseph	JR	PA	1st	6-Org		....	17 Oct 1803	to	4 Mar 1805		..	..
Sands, Joshua	F	NY	1st	7-Org		....	17 Oct 1803	to	20 Mar 1804	CN	..	..
Stanton, Joseph Jr.	JR	RI	2nd	1-Rpl		....	20 Mar 1804	to	5 Nov 1804	CA	..	..
Boyle, John	JR	KY	1st	2-Rpl		....	5 Nov 1804	to	4 Mar 1805		..	..
Davenport, John	F	CT	3rd	3-Rpl		....	5 Nov 1804	to	4 Mar 1805		..	..
Moore, Nicholas R.	JR	MD	1st	4-Rpl		....	5 Nov 1804	to	4 Mar 1805		..	..
Meriwether, David	JR	GA	2nd	5-Rpl		....	5 Nov 1804	to	4 Mar 1805		..	..
9th Congress												
Randolph, John	JR	VA	4th	1-Org	Ch1	....	2 Dec 1805	to	2 Dec 1805	CN	..	..
Nicholson, Joseph H.	JR	MD	4th	2-Org		....	2 Dec 1805	to	1 Mar 1806	RH	AS	..
Clay, Joseph	JR	PA	2nd	3-Org	Ch2	....	2 Dec 1805	to	3 Mar 1807		..	..
Quincy, Josiah	F	MA	1st	4-Org		....	2 Dec 1805	to	3 Mar 1807		..	..
Meriwether, David	JR	GA	3rd	5-Org		....	2 Dec 1805	to	11 Apr 1806	CN	..	..
Dickson, William	JR	TN	3rd	6-Org		....	2 Dec 1805	to	2 Dec 1805	CA	..	..
Moseley, Jonathan O.	F	CT	1st	7-Org		....	2 Dec 1805	to	3 Mar 1807		..	..
Nelson, Roger	JR	MD	2nd	1-Rpl		....	11 Apr 1806	to	3 Mar 1807		..	..
Williams, David R.	JR	SC	1st	2-Rpl		....	1 Dec 1806	to	3 Mar 1807		..	..
Meriwether, David	JR	GA	3rd	3-Rpl		....	1 Dec 1806	to	3 Mar 1807		..	..
Garnett, James M.	JR	VA	1st	4-Rpl		....	1 Dec 1806	to	5 Dec 1806	CA	..	..
Randolph, John	JR	VA	4th	5-Rpl		....	5 Dec 1806	to	3 Mar 1807		..	..
10th Congress												
Campbell, George W.	JR	TN	3rd	1-Org	Chr	....	28 Oct 1807	to	3 Mar 1809		..	..
Alston, Willis	JR	NC	5th	2-Org		....	28 Oct 1807	to	3 Mar 1809		..	..
Eppes, John W.	JR	VA	3rd	3-Org		....	28 Oct 1807	to	3 Mar 1809		..	..
Smilie, John	JR	PA	6th	4-Org		....	28 Oct 1807	to	3 Mar 1809		..	..
Tallmadge, Benjamin	F	CT	4th	5-Org		....	28 Oct 1808	to	3 Mar 1809		..	..
Fisk, James	JR	VT	2nd	6-Org		....	28 Oct 1807	to	3 Mar 1809		..	..
Montgomery, John	JR	MD	1st	7-Org		....	28 Oct 1807	to	3 Mar 1809		..	..
11th Congress												
Eppes, John W.	JR	VA	4th	1-Org	Chr	....	22 May 1809	to	3 Mar 1811		..	..
Alston, Willis	JR	NC	6th	2-Org		....	22 May 1809	to	3 Mar 1811		..	..
Tallmadge, Benjamin	F	CT	5th	3-Org		....	22 May 1809	to	3 Mar 1811		..	..
Montgomery, John	JR	MD	2nd	4-Org		....	22 May 1809	to	3 Mar 1811		..	..
Bacon, Ezekiel	JR	MA	2nd	5-Org		....	22 May 1809	to	28 Jan 1811	CN	..	..
Rea, John	JR	PA	4th	6-Org		....	22 May 1809	to	28 Nov 1809	CA	..	..
Haven, Nathaniel A.	F	NH	1st	7-Org		....	22 May 1809	to	28 Nov 1809	CA	..	..

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Smilie, John	JR	PA	7th	1-Rpl		....	28 Nov 1809	to 3 Mar 1811		..	..
Root, Erastus	JR	NY	2nd	2-Rpl		....	28 Nov 1809	to 6 Dec 1810	CA	..	..
Johnson, Richard M.	JR	KY	2nd	3-Rpl		....	6 Dec 1810	to 3 Mar 1811		..	..
Seaver, Ebenezer	JR	MA	4th	4-Rpl		....	28 Jan 1811	to 3 Mar 1811		..	..
12th Congress											
Bacon, Ezekiel	JR	MA	3rd	1-Org	Ch1	....	8 Nov 1811	to 5 Nov 1812	CA	..	..
Cheves, Langdon	JR	SC	2nd	2-Org	Ch2	....	8 Nov 1811	to 3 Mar 1813		..	..
Smilie, John	JR	PA	8th	3-Org		....	8 Nov 1811	to 30 Dec 1812	MD	..	..
Bibb, William W.	JR	GA	4th	4-Org		....	8 Nov 1811	to 3 Mar 1813		..	..
Burwell, William A.	JR	VA	4th	5-Org		....	8 Nov 1811	to 5 Nov 1812	CA	..	..
Johnson, Richard M.	JR	KY	3rd	6-Org		....	8 Nov 1811	to 3 Mar 1813		..	..
Pitkin, Timothy	F	CT	4th	7-Org		....	8 Nov 1811	to 3 Mar 1813		..	..
Pleasants, James	JR	VA	1st	1-Rpl		....	5 Nov 1812	to 3 Mar 1813		..	..
Roberts, Jonathan	JR	PA	1st	2-Rpl		....	5 Nov 1812	to 3 Mar 1813		..	..
Fisk, James	JR	VT	3rd	3-Rpl		....	5 Nov 1812	to 3 Mar 1813		..	..
13th Congress											
Eppes, John W.	JR	VA	5th	1-Org	Chr	....	26 May 1813	to 3 Mar 1815		..	..
Bibb, William W.	JR	GA	5th	2-Org		....	26 May 1813	to 6 Nov 1813	RH	EF	..
Pleasants, James	JR	VA	2nd	3-Org		....	26 May 1813	to 7 Dec 1813	CA	..	..
Roberts, Jonathan	JR	PA	2nd	4-Org		....	26 May 1813	to 24 Feb 1814	RH	EF	..
Pitkin, Timothy	F	CT	5th	5-Org		....	26 May 1813	to 7 Dec 1813	CA	..	..
Gourdin, Theodore	JR	SC	1st	6-Org		....	26 May 1813	to 7 Dec 1813	CA	..	..
Montgomery, Thomas	JR	KY	1st	7-Org		....	26 May 1813	to 7 Dec 1813	CA	..	..
Taylor, John W.	JR	NY	1st	1-Rpl		....	7 Dec 1813	to 21 Sep 1814	CA	..	..
Creighton, William Jr.	JR	OH	1st	2-Rpl		....	7 Dec 1813	to 3 Mar 1815		..	..
Alston, Willis	JR	NC	8th	3-Rpl		....	7 Dec 1813	to 21 Sep 1814	CA	..	..
McKim, Alexander	JR	MD	3rd	4-Rpl		....	7 Dec 1813	to 21 Sep 1814	CA	..	..
Coxe, William Jr.	F	NJ	1st	5-Rpl		....	7 Dec 1813	to 21 Sep 1814	CA	..	..
Pitkin, Timothy	F	CT	5th	6-Rpl		....	28 Feb 1814	to 21 Sep 1814	CA	..	..
Fisk, Jonathan	JR	NY	2nd	7-Rpl		....	21 Sep 1814	to 3 Mar 1815		..	..
Archer, Stevenson	JR	MD	2nd	8-Rpl		....	21 Sep 1814	to 9 Feb 1815	CN	..	..
Oakley, Thomas J.	F	NY	1st	9-Rpl		....	21 Sep 1814	to 3 Mar 1815		..	..
Gaston, William	F	NC	1st	10-Rpl		....	21 Sep 1814	to 3 Mar 1815		..	..
Ingham, Samuel D.	JR	PA	1st	11-Rpl		....	21 Sep 1814	to 3 Mar 1815		..	..
Lowndes, William	JR	SC	2nd	12-Rpl		....	9 Feb 1815	to 3 Mar 1815		..	..
14th Congress											
Lowndes, William	JR	SC	3rd	1-Org	Chr	....	6 Dec 1815	to 3 Mar 1817		..	..
Burwell, William A.	JR	VA	6th	2-Org		....	6 Dec 1815	to 3 Mar 1817		..	..
Taylor, John	JR	SC	1st	3-Org		....	6 Dec 1815	to 3 Dec 1816	CA	..	..
Moseley, Jonathan O.	F	CT	6th	4-Org		....	6 Dec 1815	to 3 Mar 1817		..	..
Robertson, Thomas B.	JR	LA	3rd	5-Org		....	6 Dec 1815	to 3 Dec 1816	CA	..	..
Ingham, Samuel D.	JR	PA	2nd	6-Org		....	6 Dec 1815	to 3 Dec 1816	CA	..	..
Gaston, William	F	NC	2nd	7-Org		....	6 Dec 1815	to 3 Mar 1817		..	..
Smith, Samuel	JR	MD	6th	1-Rpl		....	3 Dec 1816	to 3 Mar 1817		..	..
Wilkin, James W.	JR	NY	1st	2-Rpl		....	3 Dec 1816	to 3 Mar 1817		..	..
Henderson, Bennett H.	JR	TN	1st	3-Rpl		....	3 Dec 1816	to 3 Mar 1817		..	..
15th Congress											
Lowndes, William	JR	SC	4th	1-Org	Ch1	....	3 Dec 1817	to 17 Nov 1818	CA	..	..
Smith, Samuel	JR	MD	7th	2-Org	Ch2	....	3 Dec 1817	to 3 Mar 1819		..	..
Burwell, William A.	JR	VA	7th	3-Org		....	3 Dec 1817	to 3 Mar 1819		..	..
Pitkin, Timothy	F	CT	7th	4-Org		....	3 Dec 1817	to 3 Mar 1819		..	..

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Abbot, Joel	JR	GA	1st	5-Org		....	3 Dec 1817	to	17 Nov 1818	CA	..	..
Sergeant, John	F	PA	2nd	6-Org		....	3 Dec 1817	to	3 Mar 1819		..	..
Trimble, David	JR	KY	1st	7-Org		....	3 Dec 1817	to	3 Mar 1819		..	..
Crawford, Joel	JR	GA	1st	1-Rpl		....	17 Nov 1818	to	3 Mar 1819		..	..
Tallmadge, James Jr.	JR	NY	1st	2-Rpl		....	17 Nov 1818	to	3 Mar 1819		..	..
16th Congress												
Smith, Samuel	JR	MD	8th	1-Org	Chr	....	8 Dec 1819	to	3 Mar 1821		..	..
Burwell, William A.	JR	VA	8th	2-Org		....	8 Dec 1819	to	16 Feb 1821	MD	..	..
Trimble, David	JR	KY	2nd	3-Org		....	8 Dec 1819	to	15 Nov 1820	CA	..	..
Crawford, Joel	JR	GA	2nd	4-Org		....	8 Dec 1819	to	15 Nov 1820	CA	..	..
Moseley, Jonathan O.	F	CT	8th	5-Org		....	8 Dec 1819	to	15 Nov 1820	CA	..	..
Shaw, Henry	JR	MA	2nd	6-Org		....	8 Dec 1819	to	3 Mar 1821		..	..
Tyler, John	JR	VA	3rd	7-Org		....	8 Dec 1819	to	15 Nov 1820	CA	..	..
McLane, Louis	F	DE	2nd	1-Rpl		....	15 Nov 1820	to	3 Mar 1821		..	..
Tracy, Albert H.	JR	NY	1st	2-Rpl		....	15 Nov 1820	to	3 Mar 1821		..	..
Ross, Thomas R.	JR	OH	1st	3-Rpl		....	15 Nov 1820	to	3 Mar 1821		..	..
Jones, Francis	JR	TN	2nd	4-Rpl		....	15 Nov 1820	to	3 Mar 1821		..	..
17th Congress												
Smith, Samuel	JR	MD	9th	1-Org	Ch1	....	5 Dec 1821	to	17 Dec 1822	RH	EF	..
Tod, John	JR	PA	1st	2-Org		....	5 Dec 1821	to	3 Dec 1822	CA	..	..
Pitcher, Nathaniel	JR	NY	2nd	3-Org		....	5 Dec 1821	to	3 Dec 1822	CA	..	..
Mitchell, Thomas R.	JR	SC	1st	4-Org		....	5 Dec 1821	to	3 Mar 1823		..	..
Jones, Francis	JR	TN	3rd	5-Org		....	5 Dec 1821	to	3 Mar 1823		..	..
Thompson, Wiley	JR	GA	1st	6-Org		....	5 Dec 1821	to	3 Mar 1823		..	..
Stevenson, Andrew	JR	VA	1st	7-Org		....	5 Dec 1821	to	3 Mar 1823		..	..
McLane, Louis	F	DE	3rd	1-Rpl	Ch2	....	3 Dec 1822	to	3 Mar 1823		..	..
Cambreleng, Churchill C.	JR	NY	1st	2-Rpl		....	3 Dec 1822	to	3 Mar 1823		..	..
18th Congress												
McLane, Louis	F	DE	4th	1-Org	Chr	....	3 Dec 1823	to	3 Mar 1825		..	..
Ingham, Samuel D.	JR	PA	5th	2-Org		....	3 Dec 1823	to	3 Mar 1825		..	..
Thompson, Wiley	JR	GA	2nd	3-Org		....	3 Dec 1823	to	3 Mar 1825		..	..
Stevenson, Andrew	JR	VA	2nd	4-Org		....	3 Dec 1823	to	3 Mar 1825		..	..
Cambreleng, Churchill C.	JR	NY	2nd	5-Org		....	3 Dec 1823	to	3 Mar 1825		..	..
McDuffie, George	JR	SC	2nd	6-Org		....	3 Dec 1823	to	3 Mar 1825		..	..
McKim, Isaac	JR	MD	2nd	7-Org		....	3 Dec 1823	to	3 Mar 1825		..	..
19th Congress												
McLane, Louis	J	DE	5th	1-Org	Ch1	....	7 Dec 1825	to	19 Jan 1827	LB	EF	..
Cook, Daniel P.	AJ	IL	4th	2-Org		....	7 Dec 1825	to	3 Mar 1827		..	..
Stevenson, Andrew	J	VA	3rd	3-Org		....	7 Dec 1825	to	3 Mar 1827		..	..
McDuffie, George	J	SC	3rd	4-Org		....	7 Dec 1825	to	6 Dec 1826	CA	..	..
Dwight, Henry W.	AJ	MA	3rd	5-Org		....	7 Dec 1825	to	3 Mar 1827		..	..
Marvin, Dudley	AJ	NY	2nd	6-Org		....	7 Dec 1825	to	3 Mar 1827		..	..
Brent, William L.	AJ	LA	2nd	7-Org		....	7 Dec 1825	to	3 Mar 1827		..	..
Sprague, Peleg	AJ	ME	1st	1-Rpl		....	6 Dec 1826	to	3 Mar 1827		..	..
McDuffie, George	J	SC	3rd	2-Rpl	Ch2	....	19 Jan 1827	to	3 Mar 1827		..	..
20th Congress												
Randolph, John	J	VA	13th	1-Org	Ch1	....	6 Dec 1827	to	14 Dec 1827	CN	..	..
McDuffie, George	J	SC	4th	2-Org	Ch2	....	6 Dec 1827	to	3 Mar 1829		..	..
Sprague, Peleg	AJ	ME	2nd	3-Org		....	6 Dec 1827	to	3 Mar 1829	RH	EF	..
Verplanck, Gulian C.	J	NY	2nd	4-Org		....	6 Dec 1827	to	3 Mar 1829		..	..

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Dwight, Henry W.	AJ	MA	4th	5-Org		....	6 Dec 1827	to	3 Mar 1829		..	..
Brent, William L.	AJ	LA	3rd	6-Org		....	6 Dec 1827	to	3 Mar 1829		..	..
Gilmer, George R.	J	GA	2nd	7-Org		....	6 Dec 1827	to	3 Mar 1829		..	..
Smyth, Alexander	J	VA	5th	1-Rpl		....	14 Dec 1827	to	3 Mar 1829		..	..
21st Congress												
McDuffie, George	J	SC	5th	1-Org	Chr	....	10 Dec 1829	to	3 Mar 1831		..	..
Verplanck, Gulian C.	J	NY	3rd	2-Org		....	10 Dec 1829	to	3 Mar 1831		..	..
Dwight, Henry W.	AJ	MA	5th	3-Org		....	10 Dec 1829	to	3 Mar 1831		..	..
Smyth, Alexander	J	VA	6th	4-Org		....	10 Dec 1829	to	17 Apr 1830	MD	..	..
Ingersoll, Ralph I.	AJ	CT	3rd	5-Org		....	10 Dec 1829	to	3 Mar 1831		..	..
Gilmore, John	J	PA	1st	6-Org		....	10 Dec 1829	to	3 Mar 1831		..	..
Overton, Walter H.	J	LA	1st	7-Org		....	10 Dec 1829	to	3 Mar 1831		..	..
Barbour, Philip P.	J	VA	8th	1-Rpl		....	17 May 1830	to	15 Oct 1830	RH	AF	..
Alexander, Mark	J	VA	6th	2-Rpl		....	9 Dec 1830	to	3 Mar 1831		..	..
22nd Congress												
McDuffie, George	N	SC	6th	1-Org	Ch1	....	8 Dec 1831	to	6 Dec 1832	CA	..	..
Verplanck, Gulian C.	J	NY	4th	2-Org	Ch2	....	8 Dec 1831	to	3 Mar 1833		..	..
Ingersoll, Ralph I.	AJ	CT	4th	3-Org		....	8 Dec 1831	to	3 Mar 1833		..	..
Gilmore, John	J	PA	2nd	4-Org		....	8 Dec 1831	to	3 Mar 1833		..	..
Alexander, Mark	J	VA	7th	5-Org		....	8 Dec 1831	to	3 Mar 1833		..	..
Wilde, Richard H.	J	GA	5th	6-Org		....	8 Dec 1831	to	3 Mar 1833		..	..
Gaither, Nathan	J	KY	2nd	7-Org		....	8 Dec 1831	to	3 Mar 1833		..	..
Polk, James K.	J	TN	4th	1-Rpl		....	6 Dec 1832	to	3 Mar 1833		..	..
23rd Congress												
Polk, James K.	D	TN	5th	1-Org	Chr	....	5 Dec 1833	to	3 Mar 1835		..	..
Wilde, Richard H.	D	GA	6th	2-Org		....	5 Dec 1833	to	3 Mar 1835		..	..
Cambreleng, Churchill C.	D	NY	7th	3-Org		....	5 Dec 1833	to	3 Mar 1835		..	..
Gorham, Benjamin	AJ	MA	5th	4-Org		....	5 Dec 1833	to	4 Dec 1834	CA	..	..
McKim, Isaac	D	MD	3rd	5-Org		....	5 Dec 1833	to	3 Mar 1835		..	..
Binney, Horace	W	PA	1st	6-Org		....	5 Dec 1833	to	3 Mar 1835		..	..
Loyall, George	D	VA	2nd	7-Org		....	5 Dec 1833	to	3 Mar 1835		..	..
McKinley, John	D	AL	1st	8-Org		....	5 Dec 1833	to	3 Mar 1835		..	..
Hubbard, Henry	D	NH	3rd	9-Org		....	5 Dec 1833	to	3 Mar 1835		..	..
Corwin, Thomas	W	OH	2nd	1-Rpl		....	26 Feb 1834	to	3 Mar 1835		..	..
24th Congress												
Cambreleng, Churchill C.	D	NY	8th	1-Org	Chr	....	10 Dec 1835	to	3 Mar 1837		..	..
McKim, Isaac	D	MD	4th	2-Org		....	10 Dec 1835	to	3 Mar 1837		..	..
Loyall, George	D	VA	3rd	3-Org		....	10 Dec 1835	to	3 Mar 1837		..	..
Corwin, Thomas	W	OH	3rd	4-Org		....	10 Dec 1835	to	3 Mar 1837		..	..
Johnson, Cave	D	TN	4th	5-Org		....	10 Dec 1835	to	3 Mar 1837		..	..
Smith, Francis O. J.	D	ME	2nd	6-Org		....	10 Dec 1835	to	3 Mar 1837		..	..
Lawrence, Abbott	W	MA	1st	7-Org		....	10 Dec 1835	to	3 Mar 1837		..	..
Ingersoll, Joseph R.	W	PA	1st	8-Org		....	10 Dec 1835	to	3 Mar 1837		..	..
Owens, George W.	D	GA	1st	9-Org		....	10 Dec 1835	to	3 Mar 1837		..	..
25th Congress												
Cambreleng, Churchill C.	D	NY	9th	1-Org	Chr	....	11 Sep 1837	to	3 Mar 1839		..	..
McKim, Isaac	D	MD	5th	2-Org		....	11 Sep 1837	to	1 Apr 1838	MD	..	..
Owens, George W.	D	GA	2nd	3-Org		....	11 Sep 1837	to	7 Dec 1837	CA	..	..
Sergeant, John	W	PA	6th	4-Org		....	11 Sep 1837	to	3 Mar 1839		..	..
Hamer, Thomas L.	D	OH	3rd	5-Org		....	11 Sep 1837	to	6 Dec 1838	CA	..	..

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Jones, John W.	D	VA	2nd	6-Org		....	11 Sep 1837	to	3 Mar 1839		..	..
Fletcher, Richard	W	MA	1st	7-Org		....	11 Sep 1837	to	13 Dec 1837	CA	..	..
Atherton, Charles G.	D	NH	1st	8-Org		....	11 Sep 1837	to	3 Mar 1839		..	..
Rhett, R. Barnwell	D	SC	1st	9-Org		....	11 Sep 1837	to	7 Dec 1837	CA	..	..
Haynes, Charles	D	GA	5th	1-Rpl		....	7 Dec 1837	to	3 Mar 1839		..	..
Rencher, Abraham	W	NC	5th	2-Rpl		....	7 Dec 1837	to	3 Mar 1839		..	..
Briggs, George N.	W	MA	4th	3-Rpl		....	13 Dec 1837	to	18 Dec 1837	CN	..	..
Everett, Horace	W	VT	5th	4-Rpl		....	18 Dec 1837	to	19 Dec 1837	CN	..	..
Pope, John	D	KY	1st	5-Rpl		....	19 Dec 1837	to	3 Mar 1839		..	..
Rhett, R. Barnwell	D	SC	1st	6-Rpl		....	6 Apr 1838	to	3 Mar 1839		..	..
Webster, Taylor	D	OH	3rd	7-Rpl		....	6 Dec 1838	to	3 Mar 1839		..	..
26th Congress												
Jones, John W.	D	VA	3rd	1-Org	Chr	....	27 Dec 1839	to	3 Mar 1841		..	..
Biddle, Richard	W	PA	2nd	2-Org		....	27 Dec 1839	to	0 1840	RN	RT	..
Atherton, Charles G.	D	NH	2nd	3-Org		....	27 Dec 1839	to	3 Mar 1841		..	..
Lawrence, Abbott	W	MA	2nd	4-Org		....	27 Dec 1839	to	18 Sep 1840	RH	AF	..
Rhett, R. Barnwell	D	SC	2nd	5-Org		....	27 Dec 1839	to	10 Dec 1840	CA	..	..
Vanderpoel, Aaron	D	NY	3rd	6-Org		....	27 Dec 1839	to	3 Mar 1841		..	..
Evans, George	W	ME	6th	7-Org		....	27 Dec 1839	to	3 Mar 1841	RH	EF	..
Connor, Henry W.	D	NC	10th	8-Org		....	27 Dec 1839	to	3 Mar 1841		..	..
Cooper, Mark A.	W	GA	1st	9-Org		....	27 Dec 1839	to	3 Mar 1841		..	..
Mason, Samson	W	OH	3rd	1-Rpl		....	10 Dec 1840	to	3 Mar 1841		..	..
Saltonstall, Leverett	W	MA	2nd	2-Rpl		....	10 Dec 1840	to	3 Mar 1841		..	..
Hubbard, David	D	AL	1st	3-Rpl		....	10 Dec 1840	to	3 Mar 1841		..	..
27th Congress												
Fillmore, Millard	W	NY	4th	1-Org	Chr	....	7 Jun 1841	to	3 Mar 1843		..	..
Botts, John M.	W	VA	2nd	2-Org		....	7 Jun 1841	to	3 Mar 1843		..	..
Gilmer, Thomas W.	W	VA	1st	3-Org		....	7 Jun 1841	to	13 Dec 1841	CA	..	..
Mason, Samson	W	OH	4th	4-Org		....	7 Jun 1841	to	3 Mar 1843		..	..
Marshall, Thomas F.	W	KY	1st	5-Org		....	7 Jun 1841	to	3 Mar 1843		..	..
Rencher, Abraham	W	NC	6th	6-Org		....	7 Jun 1841	to	13 Dec 1841	CA	..	..
Pickens, Francis W.	D	SC	5th	7-Org		....	7 Jun 1841	to	13 Dec 1841	CA	..	..
Jones, John W.	D	VA	4th	8-Org		....	7 Jun 1841	to	3 Mar 1843		..	..
Atherton, Charles G.	D	NH	3rd	9-Org		....	7 Jun 1841	to	3 Mar 1843		..	..
Wallace, David	W	IN	1st	1-Rpl		....	13 Dec 1841	to	3 Mar 1843		..	..
Ingersoll, Joseph R.	W	PA	2nd	2-Rpl		....	13 Dec 1841	to	3 Mar 1843		..	..
Lewis, Dixon H.	SRD	AL	7th	3-Rpl		....	13 Dec 1841	to	12 Dec 1842	CA	..	..
Pickens, Francis W.	D	SC	5th	4-Rpl		....	12 Dec 1842	to	3 Mar 1843		..	..
28th Congress												
McKay, James I.	D	NC	7th	1-Org	Chr	....	11 Dec 1843	to	3 Mar 1845		..	..
Lewis, Dixon H.	SRD	AL	8th	2-Org		....	11 Dec 1843	to	7 May 1844	RH	EF	..
Ingersoll, Joseph R.	W	PA	3rd	3-Org		....	11 Dec 1843	to	3 Mar 1845		..	..
Dromgoole, George C.	D	VA	4th	4-Org		....	11 Dec 1843	to	3 Mar 1845		..	..
Barnard, Daniel D.	W	NY	4th	5-Org		....	11 Dec 1843	to	3 Mar 1845		..	..
Seymour, David L.	D	NY	1st	6-Org		....	11 Dec 1843	to	5 Dec 1844	CA	..	..
Weller, John B.	D	OH	3rd	7-Org		....	11 Dec 1843	to	3 Mar 1845		..	..
Chappell, Absalom H.	W	GA	1st	8-Org		....	11 Dec 1843	to	3 Mar 1845		..	..
Norris, Moses Jr.	D	NH	1st	9-Org		....	11 Dec 1843	to	3 Mar 1845		..	..
Bayly, Thomas H.	D	VA	1st	1-Rpl		....	10 May 1844	to	5 Dec 1844	CA	..	..
Rathbun, George	D	NY	1st	2-Rpl		....	5 Dec 1844	to	5 Dec 1844	CA	..	..
Davis, Garrett	W	KY	3rd	3-Rpl		....	5 Dec 1844	to	3 Mar 1845		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
				29th Congress								
McKay, James I.	D	NC	8th	1-Org	Chr	....	4 Dec 1845	to	3 Mar 1847		..	..
Dromgoole, George C.	D	VA	4th	2-Org		....	4 Dec 1845	to	3 Mar 1847		..	..
Ingersoll, Joseph R.	W	PA	4th	3-Org		....	4 Dec 1845	to	3 Mar 1847		..	..
Hungerford, Orville	D	NY	2nd	4-Org		....	4 Dec 1845	to	3 Mar 1847		..	..
Houston, George C.	D	AL	3rd	5-Org		....	4 Dec 1845	to	3 Mar 1847		..	..
Winthrop, Robert C.	W	MA	4th	6-Org		....	4 Dec 1845	to	3 Mar 1847		..	..
Norris, Moses Jr.	D	NH	2nd	7-Org		....	4 Dec 1845	to	3 Mar 1847		..	..
Vinton, Samuel F.	W	OH	9th	8-Org		....	4 Dec 1845	to	3 Mar 1847		..	..
Jones, Seaborn	D	GA	2nd	9-Org		....	4 Dec 1845	to	3 Mar 1847		..	..
				30th Congress								
Vinton, Samuel F.	W	OH	10th	1-Org	Chr	....	9 Dec 1847	to	3 Mar 1849		..	..
Toombs, Robert	W	GA	2nd	2-Org		....	9 Dec 1847	to	7 Mar 1848	CN	..	..
McKay, James I.	D	NC	9th	3-Org		....	9 Dec 1847	to	3 Mar 1849		..	..
Hudson, Charles	W	MA	4th	4-Org		....	9 Dec 1847	to	3 Mar 1849		..	..
Houston, George S.	D	AL	4th	5-Org		....	9 Dec 1847	to	7 Dec 1848	CA	..	..
Morehead, Charles S.	W	KY	1st	6-Org		....	9 Dec 1847	to	3 Mar 1849		..	..
Pollock, James	W	PA	3rd	7-Org		....	9 Dec 1847	to	3 Mar 1849		..	..
Hubbard, Samuel D.	W	CT	2nd	8-Org		....	9 Dec 1847	to	3 Mar 1849		..	..
Nicoll, Henry	D	NY	1st	9-Org		....	9 Dec 1847	to	3 Mar 1849		..	..
Stephens, Alexander H.	W	GA	3rd	1-Rpl		....	7 Dec 1848	to	3 Mar 1849		..	..
McDowell, James	D	VA	2nd	2-Rpl		....	7 Dec 1848	to	3 Mar 1849		..	..
				31st Congress								
Bayly, Thomas H.	D	VA	4th	1-Org	Chr	....	27 Dec 1849	to	3 Mar 1851		..	..
Thompson, Jacob	D	MS	6th	2-Org		....	27 Dec 1849	to	3 Mar 1851		..	..
Vinton, Samuel F.	W	OH	11th	3-Org		....	27 Dec 1849	to	3 Mar 1851		..	..
Green, James S.	D	MO	2nd	4-Org		....	27 Dec 1849	to	26 Sep 1850	CN	..	..
Toombs, Robert	W	GA	3rd	5-Org		....	27 Dec 1849	to	16 Sep 1850	CN	..	..
Hibbard, Harry	D	NH	1st	6-Org		....	27 Dec 1849	to	3 Mar 1851		..	..
Duer, William	W	NY	2nd	7-Org		....	27 Dec 1849	to	26 Sep 1850	CA	..	..
Jones, George W.	D	TN	4th	8-Org		....	27 Dec 1849	to	3 Mar 1851		..	..
Hampton, Moses	W	PA	2nd	9-Org		....	27 Dec 1849	to	3 Mar 1851		..	..
Stephens, Alexander H.	W	GA	4th	1-Rpl		....	16 Sep 1850	to	26 Sep 1850	CN	..	..
Wellborn, Marshall J.	D	GA	1st	2-Rpl		....	26 Sep 1850	to	5 Dec 1850	CA	..	..
Morehead, Charles S.	W	KY	2nd	3-Rpl		....	26 Sep 1850	to	5 Dec 1850	CA	..	..
Ashmun, George	W	MA	3rd	4-Rpl		....	26 Sep 1850	to	5 Dec 1850	CA	..	..
Green, James S.	D	MO	2nd	5-Rpl		....	5 Dec 1850	to	3 Mar 1851		..	..
Stephens, Alexander H.	W	GA	4th	6-Rpl		....	5 Dec 1850	to	4 Jan 1851	CN	..	..
Brooks, James	W	NY	1st	7-Rpl		....	5 Dec 1850	to	3 Mar 1851		..	..
Toombs, Robert	W	GA	3rd	8-Rpl		....	4 Jan 1851	to	3 Mar 1851		..	..
				32nd Congress								
Houston, George S.	D	AL	5th	1-Org	Chr	....	9 Dec 1851	to	3 Mar 1853		..	..
Jones, George W.	D	TN	5th	2-Org		....	9 Dec 1851	to	3 Mar 1853		..	..
Stanly, Edward	W	NC	5th	3-Org		....	9 Dec 1851	to	3 Mar 1853		..	..
Hibbard, Harry	D	NH	2nd	4-Org		....	9 Dec 1851	to	3 Mar 1853		..	..
Brooks, James	W	NY	2nd	5-Org		....	9 Dec 1851	to	3 Mar 1853		..	..
Jones, J. Glancy	D	PA	1st	6-Org		....	9 Dec 1851	to	3 Mar 1853		..	..
Appleton, William	W	MA	1st	7-Org		....	9 Dec 1851	to	3 Mar 1853		..	..
Dunham, Cyrus L.	D	IN	2nd	8-Org		....	9 Dec 1851	to	3 Mar 1853		..	..
Phelps, John S.	D	MO	4th	9-Org		....	9 Dec 1851	to	3 Mar 1853		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
33rd Congress												
Houston, George S.	D	AL	6th	1-Org	Chr	....	12 Dec 1853	to	3 Mar 1855		..	..
Jones, George W.	D	TN	6th	2-Org		....	12 Dec 1853	to	3 Mar 1855		..	..
Hibbard, Harry	D	NH	3rd	3-Org		....	12 Dec 1853	to	3 Mar 1855		..	..
Stephens, Alexander H.	D	GA	6th	4-Org		....	12 Dec 1853	to	3 Mar 1855		..	..
Phelps, John S.	D	MO	5th	5-Org		....	12 Dec 1853	to	3 Mar 1855		..	..
Appleton, William	W	MA	2nd	6-Org		....	12 Dec 1853	to	3 Mar 1855		..	..
Breckinridge, John C.	D	KY	2nd	7-Org		....	12 Dec 1853	to	3 Mar 1855		..	..
Haven, Solomon G.	W	NY	2nd	8-Org		....	12 Dec 1853	to	3 Mar 1855		..	..
Robbins, John Jr.	D	PA	3rd	9-Org		....	12 Dec 1853	to	3 Mar 1855		..	..
34th Congress												
Campbell, Lewis D.	R	OH	4th	1-Org	Chr	....	13 Feb 1856	to	3 Mar 1857		..	..
Howard, William A.	R	MI	1st	2-Org		....	13 Feb 1856	to	7 Apr 1856	CN	..	..
Cobb, Howell	D	GA	5th	3-Org		....	13 Feb 1856	to	3 Mar 1857		..	..
Jones, George W.	D	TN	7th	4-Org		....	13 Feb 1856	to	13 Feb 1856	CN	..	..
Davis, H. Winter	AP	MD	1st	5-Org		....	13 Feb 1856	to	3 Mar 1857		..	..
Sage, Russell	W	NY	2nd	6-Org		....	13 Feb 1856	to	3 Mar 1857		..	..
Phelps, John S.	D	MO	6th	7-Org		....	13 Feb 1856	to	3 Mar 1857		..	..
Campbell, James H.	W	PA	1st	8-Org		....	13 Feb 1856	to	3 Mar 1857		..	..
De Witt, Alexander	AP	MA	2nd	9-Org		....	13 Feb 1856	to	3 Mar 1857		..	..
Letcher, John	D	VA	3rd	1-Rpl		....	13 Feb 1856	to	3 Mar 1857		..	..
Billinghurst, Charles	R	WI	1st	2-Rpl		....	4 Dec 1856	to	3 Mar 1857		..	..
Howard, William A.	R	MI	1st	3-Rpl		....	4 Dec 1856	to	3 Mar 1857		..	..
35th Congress												
Jones, J. Glancy	D	PA	4th	1-Org	Ch1	....	14 Dec 1857	to	30 Oct 1858	RN	DE	..
Phelps, John S.	D	MO	7th	2-Org	Ch2	....	14 Dec 1857	to	3 Mar 1859		..	..
Banks, Nathaniel P.	R	MA	3rd	3-Org		....	14 Dec 1857	to	24 Dec 1857	RH	ES	..
Letcher, John	D	VA	4th	4-Org		....	14 Dec 1857	to	3 Mar 1859		..	..
Campbell, Lewis D.	R	OH	5th	5-Org		....	14 Dec 1857	to	25 May 1858		..	..
Davis, H. Winter	AP	MD	2nd	6-Org		....	14 Dec 1857	to	3 Mar 1859		..	..
Kelly, John	D	NY	2nd	7-Org		....	14 Dec 1857	to	25 Dec 1858	RH	ES	..
Howard, William A.	R	MI	2nd	8-Org		....	14 Dec 1857	to	3 Mar 1859		..	..
Dowdell, James F.	D	AL	3rd	9-Org		....	14 Dec 1857	to	3 Mar 1859		..	..
Crawford, Martin J.	D	GA	2nd	1-Rpl		....	7 Jan 1858	to	3 Mar 1859		..	..
Morrill, Justin S.	R	VT	2nd	2-Rpl		....	28 May 1858	to	3 Mar 1859		..	..
MacLay, William B.	D	NY	4th	3-Rpl		....	9 Dec 1858	to	3 Mar 1859		..	..
Phillips, Henry M.	D	PA	1st	4-Rpl		....	9 Dec 1858	to	3 Mar 1859		..	..
36th Congress												
Sherman, John	R	OH	3rd	1-Org	Chr	....	9 Feb 1860	to	3 Mar 1861		..	..
Davis, H. Winter	AP	MD	3rd	2-Org		....	9 Feb 1860	to	3 Mar 1861		..	..
Phelps, John S.	D	MO	8th	3-Org		....	9 Feb 1860	to	3 Mar 1861		..	..
Stevens, Thaddeus	UR	PA	3rd	4-Org		....	9 Feb 1860	to	3 Mar 1861		..	..
Washburn, Israel Jr.	R	ME	5th	5-Org		....	9 Feb 1860	to	3 Dec 1860	LB	ES	..
Millson, John S.	D	VA	6th	6-Org		....	9 Feb 1860	to	3 Mar 1861		..	..
Morrill, Justin S.	R	VT	3rd	7-Org		....	9 Feb 1860	to	3 Mar 1861		..	..
Crawford, Martin J.	D	GA	3rd	8-Org		....	9 Feb 1860	to	23 Jan 1861	CA	ES	..
Spaulding, Elbridge G.	R	NY	2nd	9-Org		....	9 Feb 1860	to	3 Mar 1861		..	..
Howard, William A.	R	MI	3rd	1-Rpl		....	3 Dec 1860	to	3 Mar 1861		..	..
37th Congress												
Stevens, Thaddeus	R	PA	4th	1-Org	Chr	....	8 Jul 1861	to	3 Mar 1863		..	..
Morrill, Justin S.	R	VT	4th	2-Org		....	8 Jul 1861	to	3 Mar 1863		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA	DOT	AE	MN	AN
Phelps, John S.	D	MO	9th	3-Org		....	8 Jul 1861	to 3 Mar 1863		..	..
Spaulding, Elbridge G.	R	NY	3rd	4-Org		....	8 Jul 1861	to 3 Mar 1863		..	..
Appleton, William	R	MA	3rd	5-Org		....	8 Jul 1861	to 27 Sep 1861	RN	RT	..
Corning, Erastus	D	NY	2nd	6-Org		....	8 Jul 1861	to 3 Mar 1863		..	..
Horton, Valentine B.	R	OH	3rd	7-Org		....	8 Jul 1861	to 3 Mar 1863		..	..
McClernand, John A.	D	IL	6th	8-Org		....	8 Jul 1861	to 28 Oct 1861	RN	RT	..
Stratton, John L. N.	R	NJ	2nd	9-Org		....	8 Jul 1861	to 3 Mar 1863		..	..
Maynard, Horace	AP	TN	3rd	1-Rpl		....	1 Dec 1861	to 3 Mar 1863		..	..
Hooper, Samuel	R	MA	1st	2-Rpl		....	5 Dec 1861	to 3 Mar 1863		..	..
38th Congress											
Stevens, Thaddeus	R	PA	5th	1-Maj	Chr	....	14 Dec 1863	to 3 Mar 1865		..	..
Morrill, Justin S.	R	VT	5th	2-Maj		....	14 Dec 1863	to 3 Mar 1865		..	..
Fenton, Reuben E.	R	NY	5th	3-Maj		....	14 Dec 1863	to 20 Dec 1864	RH	ES	..
Hooper, Samuel	R	MA	2nd	4-Maj		....	14 Dec 1863	to 3 Mar 1865		..	..
Mallory, Robert	U	KY	3rd	5-Maj		....	14 Dec 1863	to 3 Mar 1865		..	..
Blow, Henry T.	UU	MO	1st	6-Maj		....	14 Dec 1863	to 3 Mar 1865		..	..
Kasson, John A.	R	IA	1st	7-Maj		....	14 Dec 1863	to 3 Mar 1865		..	..
Pendleton, George H.	D	OH	4th	1-Min	RM	....	14 Dec 1863	to 3 Mar 1865		..	..
Stebbins, Henry G.	D	NY	1st	2-Min		....	14 Dec 1863	to 24 Oct 1864	RN	RT	..
Littlejohn, De Witt C.	R	NY	1st	1-MjR		....	12 Dec 1864	to 3 MjR 1865		..	..
Pruyn, John V. L.	D	NY	1st	1-MnR		....	12 Dec 1864	to 3 Mar 1865		..	..
39th Congress											
Morrill, Justin S.	R	VT	6th	1-Maj	Chr	....	11 Dec 1865	to 3 Mar 1867		..	..
Hooper, Samuel	R	MA	3rd	2-Maj		....	11 Dec 1865	to 3 Mar 1867		..	..
Garfield, James A.	R	OH	2nd	3-Maj		....	11 Dec 1865	to 3 Mar 1867		..	..
Wentworth, John	R	IL	6th	4-Maj		....	11 Dec 1865	to 3 Mar 1867		..	..
Conkling, Roscoe	R	NY	3rd	5-Maj		....	11 Dec 1865	to 4 Mar 1867	RH	EF	..
Moorhead, James K.	R	PA	4th	6-Maj		....	11 Dec 1865	to 3 Mar 1867		..	..
Allison, William B.	R	IA	2nd	7-Maj		....	11 Dec 1865	to 3 Mar 1867		..	..
Brooks, James	D	NY	4th	1-Min	RM1	....	11 Dec 1865	to 7 Apr 1866		..	..
Hogan, John	D	MO	1st	2-Min	RM2	....	11 Dec 1865	to 3 Mar 1867		..	..
Winfield, Charles H.	D	NY	2nd	1-MnR		....	9 Apr 1865	to 3 Mar 1867		..	..
40th Congress											
Schenck, Robert C.	R	OH	7th	1-Maj	Chr	....	25 Nov 1867	to 3 Mar 1869		..	..
Hooper, Samuel	R	MA	4th	2-Maj		....	25 Nov 1867	to 3 Mar 1869		..	..
Moorhead, James K.	R	PA	5th	3-Maj		....	25 Nov 1867	to 3 Mar 1869		..	..
Allison, William B.	R	IA	3rd	4-Maj		....	25 Nov 1867	to 3 Mar 1869		..	..
Griswold, John A.	R	NY	3rd	5-Maj		....	25 Nov 1867	to 3 Mar 1869		..	..
Logan, John A.	R	IL	3rd	6-Maj		....	25 Nov 1867	to 3 Mar 1869		..	..
Maynard, Horace	R	TN	5th	7-Maj		....	25 Nov 1867	to 3 Mar 1869		..	..
Brooks, James	D	NY	5th	1-Min	RM	....	25 Nov 1867	to 3 Mar 1869		..	..
Niblack, William E.	D	IN	4th	2-Min		....	25 Nov 1867	to 3 Mar 1869		..	..
41st Congress											
Schenck, Robert C.	R	OH	8th	1-Maj	Ch1	....	15 Mar 1869	to 5 Jan 1871	RH	AF	..
Hooper, Samuel	R	MA	5th	2-Maj	Ch2	....	15 Mar 1869	to 3 Mar 1871		..	..
Allison, William B.	R	IA	4th	3-Maj		....	15 Mar 1869	to 3 Mar 1871		..	..
Maynard, Horace	R	TN	6th	4-Maj		....	15 Mar 1869	to 3 Mar 1871		..	..
Kelley, William D.	R	PA	5th	5-Maj		....	15 Mar 1869	to 3 Mar 1871		..	..
Orth, Godlove S.	R	IN	4th	6-Maj		....	15 Mar 1869	to 15 Mar 1869	CA	..	..
McCarthy, Dennis	R	NY	2nd	7-Maj		....	15 Mar 1869	to 3 Mar 1871		..	..
Brooks, James	D	NY	6th	1-Min	RM	....	15 Mar 1869	to 3 Mar 1871		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Marshall, Samuel S.	D	IL	5th	2-Min		....	15 Mar 1869	to	3 Mar 1871		..	..
Blair, Austin	R	MI	2nd	1-MjR		....	16 Mar 1869	to	3 Mar 1871		..	..
42nd Congress												
Dawes, Henry L.	R	MA	8th	1-Maj	Chr	....	4 Dec 1871	to	3 Mar 1873		..	..
Maynard, Horace	R	TN	7th	2-Maj		....	4 Dec 1871	to	3 Mar 1873		..	..
Kelley, William D.	R	PA	6th	3-Maj		....	4 Dec 1871	to	3 Mar 1873		..	..
Finkelburg, Gustavus A.	LR	MO	2nd	4-Maj		....	4 Dec 1871	to	3 Mar 1873		..	..
Burchard, Horatio C.	R	IL	2nd	5-Maj		....	4 Dec 1871	to	3 Mar 1873		..	..
Roberts, Ellis H.	R	NY	1st	6-Maj		....	4 Dec 1871	to	3 Mar 1873		..	..
Brooks, James	D	NY	7th	1-Min	RM	....	4 Dec 1871	to	3 Mar 1873		..	..
Kerr, Michael C.	D	IN	4th	2-Min		....	4 Dec 1871	to	3 Mar 1873		..	..
Beck, James B.	D	KY	3rd	3-Min		....	4 Dec 1871	to	3 Mar 1873		..	..
43rd Congress												
Dawes, Henry L.	R	MA	9th	1-Maj	Chr	....	5 Dec 1873	to	3 Mar 1875		..	..
Kelley, William D.	R	PA	7th	2-Maj		....	5 Dec 1873	to	3 Mar 1875		..	..
Burchard, Horatio C.	R	IL	3rd	3-Maj		....	5 Dec 1873	to	3 Mar 1875		..	..
Roberts, Ellis H.	R	NY	2nd	4-Maj		....	5 Dec 1873	to	3 Mar 1875		..	..
Kasson, John A.	R	IA	3rd	5-Maj		....	5 Dec 1873	to	3 Mar 1875		..	..
Waldron, Henry	R	MI	5th	6-Maj		....	5 Dec 1873	to	3 Mar 1875		..	..
Sheldon, Lionel A.	R	LA	3rd	7-Maj		....	5 Dec 1873	to	3 Mar 1875		..	..
Foster, Charles	R	OH	2nd	8-Maj		....	5 Dec 1873	to	3 Mar 1875		..	..
Beck, James B.	D	KY	4th	1-Min	RM	....	5 Dec 1873	to	3 Mar 1875		..	..
Niblack, William E.	D	IN	7th	2-Min		....	5 Dec 1873	to	3 Mar 1875		..	..
Wood, Fernando	D	NY	6th	3-Min		....	5 Dec 1873	to	3 Mar 1875		..	..
44th Congress												
Morrison, William R.	D	IL	3rd	1-Maj	Chr	....	20 Dec 1875	to	3 Mar 1877		..	..
Wood, Fernando	D	NY	7th	2-Maj		....	20 Dec 1875	to	3 Mar 1877		..	..
Hancock, John	D	TX	3rd	3-Maj		....	20 Dec 1875	to	3 Mar 1877		..	..
Thomas, Phillip F.	D	MD	2nd	4-Maj		....	20 Dec 1875	to	3 Mar 1877		..	..
Hill, Benjamin H.	D	GA	1st	5-Maj		....	20 Dec 1875	to	3 Mar 1877	RH	EF	..
Chapin, Chester W.	D	MA	1st	6-Maj		....	20 Dec 1875	to	3 Mar 1877		..	..
Tucker, John R.	D	VA	1st	7-Maj		....	20 Dec 1875	to	3 Mar 1877		..	..
Blaine, James G.	R	ME	7th	1-Min	RM1	....	20 Dec 1875	to	10 Jul 1876	RH	EF	..
Kelley, William D.	R	PA	8th	2-Min	RM2	....	20 Dec 1875	to	3 Mar 1877		..	..
Garfield, James A.	R	OH	7th	3-Maj		....	20 Dec 1875	to	3 Mar 1877		..	..
Burchard, Horatio C.	R	IL	4th	4-Min		....	20 Dec 1875	to	3 Mar 1877		..	..
Watterson, Henry	D	KY	1st	1-MjR		....	13 Dec 1876	to	3 Mar 1877		..	..
45th Congress												
Wood, Fernando	D	NY	8th	1-Maj	Chr	....	29 Oct 1877	to	3 Mar 1879		..	..
Tucker, John R.	D	VA	2nd	2-Maj		....	29 Oct 1877	to	3 Mar 1879		..	..
Sayler, Milton	D	OH	3rd	3-Maj		....	29 Oct 1877	to	3 Mar 1879		..	..
Robbins, William M.	D	NC	3rd	4-Maj		....	29 Oct 1877	to	3 Mar 1879		..	..
Harris, Henry R.	D	GA	3rd	5-Maj		....	29 Oct 1877	to	3 Mar 1879		..	..
Gibson, Randall L.	D	LA	2nd	6-Maj		....	29 Oct 1877	to	3 Mar 1879		..	..
Phelps, James	D	CT	2nd	7-Maj		....	29 Oct 1877	to	3 Mar 1879		..	..
Kelley, William D.	R	PA	9th	1-Min	RM	....	29 Oct 1877	to	3 Mar 1879		..	..
Garfield, James A.	R	OH	8th	2-Min		....	29 Oct 1877	to	3 Mar 1879		..	..
Burchard, Horatio C.	R	IL	5th	3-Min		....	29 Oct 1877	to	3 Mar 1879		..	..
Banks, Nathaniel P.	R	MA	9th	4-Min		....	29 Oct 1877	to	3 Mar 1879		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
46th Congress												
Wood, Fernando	D	NY	9th	1-Maj	Ch1	....	11 Apr 1879	to	13 Feb 1881	MD	..	..
Tucker, John R.	D	VA	3rd	2-Maj	Ch2	....	11 Apr 1879	to	3 Mar 1881		..	..
Gibson, Randall L.	D	LA	3rd	3-Maj		....	11 Apr 1879	to	3 Mar 1881		..	..
Phelps, James	D	CT	3rd	4-Maj		....	11 Apr 1879	to	3 Mar 1881		..	..
Morrison, William R.	D	IL	5th	5-Maj		....	11 Apr 1879	to	3 Mar 1881		..	..
Mills, Roger Q.	D	TX	4th	6-Maj		....	11 Apr 1879	to	3 Mar 1881		..	..
Carlisle, John G.	D	KY	2nd	7-Maj		....	11 Apr 1879	to	3 Mar 1881		..	..
Felton, William H.	D	GA	3rd	8-Maj		....	11 Apr 1879	to	3 Mar 1881		..	..
Garfield, James A.	R	OH	9th	1-Min	RM1	....	11 Apr 1879	to	8 Nov 1880	RH	EF	..
Kelley, William D.	R	PA	10th	2-Min	RM2	....	11 Apr 1879	to	3 Mar 1881		..	..
Conger, Omar D.	R	MI	6th	3-Min		....	11 Apr 1879	to	3 Mar 1881		EF	..
Frye, William P.	R	ME	5th	4-Min		....	11 Apr 1879	to	3 Mar 1881		..	..
Dunnell, Mark H.	R	MN	5th	5-Min		....	11 Apr 1879	to	3 Mar 1881		..	..
McKinley, William Jr.	R	OH	2nd	1-MnR		....	20 Dec 1880	to	3 Mar 1881		..	..
47th Congress												
Kelley, William D.	R	PA	11th	1-Maj	Chr	....	21 Dec 1881	to	3 Mar 1883		..	..
Kasson, John A.	R	IA	5th	2-Maj		....	21 Dec 1881	to	3 Mar 1883		..	..
Dunnell, Mark H.	R	MN	6th	3-Maj		....	21 Dec 1881	to	3 Mar 1883		..	..
McKinley, William Jr.	R	OH	3rd	4-Maj		....	21 Dec 1881	to	3 Mar 1883		..	..
Hubbell, Jay A.	R	MI	5th	5-Maj		....	21 Dec 1881	to	3 Mar 1883		..	..
Haskell, Dudley C.	R	KS	3rd	6-Maj		....	21 Dec 1881	to	3 Mar 1883		..	..
Russell, William A.	R	MA	2nd	7-Maj		....	21 Dec 1881	to	3 Mar 1883		..	..
Errett, Russell	R	PA	3rd	8-Maj		....	21 Dec 1881	to	3 Mar 1883		..	..
Randall, Samuel J.	D	PA	10th	1-Min	RM	....	21 Dec 1881	to	3 Mar 1883		..	..
Tucker, John R.	D	VA	4th	2-Min		....	21 Dec 1881	to	3 Mar 1883		..	..
Carlisle, John G.	D	KY	3rd	3-Min		....	21 Dec 1881	to	3 Mar 1883		..	..
Morrison, William R.	D	IL	6th	4-Min		....	21 Dec 1881	to	3 Mar 1883		..	..
Speer, Emory	I	GA	2nd	5-Min		....	21 Dec 1881	to	3 Mar 1883		..	..
48th Congress												
Morrison, William R.	D	IL	7th	1-Maj	Chr	....	24 Dec 1883	to	3 Mar 1885		..	..
Mills, Roger Q.	D	TX	6th	2-Maj		....	24 Dec 1883	to	3 Mar 1885		..	..
Blount, James H.	D	GA	6th	3-Maj		....	24 Dec 1883	to	3 Mar 1885		..	..
Blackburn, Joseph C. S.	D	KY	5th	4-Maj		....	24 Dec 1883	to	3 Mar 1885		..	..
Hewitt, Abram S.	D	NY	4th	5-Maj		....	24 Dec 1883	to	3 Mar 1885		..	..
Herbert, Hilary A.	D	AL	4th	6-Maj		....	24 Dec 1883	to	3 Mar 1885		..	..
Hurd, Frank H.	D	OH	3rd	7-Maj		....	24 Dec 1883	to	3 Mar 1885		..	..
Jones, James K.	D	AR	2nd	8-Maj		....	24 Dec 1883	to	19 Feb 1885	RH	EF	..
Kelley, William D.	R	PA	12th	1-Min	RM	....	24 Dec 1883	to	3 Mar 1885		..	..
Kasson, John A.	R	IA	6th	2-Min		....	24 Dec 1883	to	5 Jul 1884	LB	AF	..
McKinley, William Jr.	R	OH	4th	3-Min		....	24 Dec 1883	to	27 May 1884		..	..
Hiscock, Frank	R	NY	4th	4-Min		....	24 Dec 1883	to	3 Mar 1885		..	..
Russell, William A.	R	MA	3rd	5-Min		....	24 Dec 1883	to	3 Mar 1885		..	..
Browne, Thomas M.	R	IN	4th	1-MnR		....	5 Jul 1884	to	3 Mar 1885		..	..
Reed, Thomas B.	R	ME	4th	2-MnR		....	5 Jul 1884	to	3 Mar 1885		..	..
49th Congress												
Morrison, William R.	D	IL	8th	1-Maj	Chr	....	7 Jan 1886	to	3 Mar 1887		..	..
Mills, Roger Q.	D	TX	7th	2-Maj		....	7 Jan 1886	to	3 Mar 1887		..	..
Hewitt, Abram S.	D	NY	5th	3-Maj		....	7 Jan 1886	to	30 Dec 1886	RH	ES	..
McMillian, Benton	D	TN	4th	4-Maj		....	7 Jan 1886	to	3 Mar 1887		..	..
Harris, Henry R.	D	GA	4th	5-Maj		....	7 Jan 1886	to	3 Mar 1887		..	..
Breckenridge, Clifton R.	D	AR	2nd	6-Maj		....	7 Jan 1886	to	3 Mar 1887		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Maybury, William C.	D	MI	2nd	7-Maj		....	7 Jan 1886	to	3 Mar 1887		..	..
Breckenridge, William C.P.	D	KY	1st	8-Maj		....	7 Jan 1886	to	3 Mar 1887		..	..
Kelley, William D.	R	PA	13th	1-Min	RM	....	7 Jan 1886	to	3 Mar 1887		..	..
Hiscock, Frank	R	NY	5th	2-Min		....	7 Jan 1886	to	3 Mar 1887	RH	EF	..
Browne, Thomas M.	R	IN	5th	3-Min		....	7 Jan 1886	to	3 Mar 1887		..	..
Reed, Thomas B.	R	ME	5th	4-Min		....	7 Jan 1886	to	3 Mar 1887		..	..
McKinley, William Jr.	R	OH	5th	5-Min		....	7 Jan 1886	to	3 Mar 1887		..	..
				50th Congress								
Mills, Roger Q.	D	TX	8th	1-Maj	Chr	....	5 Jan 1888	to	3 Mar 1889		..	..
McMillin, Benton	D	TN	5th	2-Maj		....	5 Jan 1888	to	3 Mar 1889		..	..
Breckenridge, Clifton R.	D	AR	3rd	3-Maj		....	5 Jan 1888	to	3 Mar 1889		..	..
Breckenridge, William C.P	D	KY	2nd	4-Maj		....	5 Jan 1888	to	3 Mar 1889		..	..
Turner, Henry G.	D	GA	4th	5-Maj		....	5 Jan 1888	to	3 Mar 1889		..	..
Wilson, William L.	D	WV	3rd	6-Maj		....	5 Jan 1888	to	3 Mar 1889		..	..
Scott, William L.	D	PA	2nd	7-Maj		....	5 Jan 1888	to	3 Mar 1889		..	..
Bynum, William D.	D	IN	2nd	8-Maj		....	5 Jan 1888	to	3 Mar 1889		..	..
Kelley, William D.	R	PA	14th	1-Min	RM	....	5 Jan 1888	to	3 Mar 1889		..	..
Browne, Thomas M.	R	IN	6th	2-Min		....	5 Jan 1888	to	3 Mar 1889		..	..
Reed, Thomas B.	R	ME	6th	3-Min		....	5 Jan 1888	to	3 Mar 1889		..	..
McKinley, William Jr.	R	OH	6th	4-Min		....	5 Jan 1888	to	3 Mar 1889		..	..
Burrows, Julius C.	R	MI	5th	5-Min		....	5 Jan 1888	to	3 Mar 1889		..	..
				51st Congress								
McKinley, William Jr.	R	OH	7th	1-Maj	Chr	....	9 Dec 1889	to	3 Mar 1891		..	..
Burrows, Julius C.	R	MI	6th	2-Maj		....	9 Dec 1889	to	3 Mar 1891		..	..
Bayne, Thomas M.	R	PA	7th	3-Maj		....	9 Dec 1889	to	3 Mar 1891		..	..
Dingley, Nelson Jr.	R	ME	5th	4-Maj		....	9 Dec 1889	to	3 Mar 1891		..	..
McKenna, Joseph	R	CA	3rd	5-Maj		....	9 Dec 1889	to	3 Mar 1891		..	..
Payne, Sereno E.	R	NY	3rd	6-Maj		....	9 Dec 1889	to	3 Mar 1891		..	..
La Follette, Robert M.	R	WI	3rd	7-Maj		....	9 Dec 1889	to	3 Mar 1891		..	..
Gear, John H.	R	IA	3rd	8-Maj		....	9 Dec 1889	to	3 Mar 1891		..	..
Carlisle, John G.	D	KY	7th	1-Min	RM1	....	9 Dec 1889	to	26 May 1890	RH	EF	..
Mills, Roger Q.	D	TX	9th	2-Min	RM2	....	9 Dec 1889	to	3 Mar 1891		..	..
McMillin, Benton	D	TN	6th	3-Min		....	9 Dec 1889	to	3 Mar 1891		..	..
Breckenridge, Clifton R.	D	AR	4th	4-Min		....	9 Dec 1889	to	5 Sep 1890		..	..
Flower, Roswell P.	D	NY	2nd	5-Min		....	9 Dec 1889	to	3 Mar 1891		..	..
Turner, Henry G.	D	GA	5th	1-MnR		....	11 Jun 1890	to	3 Mar 1891		..	..
Breckenridge, Clifton R.	D	AR	4th	2-MnR		....	23 Dec 1890	to	3 Mar 1891		..	..
				52nd Congress								
Springer, William M.	D	IL	9th	1-Maj	Chr	....	23 Dec 1891	to	3 Mar 1893		..	..
McMillin, Benton	D	TN	7th	2-Maj		....	23 Dec 1891	to	3 Mar 1893		..	..
Turner, Henry G.	D	GA	6th	3-Maj		....	23 Dec 1891	to	3 Mar 1893		..	..
Wilson, William L.	D	WV	5th	4-Maj		....	23 Dec 1891	to	3 Mar 1893		..	..
Montgomery, Alexander B.	D	KY	3rd	5-Maj		....	23 Dec 1891	to	3 Mar 1893		..	..
Whiting, Justin R.	D	MI	3rd	6-Maj		....	23 Dec 1891	to	3 Mar 1893		..	..
Shively, Benjamin F.	D	IN	4th	7-Maj		....	23 Dec 1891	to	3 Mar 1893		..	..
Cockran, W. Bourke	D	NY	2nd	8-Maj		....	23 Dec 1891	to	3 Mar 1893		..	..
Stevens, Moses T.	D	MA	1st	9-Maj		....	23 Dec 1891	to	3 Mar 1893		..	..
Bryan, William J.	D	NE	1st	10-Maj		....	23 Dec 1891	to	3 Mar 1893		..	..
Reed, Thomas B.	R	ME	8th	1-Min	RM	....	23 Dec 1891	to	3 Mar 1893		..	..
Burrows, Julius C.	R	MI	7th	2-Min		....	23 Dec 1891	to	3 Mar 1893		..	..
McKenna, Joseph	R	CA	4th	3-Min		....	23 Dec 1891	to	28 Mar 1892	RH	AF	..
Payne, Sereno E.	R	NY	4th	4-Min		....	23 Dec 1891	to	3 Mar 1893		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Dalzell, John	R	PA	3rd	5-Min		....	23 Dec 1891	to	3 Mar 1893		..	..
Hopkins, Albert J.	R	IL	4th	1-MnR		....	30 Mar 1892	to	3 Mar 1893		..	..
53rd Congress												
Wilson, William L.	D	WV	6th	1-Maj	Chr	....	21 Aug 1893	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
McMillin, Benton	D	TN	8th	2-Maj		....	21 Aug 1893	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
Turner, Henry G.	D	GA	7th	3-Maj		....	21 Aug 1893	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
Montgomery, Alexander B.	D	KY	4th	4-Maj		....	21 Aug 1893	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
Whiting, Justin R.	D	MI	4th	5-Maj		....	21 Aug 1893	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
Cockran, W. Bourke	D	NY	3rd	6-Maj		....	21 Aug 1893	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
Stevens, Moses T.	D	MA	2nd	7-Maj		....	21 Aug 1893	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
Bryan, William J.	D	NE	2nd	8-Maj		....	21 Aug 1893	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
Breckenridge, Clifton R.	D	AR	6th	9-Maj		....	21 Aug 1893	to	14 Aug 1894	RH	AF	..
Bynum, William D.	D	IN	5th	10-Maj		....	21 Aug 1893	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
Tarsney, John C.	D	MO	3rd	11-Maj		....	21 Aug 1893	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
Reed, Thomas B.	R	ME	9th	1-Min	RM	....	21 Aug 1893	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
Burrows, Julius C.	R	MI	8th	2-Min		....	21 Aug 1893	to	19 Jan 1895	LB	EF	..
Payne, Sereno E.	R	NY	5th	3-Min		....	21 Aug 1893	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
Dalzell, John	R	PA	4th	4-Min		....	21 Aug 1893	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
Hopkins, Albert J.	R	IL	5th	5-Min		....	21 Aug 1893	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
Gear, John H.	R	IA	4th	6-Min		....	21 Aug 1893	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
Wheeler, Joseph	D	AL	6th	1-MjR		....	6 Dec 1894	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
Grosvenor, Charles H.	R	OH	4th	1-MnR		....	19 Jan 1895	to	3 Mar 1895		..	..
54th Congress												
Dingley, Nelson Jr.	R	ME	8th	1-Maj	Chr	....	21 Dec 1895	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
Payne, Sereno E.	R	NY	6th	2-Maj		....	21 Dec 1895	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
Dalzell, John	R	PA	5th	3-Maj		....	21 Dec 1895	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
Hopkins, Albert J.	R	IL	6th	4-Maj		....	21 Dec 1895	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
Grosvenor, Charles H.	R	OH	5th	5-Maj		....	21 Dec 1895	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
Russell, Charles A.	R	CT	5th	6-Maj		....	21 Dec 1895	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
Dolliver, Jonathan P.	R	IA	4th	7-Maj		....	21 Dec 1895	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
Steele, George W.	R	IN	5th	8-Maj		....	21 Dec 1895	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
Johnson, Martin N.	R	ND	3rd	9-Maj		....	21 Dec 1895	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
Evans, Walter	R	KY	1st	10-Maj		....	21 Dec 1895	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
Tawney, James A.	R	MN	2nd	11-Maj		....	21 Dec 1895	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
Crisp, Charles F.	D	GA	7th	1-Min	RM1	....	21 Dec 1895	to	23 Oct 1896	MD	..	..
McMillin, Benton	D	TN	9th	2-Min	RM2	....	21 Dec 1895	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
Turner, Henry G.	D	GA	8th	3-Min		....	21 Dec 1895	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
Tarsney, John C.	D	MO	4th	4-Min		....	21 Dec 1895	to	27 Feb 1896		..	..
Wheeler, Joseph	D	AL	7th	5-Min		....	21 Dec 1895	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
McLaurin, John L.	D	SC	3rd	6-Min		....	21 Dec 1895	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
Cobb, Seth W.	D	MO	3rd	1-MnR		....	16 Apr 1896	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
Boatner, Charles J.	D	LA	4th	2-MnR		....	12 Jan 1897	to	3 Mar 1897		..	..
55th Congress												
Dingley, Nelson Jr.	R	ME	9th	1-Maj	Ch1	....	15 Mar 1897	to	13 Jan 1899	MD	..	..
Payne, Sereno E.	R	NY	7th	2-Maj	Ch2	....	15 Mar 1897	to	3 Mar 1899		..	..
Dalzell, John	R	PA	6th	3-Maj		....	15 Mar 1897	to	3 Mar 1899		..	..
Hopkins, Albert J.	R	IL	7th	4-Maj		....	15 Mar 1897	to	3 Mar 1899		..	..
Grosvenor, Charles H.	R	OH	6th	5-Maj		....	15 Mar 1897	to	3 Mar 1899		..	..
Russell, Charles A.	R	CT	6th	6-Maj		....	15 Mar 1897	to	3 Mar 1899		..	..
Dolliver, Jonathan P.	R	IA	5th	7-Maj		....	15 Mar 1897	to	3 Mar 1899		..	..
Steele, George W.	R	IN	6th	8-Maj		....	15 Mar 1897	to	3 Mar 1899		..	..
Johnson, Martin N.	R	ND	4th	9-Maj		....	15 Mar 1897	to	3 Mar 1899		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Evans, Walter	R	KY	2nd	10-Maj		....	15 Mar 1897	to	3 Mar 1899		..	..
Tawney, James A.	R	MN	3rd	11-Maj		....	15 Mar 1897	to	3 Mar 1899		..	..
Bailey, Joseph W.	D	TX	4th	1-Min	RM	....	15 Mar 1897	to	3 Mar 1899		..	..
McMillin, Benton	D	TN	10th	2-Min		....	15 Mar 1897	to	16 Jan 1899	RH	ES	..
Wheeler, Joseph	D	AL	8th	3-Min		....	15 Mar 1897	to	3 Mar 1899		..	..
McLaurin, John L.	D	SC	4th	4-Min		....	15 Mar 1897	to	31 May 1897	RH	EF	..
Robertson, Samuel M.	D	LA	6th	5-Min		....	15 Mar 1897	to	3 Mar 1899		..	..
Swanson, Claude A.	D	VA	3rd	6-Min		....	15 Mar 1897	to	3 Mar 1899		..	..
McClellan, George B.	D	NY	2nd	1-MnR		....	22 Jul 1897	to	3 Mar 1899		..	..
Richardson, James D.	D	TN	7th	2-MnR		....	20 Jan 1899	to	3 Mar 1899		..	..

56th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Payne, Sereno E.	R	NY	8th	1-Maj	Chr	....	18 Dec 1899	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..
Dalzell, John	R	PA	7th	2-Maj		....	18 Dec 1899	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..
Hopkins, Albert J.	R	IL	8th	3-Maj		....	18 Dec 1899	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..
Grosvenor, Charles H.	R	OH	7th	4-Maj		....	18 Dec 1899	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..
Russell, Charles A.	R	CT	7th	5-Maj		....	18 Dec 1899	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..
Dolliver, Jonathan P.	R	IA	6th	6-Maj		....	18 Dec 1899	to	22 Aug 1900	RH	EF	..
Steele, George W.	R	IN	7th	7-Maj		....	18 Dec 1899	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..
Tawney, James A.	R	MN	4th	8-Maj		....	18 Dec 1899	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..
McCall, Samuel W.	R	MA	4th	9-Maj		....	18 Dec 1899	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..
Long, Chester I.	R	KS	2nd	10-Maj		....	18 Dec 1899	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..
Richardson, James D.	D	TN	8th	1-Min	RM	....	18 Dec 1899	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..
Robertson, Samuel M.	D	LA	7th	2-Min		....	18 Dec 1899	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..
Swanson, Claude A.	D	VA	4th	3-Min		....	18 Dec 1899	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..
McClellan, George B.	D	NY	3rd	4-Min		....	18 Dec 1899	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..
Newlands, Francis G.	D	NV	4th	5-Min		....	18 Dec 1899	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..
Cooper, S. Bronson	D	TX	4th	6-Min		....	18 Dec 1899	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..
Underwood, Oscar W.	D	AL	3rd	1-MnR		....	5 Mar 1900	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..
Babcock, Joseph W.	R	WI	3rd	1-MjR		....	3 Dec 1900	to	3 Mar 1901		..	..

57th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Payne, Sereno E.	R	NY	9th	1-Maj	Chr	....	6 Dec 1901	to	3 Mar 1903		..	..
Dalzell, John	R	PA	8th	2-Maj		....	6 Dec 1901	to	3 Mar 1903		..	..
Hopkins, Albert J.	R	IL	9th	3-Maj		....	6 Dec 1901	to	3 Mar 1903		..	..
Grosvenor, Charles H.	R	OH	8th	4-Maj		....	6 Dec 1901	to	3 Mar 1903		..	..
Russell, Charles A.	R	CT	8th	5-Maj		....	6 Dec 1901	to	23 Oct 1902	MD	..	..
Steele, George W.	R	IN	8th	6-Maj		....	6 Dec 1901	to	3 Mar 1903		..	..
Tawney, James A.	R	MN	5th	7-Maj		....	6 Dec 1901	to	3 Mar 1903		..	..
McCall, Samuel W.	R	MA	5th	8-Maj		....	6 Dec 1901	to	3 Mar 1903		..	..
Long, Chester I.	R	KS	3rd	9-Maj		....	6 Dec 1901	to	4 Mar 1903	RH	EF	..
Babcock, Joseph W.	R	WI	5th	10-Maj		....	6 Dec 1901	to	3 Mar 1903		..	..
Metcalf, Victor H.	R	CA	2nd	11-Maj		....	6 Dec 1901	to	3 Mar 1903		..	..
Richardson, James D.	D	TN	9th	1-Min	RM	....	6 Dec 1901	to	3 Mar 1903		..	..
Robertson, Samuel M.	D	LA	8th	2-Min		....	6 Dec 1901	to	3 Mar 1903		..	..
Swanson, Claude A.	D	VA	5th	3-Min		....	6 Dec 1901	to	3 Mar 1903		..	..
McClellan, George B.	D	NY	4th	4-Min		....	6 Dec 1901	to	3 Mar 1903		..	..
Newlands, Francis G.	D	NV	5th	5-Min		....	6 Dec 1901	to	3 Mar 1903		..	..
Cooper, S. Bronson	D	TX	5th	6-Min		....	6 Dec 1901	to	3 Mar 1903		..	..
Hill, Ebenezer J.	R	CT	4th	1-MjR		....	2 Dec 1902	to	3 Mar 1903		..	..

58th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Payne, Sereno E.	R	NY	10th	1-Maj	Chr	....	12 Nov 1903	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..
Dalzell, John	R	PA	9th	2-Maj		....	12 Nov 1903	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..
Grosvenor, Charles H.	R	OH	9th	3-Maj		....	12 Nov 1903	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Tawney, James A.	R	MN	6th	4-Maj		....	12 Nov 1903	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..
McCall, Samuel W.	R	MA	6th	5-Maj		....	12 Nov 1903	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..
Babcock, Joseph W.	R	WI	6th	6-Maj		....	12 Nov 1903	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..
Metcalf, Victor H.	R	CA	3rd	7-Maj		....	12 Nov 1903	to	1 Jul 1904	RH	AF	..
Hill, Ebenezer J.	R	CT	5th	8-Maj		....	12 Nov 1903	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..
Boutell, Henry S.	R	IL	4th	9-Maj		....	12 Nov 1903	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..
Watson, James E.	R	IN	4th	10-Maj		....	12 Nov 1903	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..
Curtis, Charles	R	KS	6th	11-Maj		....	12 Nov 1903	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..
Williams, John Sharp	D	MS	6th	1-Min	RM	....	12 Nov 1903	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..
Robertson, Samuel M.	D	LA	9th	2-Min		....	12 Nov 1903	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..
Swanson, Claude A.	D	VA	6th	3-Min		....	12 Nov 1903	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..
McClellan, George B.	D	NY	5th	4-Min		....	12 Nov 1903	to	21 Dec 1903	RH	ES	..
Cooper, S. Bronson	D	TX	6th	5-Min		....	12 Nov 1903	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..
Clark, James B. (Champ)	D	MO	5th	6-Min		....	12 Nov 1903	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..
Needham, James C.	R	CA	3rd	1-MjR		....	12 Dec 1904	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..
Cockran, W. Bourke	D	NY	4th	1-MnR		....	10 Mar 1904	to	3 Mar 1905		..	..

59th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Payne, Sereno E.	R	NY	11th	1-Maj	Chr	....	11 Dec 1905	to	3 Mar 1907		..	..
Dalzell, John	R	PA	10th	2-Maj		....	11 Dec 1905	to	3 Mar 1907		..	..
Grosvenor, Charles H.	R	OH	10th	3-Maj		....	11 Dec 1905	to	3 Mar 1907		..	..
McCleary, James T.	R	MN	7th	4-Maj		....	11 Dec 1905	to	3 Mar 1907		..	..
McCall, Samuel W.	R	MA	7th	5-Maj		....	11 Dec 1905	to	3 Mar 1907		..	..
Babcock, Joseph W.	R	WI	7th	6-Maj		....	11 Dec 1905	to	3 Mar 1907		..	..
Hill, Ebenezer J.	R	CT	6th	7-Maj		....	11 Dec 1905	to	3 Mar 1907		..	..
Boutell, Henry S.	R	IL	5th	8-Maj		....	11 Dec 1905	to	3 Mar 1907		..	..
Watson, James E.	R	IN	5th	9-Maj		....	11 Dec 1905	to	3 Mar 1907		..	..
Curtis, Charles	R	KS	7th	10-Maj		....	11 Dec 1905	to	28 Jan 1907	RH	EF	..
Needham, James C.	R	CA	4th	11-Maj		....	11 Dec 1905	to	3 Mar 1907		..	..
Smith, William Alden	R	MI	6th	12-Maj		....	11 Dec 1905	to	9 Feb 1907	RH	EF	..
Williams, John Sharp	D	MS	7th	1-Min	RM	....	11 Dec 1905	to	3 Mar 1907		..	..
Robertson, Samuel M.	D	LA	10th	2-Min		....	11 Dec 1905	to	3 Mar 1907		..	..
Clark, James B. (Champ)	D	MO	6th	3-Min		....	11 Dec 1905	to	3 Mar 1907		..	..
Cockran, W. Bourke	D	NY	5th	4-Min		....	11 Dec 1905	to	3 Mar 1907		..	..
Underwood, Oscar W.	D	AL	6th	5-Min		....	11 Dec 1905	to	3 Mar 1907		..	..
Granger, Daniel L.D.	D	RI	2nd	6-Min		....	11 Dec 1905	to	3 Mar 1907		..	..

60th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Payne, Sereno E.	R	NY	12th	1-Maj	Chr	....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
Dalzell, John	R	PA	11th	2-Maj		....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
McCall, Samuel W.	R	MA	8th	3-Maj		....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
Hill, Ebenezer J.	R	CT	7th	4-Maj		....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
Boutell, Henry S.	R	IL	6th	5-Maj		....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
Watson, James E.	R	IN	6th	6-Maj		....	19 Dec 1907	to	12 May 1908	CA		..
Needham, James C.	R	CA	5th	7-Maj		....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
Calderhead, William A.	R	KS	6th	8-Maj		....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
Fordney, Joseph W.	R	MI	5th	9-Maj		....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
Gaines, Joseph Holt	R	WV	4th	10-Maj		....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
Bonynge, Robert W.	R	CO	3rd	11-Maj		....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
Longworth, Nicholas	R	OH	3rd	12-Maj		....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
Clark, James B. (Champ)	D	MO	7th	1-Min	RM	....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
Cockran, W. Bourke	D	NY	6th	2-Min		....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
Underwood, Oscar W.	D	AL	7th	3-Min		....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
Granger, Daniel L.D.	D	RI	3rd	4-Min		....	19 Dec 1907	to	14 Feb 1909	MD	..	..
Griggs, James M.	D	GA	6th	5-Min		....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Pou, Edward W.	D	NC	4th	6-Min		....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
Randell, Choice B.	D	TX	4th	7-Min		....	19 Dec 1907	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
Crumpacker, Edgar D.	R	IN	6th	1-MjR		....	12 May 1908	to	3 Mar 1909		..	..
				61st Congress								
Payne, Sereno E.	R	NY	13th	1-Maj	Chr	....	16 Mar 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Dalzell, John	R	PA	12th	2-Maj		....	16 Mar 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
McCall, Samuel W.	R	MA	9th	3-Maj		....	16 Mar 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Hill, Ebenezer J.	R	CT	8th	4-Maj		....	16 Mar 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Boutell, Henry S.	R	IL	7th	5-Maj		....	16 Mar 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Needham, James C.	R	CA	6th	6-Maj		....	16 Mar 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Calderhead, William A.	R	KS	7th	7-Maj		....	16 Mar 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Fordney, Joseph W.	R	MI	6th	8-Maj		....	16 Mar 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Gaines, Joseph Holt	R	WV	5th	9-Maj		....	16 Mar 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Longworth, Nicholas	R	OH	4th	10-Maj		....	16 Mar 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Crumpacker, Edgar D.	R	IN	7th	11-Maj		....	16 Mar 1909	to	5 Aug 1909	CA	..	..
Cushman, Francis W.	R	WA	6th	12-Maj		....	16 Mar 1909	to	6 Jul 1909	MD	..	..
Clark, James B. (Champ)	D	MO	8th	1-Min	RM	....	16 Mar 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Underwood, Oscar W.	D	AL	8th	2-Min		....	16 Mar 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Griggs, James M.	D	GA	7th	3-Min		....	16 Mar 1909	to	5 Jan 1910	MD	..	..
Pou, Edward W.	D	NC	5th	4-Min		....	16 Mar 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Randell, Choice B.	D	TX	5th	5-Min		....	16 Mar 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Broussard, Robert F.	D	LA	7th	6-Min		....	16 Mar 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Harrison, Francis B.	D	NY	3rd	7-Min		....	16 Mar 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Dwight, John W.	R	NY	5th	1-MjA		....	5 Aug 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Ellis, William R.	R	OR	5th	2-MjA		....	5 Aug 1909	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
Brantley, William G.	D	GA	7th	1-MnR		....	18 Jan 1910	to	3 Mar 1911		..	..
				62nd Congress								
Underwood, Oscar W.	D	AL	9th	1-Maj	Chr	....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Randell, Choice B.	D	TX	6th	2-Maj		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Harrison, Francis B.	D	NY	4th	3-Maj		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Brantley, William G.	D	GA	8th	4-Maj		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Shackleford, Dorsey W.	D	MO	7th	5-Maj		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Kitchin, Claude	D	NC	6th	6-Maj		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
James, Ollie M.	D	KY	5th	7-Maj		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Rainey, Henry T.	D	IL	5th	8-Maj		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Dixon, Lincoln	D	IN	4th	9-Maj		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Hughes, William J.	D	NJ	4th	10-Maj		....	11 Apr 1911	to	27 Sep 1912	RH	AF	..
Hull, Cordell	D	TN	3rd	11-Maj		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Hammond, Winfield S.	D	MN	3rd	12-Maj		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Peters, Andrew J.	D	MA	3rd	13-Maj		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Palmer, A. Mitchell	D	PA	2nd	14-Maj		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Payne, Sereno E.	R	NY	14th	1-Min	RM	....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Dalzell, John	R	PA	13th	2-Min		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
McCall, Samuel W.	R	MA	10th	3-Min		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Hill, Ebenezer J.	R	CT	9th	4-Min		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Needham, James C.	R	CA	7th	5-Min		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Fordney, Joseph W.	R	MI	7th	6-Min		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Longworth, Nicholas	R	OH	5th	7-Min		....	11 Apr 1911	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
Ansberry, Timothy T.	D	OH	3rd	1-MjR		....	9 Jan 1913	to	3 Mar 1913		..	..
				63rd Congress								
Underwood, Oscar W.	D	AL	10th	1-Maj	Chr	....	10 Apr 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Harrison, Francis B.	D	NY	5th	2-Maj		....	10 Apr 1913	to	1 Sep 1913	RH	AF	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Shackleford, Dorsey W.	D	MO	8th	3-Maj		....	10 Apr 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Kitchin, Claude	D	NC	7th	4-Maj		....	10 Apr 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Rainey, Henry T.	D	IL	6th	5-Maj		....	10 Apr 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Dixon, Lincoln	D	IN	5th	6-Maj		....	10 Apr 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Hull, Cordell	D	TN	4th	7-Maj		....	10 Apr 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Hammond, Winfield S.	D	MN	4th	8-Maj		....	10 Apr 1913	to	16 Jan 1915	RH	ES	..
Peters, Andrew J.	D	MA	4th	9-Maj		....	10 Apr 1913	to	16 Sep 1914	RH	AF	..
Palmer, A. Mitchell	D	PA	3rd	10-Maj		....	10 Apr 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Ansberry, Timothy T.	D	OH	4th	11-Maj		....	10 Apr 1913	to	9 Jan 1915	RH	AS	..
Garner, John N.	D	TX	6th	12-Maj		....	10 Apr 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Collier, James W.	D	MS	3rd	13-Maj		....	10 Apr 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Stanley, Augustus O.	D	KY	6th	14-Maj		....	10 Apr 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Dickinson, Clement C.	D	MO	3rd	15-Maj		....	3 Jun 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Payne, Sereno E.	R	NY	15th	1-Min	RM1	....	10 Apr 1913	to	10 Dec 1914	MD	..	..
Fordney, Joseph W.	R	MI	8th	2-Min	RM2	....	10 Apr 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Gardner, Augustus P.	R	MA	7th	3-Min		....	10 Apr 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Moore, J. Hampton	R	PA	5th	4-Min		....	10 Apr 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Anderson, Sydney	R	MN	2nd	5-Min		....	10 Apr 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Green, William R.	R	IA	2nd	6-Min		....	10 Apr 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Murdock, Victor	R	KS	6th	7-Min		....	10 Apr 1913	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Mitchell, John J.	D	MA	2nd	1-MjR		....	16 Sep 1914	to	3 Mar 1915		..	..
Sloan, Charles H.	R	NE	2nd	1-MnR		....	18 Jul 1914	to	3 Mar 1915	CA		NT

64th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Kitchin, Claude	D	NC	8th	1-Maj	Chr	....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Rainey, Henry T.	D	IL	7th	2-Maj		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Dixon, Lincoln	D	IN	6th	3-Maj		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Hull, Cordell	D	TN	5th	4-Maj		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Garner, John N.	D	TX	7th	5-Maj		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Collier, James W.	D	MS	4th	6-Maj		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Dickinson, Clement C.	D	MO	4th	7-Maj		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Conry, Michael F.	D	NY	4th	8-Maj		....	14 Dec 1915	to	2 Mar 1917	MD	..	..
Oldfield, William A.	D	AR	4th	9-Maj		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
McGillicuddy, Daniel J.	D	ME	3rd	10-Maj		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Allen, Alfred G.	D	OH	3rd	11-Maj		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Crisp, Charles R.	D	GA	3rd	12-Maj		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Casey, John J.	D	PA	2nd	13-Maj		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Helvering, Guy T.	D	KS	2nd	14-Maj		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Fordney, Joseph W.	R	MI	9th	1-Min	RM	....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Gardner, Augustus P.	R	MA	8th	2-Min		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Moore, J. Hampton	R	PA	6th	3-Min		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Green, William R.	R	IA	3rd	4-Min		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Sloan, Charles H.	R	NE	3rd	5-Min		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Hill, Ebenezer J.	R	CT	10th	6-Min		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Longworth, Nicholas	R	OH	6th	7-Min		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..
Fairchild, George W.	R	NY	5th	8-Min		....	14 Dec 1915	to	3 Mar 1917		..	..

65th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Kitchin, Claude	D	NC	9th	1-Maj	Chr	....	2 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Rainey, Henry T.	D	IL	8th	2-Maj		....	2 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Dixon, Lincoln	D	IN	7th	3-Maj		....	2 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Hull, Cordell	D	TN	6th	4-Maj		....	2 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Garner, John N.	D	TX	8th	5-Maj		....	2 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Collier, James W.	D	MS	5th	6-Maj		....	2 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Dickinson, Clement C.	D	MO	5th	7-Maj		....	2 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Oldfield, William A.	D	AR	5th	8-Maj		....	2 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Crisp, Charles R.	D	GA	4th	9-Maj		....	2 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Helvering, Guy T.	D	KS	3rd	10-Maj		....	2 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
O'Shaunessy, George F.	D	RI	4th	11-Maj		....	2 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Carew, John F.	D	NY	3rd	12-Maj		....	2 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
White, George	D	OH	3rd	13-Maj		....	2 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Fordney, Joseph W.	R	MI	10th	1-Min	RM	....	10 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Gardner, Augustus P.	R	MA	9th	2-Min		....	10 Apr 1917	to	15 May 1917	RN	RT	..
Moore, J. Hampton	R	PA	7th	3-Min		....	10 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Green, William R.	R	IA	4th	4-Min		....	10 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Sloan, Charles H.	R	NE	4th	5-Min		....	10 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Hill, Ebenezer J.	R	CT	11th	6-Min		....	10 Apr 1917	to	27 Sep 1917	MD	..	..
Longworth, Nicholas	R	OH	7th	7-Min		....	10 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Fairchild, George W.	R	NY	6th	8-Min		....	10 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Sterling, John A.	R	IL	7th	9-Min		....	10 Apr 1917	to	17 Oct 1918	MD	..	..
Martin, Whitmell P.	P	LA	2nd	10-Min		....	10 Apr 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Hawley, Willis C.	R	OR	6th	1-MnR		....	15 Dec 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
Treadway, Allen T.	R	MA	3rd	2-MnR		....	15 Dec 1917	to	3 Mar 1919		..	..
66th Congress												
Fordney, Joseph W.	R	MI	11th	1-Maj	Chr	....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Moore, J. Hampton	R	PA	8th	2-Maj		....	19 May 1919	to	4 Jan 1920	RH	ES	..
Green, William R.	R	IA	5th	3-Maj		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Longworth, Nicholas	R	OH	8th	4-Maj		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Hawley, Willis C.	R	OR	7th	5-Maj		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Treadway, Allen T.	R	MA	4th	6-Maj		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Copley, Ira C.	R	IL	5th	7-Maj		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Mott, Luther W.	R	NY	5th	8-Maj		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Young, George M.	R	ND	4th	9-Maj		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Frear, James A.	R	WI	4th	10-Maj		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Tilson, John Q.	R	CT	5th	11-Maj		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Bacharach, Isaac	R	NJ	3rd	12-Maj		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Hadley, Lindley H.	R	WA	3rd	13-Maj		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Timberlake, Charles B.	R	CO	3rd	14-Maj		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Bowers, George M.	R	WV	3rd	15-Maj		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Kitchin, Claude	D	NC	10th	1-Min	RM	....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Rainey, Henry T.	D	IL	9th	2-Min		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Hull, Cordell	D	TN	7th	3-Min		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Garner, John N.	D	TX	9th	4-Min		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Collier, James W.	D	MS	6th	5-Min		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Dickinson, Clement C.	D	MO	6th	6-Min		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Oldfield, William A.	D	AR	6th	7-Min		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Crisp, Charles R.	D	GA	5th	8-Min		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Carew, John F.	D	NY	4th	9-Min		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Martin, Whitmell P.	D	LA	3rd	10-Min		....	19 May 1919	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
Watson, Henry W.	R	PA	3rd	1-MjR		....	3 Feb 1920	to	3 Mar 1921		..	..
67th Congress												
Fordney, Joseph W.	R	MI	12th	1-Maj	Chr	....	11 Apr 1921	to	3 Mar 1923		..	..
Green, William R.	R	IA	6th	2-Maj		....	11 Apr 1921	to	3 Mar 1923		..	..
Longworth, Nicholas	R	OH	9th	3-Maj		....	11 Apr 1921	to	3 Mar 1923		..	..
Hawley, Willis C.	R	OR	8th	4-Maj		....	11 Apr 1921	to	3 Mar 1923		..	..
Treadway, Allen T.	R	MA	5th	5-Maj		....	11 Apr 1921	to	3 Mar 1923		..	..
Copley, Ira C.	R	IL	6th	6-Maj		....	11 Apr 1921	to	3 Mar 1923		..	..
Mott, Luther W.	R	NY	6th	7-Maj		....	11 Apr 1921	to	3 Mar 1923		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA	DOT	AE	MN	AN
Young, George M.	R	ND	5th	8-Maj		....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Frear, James A.	R	WI	5th	9-Maj		....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Tilson, John Q.	R	CT	6th	10-Maj		....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Bacharach, Isaac	R	NJ	4th	11-Maj		....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Hadley, Lindley H.	R	WA	4th	12-Maj		....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Timberlake, Charles B.	R	CO	4th	13-Maj		....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Bowers, George M.	R	WV	4th	14-Maj		....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Watson, Henry W.	R	PA	4th	15-Maj		....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Houghton, Alanson B.	R	NY	2nd	16-Maj		....	11 Apr 1921	to 28 Feb 1922	RH	AF	..
Chandler, Thomas A.	R	OK	2nd	17-Maj		....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Kitchin, Claude	D	NC	11th	1-Min	RM	....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Garner, John N.	D	TX	10th	2-Min		....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Collier, James W.	D	MS	7th	3-Min		....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Oldfield, William A.	D	AR	7th	4-Min		....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Crisp, Charles R.	D	GA	6th	5-Min		....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Carew, John F.	D	NY	5th	6-Min		....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Martin, Whitmell P.	D	LA	4th	7-Min		....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Tague, Peter F.	D	MA	4th	8-Min		....	11 Apr 1921	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
Mills, Ogden L.	R	NY	1st	1-MjR		....	16 Mar 1922	to 3 Mar 1923		..	..
68th Congress											
Green, William R.	R	IA	7th	1-Maj	Chr	....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Hawley, Willis C.	R	OR	9th	2-Maj		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Treadway, Allen T.	R	MA	6th	3-Maj		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Young, George M.	R	ND	6th	4-Maj		....	17 Dec 1923	to 2 Sep 1924	RN	RT	..
Frear, James A.	R	WI	6th	5-Maj		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Tilson, John Q.	R	CT	7th	6-Maj		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Bacharach, Isaac	R	NJ	5th	7-Maj		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Hadley, Lindley H.	R	WA	5th	8-Maj		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Timberlake, Charles B.	R	CO	5th	9-Maj		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Watson, Henry W.	R	PA	5th	10-Maj		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Mills, Ogden L.	R	NY	2nd	11-Maj		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
McLaughlin, James C.	R	MI	9th	12-Maj		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Kearns, Charles C.	R	OH	5th	13-Maj		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Chindblom, Carl R.	R	IL	3rd	14-Maj		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Crowther, Frank	R	NY	3rd	15-Maj		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Garner, John N.	D	TX	11th	1-Min	RM	....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Collier, James W.	D	MS	8th	2-Min		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Oldfield, William A.	D	AR	8th	3-Min		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Crisp, Charles R.	D	GA	7th	4-Min		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Carew, John F.	D	NY	6th	5-Min		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Martin, Whitmell P.	D	LA	5th	6-Min		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Tague, Peter F.	D	MA	5th	7-Min		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Rainey, Henry T.	D	IL	10th	8-Min		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Hull, Cordell	D	TN	8th	9-Min		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Dickinson, Clement C.	D	MO	7th	10-Min		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
Casey, John J.	D	PA	4th	11-Min		....	17 Dec 1923	to 3 Mar 1925		..	..
69th Congress											
Green, William R.	R	IA	8th	1-Maj	Chr	....	7 Dec 1925	to 3 Mar 1927		..	..
Hawley, Willis C.	R	OR	10th	2-Maj		....	7 Dec 1925	to 3 Mar 1927		..	..
Treadway, Allen T.	R	MA	7th	3-Maj		....	7 Dec 1925	to 3 Mar 1927		..	..
Bacharach, Isaac	R	NJ	6th	4-Maj		....	7 Dec 1925	to 3 Mar 1927		..	..
Hadley, Lindley H.	R	WA	6th	5-Maj		....	7 Dec 1925	to 3 Mar 1927		..	..
Timberlake, Charles B.	R	CO	6th	6-Maj		....	7 Dec 1925	to 3 Mar 1927		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Watson, Henry W.	R	PA	6th	7-Maj		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Mills, Ogden L.	R	NY	3rd	8-Maj		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
McLaughlin, James C.	R	MI	10th	9-Maj		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Kearns, Charles C.	R	OH	6th	10-Maj		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Chindblom, Carl R.	R	IL	4th	11-Maj		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Crowther, Frank	R	NY	4th	12-Maj		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Bixler, Harris J.	R	PA	3rd	13-Maj		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Faust, Charles L.	R	MO	3rd	14-Maj		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Aldrich, Richard S.	R	RI	2nd	15-Maj		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Garner, John N.	D	TX	12th	1-Min	RM	....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Collier, James W.	D	MS	9th	2-Min		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Oldfield, William A.	D	AR	9th	3-Min		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Crisp, Charles R.	D	GA	8th	4-Min		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Carew, John F.	D	NY	7th	5-Min		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Martin, Whitmell P.	D	LA	6th	6-Min		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Rainey, Henry T.	D	IL	11th	7-Min		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Hull, Cordell	D	TN	9th	8-Min		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Dickinson, Clement C.	D	MO	8th	9-Min		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
Doughton, Robert L.	D	NC	8th	10-Min		....	7 Dec 1925	to	3 Mar 1927		..	..
70th Congress												
Green, William R.	R	IA	9th	1-Maj	Ch1	....	6 Dec 1927	to	31 Mar 1928	RN	RT	..
Hawley, Willis C.	R	OR	11th	2-Maj	Ch2	....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Treadway, Allen T.	R	MA	8th	3-Maj		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Bacharach, Isaac	R	NJ	7th	4-Maj		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Hadley, Lindley H.	R	WA	7th	5-Maj		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Timberlake, Charles B.	R	CO	7th	6-Maj		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Watson, Henry W.	R	PA	7th	7-Maj		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
McLaughlin, James C.	R	MI	11th	8-Maj		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Kearns, Charles C.	R	OH	7th	9-Maj		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Chindblom, Carl R.	R	IL	5th	10-Maj		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Crowther, Frank	R	NY	5th	11-Maj		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Faust, Charles L.	R	MO	4th	12-Maj		....	6 Dec 1927	to	17 Dec 1928	MD	..	..
Aldrich, Richard S.	R	RI	3rd	13-Maj		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Sweet, Thaddeus C.	R	NY	3rd	14-Maj		....	6 Dec 1927	to	1 May 1928	MD	..	..
Estep, Harry A.	R	PA	1st	15-Maj		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Garner, John N.	D	TX	13th	1-Min	RM	....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Collier, James W.	D	MS	10th	2-Min		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Oldfield, William A.	D	AR	10th	3-Min		....	6 Dec 1927	to	19 Nov 1928	MD	..	..
Crisp, Charles R.	D	GA	9th	4-Min		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Carew, John F.	D	NY	8th	5-Min		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Martin, Whitmell P.	D	LA	7th	6-Min		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Rainey, Henry T.	D	IL	12th	7-Min		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Hull, Cordell	D	TN	10th	8-Min		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Dickinson, Clement C.	D	MO	9th	9-Min		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Doughton, Robert L.	D	NC	9th	10-Min		....	6 Dec 1927	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Ramseyer, C. William	R	IA	7th	1-MjR		....	28 May 1928	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Davenport, Frederick M.	R	NY	2nd	2-MjR		....	28 May 1928	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
Ragon, Heartsill	D	AR	3rd	1-MnR		....	10 Dec 1928	to	3 Mar 1929		..	..
71st Congress												
Hawley, Willis C.	R	OR	12th	1-Maj	Chr	....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Treadway, Allen T.	R	MA	9th	2-Maj		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Bacharach, Isaac	R	NJ	8th	3-Maj		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Hadley, Lindley H.	R	WA	8th	4-Maj		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Timberlake, Charles B.	R	CO	8th	5-Maj		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Watson, Henry W.	R	PA	8th	6-Maj		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
McLaughlin, James C.	R	MI	12th	7-Maj		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Kearns, Charles C.	R	OH	8th	8-Maj		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Chindblom, Carl R.	R	IL	6th	9-Maj		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Crowther, Frank	R	NY	6th	10-Maj		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Aldrich, Richard S.	R	RI	4th	11-Maj		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Estep, Harry A.	R	PA	2nd	12-Maj		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Ramseyer, C. William	R	IA	8th	13-Maj		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Davenport, Frederick M.	R	NY	3rd	14-Maj		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Frear, James A.	R	WI	9th	15-Maj		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Garner, John N.	D	TX	14th	1-Min	RM	....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Collier, James W.	D	MS	11th	2-Min		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Crisp, Charles R.	D	GA	10th	3-Min		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Carew, John F.	D	NY	9th	4-Min		....	16 Apr 1929	to	28 Dec 1929	RN	RT	..
Rainey, Henry T.	D	IL	13th	5-Min		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Hull, Cordell	D	TN	11th	6-Min		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Doughton, Robert L.	D	NC	10th	7-Min		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Ragon, Heartsill	D	AR	4th	8-Min		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Hill, Samuel B.	D	WA	4th	9-Min		....	16 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Canfield, Harry C.	D	IN	4th	10-Min		....	19 Apr 1929	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..
Cullen, Thomas H.	D	NY	6th	1-MnR		....	9 Jan 1930	to	3 Mar 1931		..	..

72nd Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Collier, James W.	D	MS	12th	1-Maj	Chr	....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Crisp, Charles R.	D	GA	11th	2-Maj		....	9 Dec 1931	to	7 Oct 1932	RN	RT	..
Rainey, Henry T.	D	IL	14th	3-Maj		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Doughton, Robert L.	D	NC	11th	4-Maj		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Ragon, Heartsill	D	AR	5th	5-Maj		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Hill, Samuel B.	D	WA	5th	6-Maj		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Canfield, Harry C.	D	IN	5th	7-Maj		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Cullen, Thomas H.	D	NY	7th	8-Maj		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Sullivan, Christopher D.	D	NY	8th	9-Maj		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Sanders, Morgan G.	D	TX	6th	10-Maj		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Eslick, Edward E.	D	TN	4th	11-Maj		....	9 Dec 1931	to	14 Jun 1932	MD	..	..
McCormack, John W.	D	MA	3rd	12-Maj		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Dickinson, Clement C.	D	MO	10th	13-Maj		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Lewis, David J.	D	MD	4th	14-Maj		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Vinson, Fred M.	D	KY	4th	15-Maj		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Hawley, Willis C.	R	OR	13th	1-Min	RM	....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Treadway, Allen T.	R	MA	10th	2-Min		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Bacharach, Isaac	R	NJ	9th	3-Min		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Hadley, Lindley H.	R	WA	9th	4-Min		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Timberlake, Charles B.	R	CO	9th	5-Min		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Watson, Henry W.	R	PA	9th	6-Min		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
McLaughlin, James C.	R	MI	13th	7-Min		....	9 Dec 1931	to	29 Nov 1932	MD	..	..
Chindblom, Carl R.	R	IL	7th	8-Min		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Crowther, Frank	R	NY	7th	9-Min		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Aldrich, Richard S.	R	RI	5th	10-Min		....	9 Dec 1931	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Cooper, Jere	D	TN	2nd	1-MjR		....	15 Jul 1932	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Driver, William J.	D	AR	6th	1-MjR		....	15 Dec 1932	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..
Estep, Harry A.	R	PA	3rd	1-MnR		....	6 Dec 1932	to	3 Mar 1933		..	..

73rd Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Doughton, Robert L.	D	NC	12th	1-Maj	Chr	....	9 Mar 1933	to	3 Jan 1935		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA	DOT	AE	MN	AN
Ragon, Heartsill	D	AR	6th	2-Maj		....	9 Mar 1933	to 16 Jun 1933	RH	AF	..
Hill, Samuel B.	D	WA	6th	3-Maj		....	9 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Cullen, Thomas H.	D	NY	8th	4-Maj		....	9 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Sullivan, Christopher D.	D	NY	9th	5-Maj		....	9 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Sanders, Morgan G.	D	TX	7th	6-Maj		....	9 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
McCormack, John W.	D	MA	4th	7-Maj		....	9 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Dickinson, Clement C.	D	MO	11th	8-Maj		....	9 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Lewis, David J.	D	MD	5th	9-Maj		....	9 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Vinson, Fred M.	D	KY	5th	10-Maj		....	9 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Cooper, Jere	D	TN	3rd	11-Maj		....	9 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Shallenberger, Ashton C.	D	NE	8th	12-Maj		....	9 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
West, Charles	D	OH	2nd	13-Maj		....	9 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Boehne, John W. Jr.	D	IN	2nd	14-Maj		....	9 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
McClintic, James V.	D	OK	10th	15-Maj		....	9 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Treadway, Allen T.	R	MA	11th	1-Min	RM	....	14 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Bacharach, Isaac	R	NJ	10th	2-Min		....	14 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Watson, Henry W.	R	PA	10th	3-Min		....	14 Mar 1933	to 27 Aug 1933	MD	..	..
Crowther, Frank	R	NY	8th	4-Min		....	14 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Frear, James A.	R	WI	11th	5-Min		....	14 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Knutson, Harold	R	MN	9th	6-Min		....	14 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Reed, Daniel A.	R	NY	8th	7-Min		....	14 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Woodruff, Roy O.	R	MI	8th	8-Min		....	14 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Jenkins, Thomas A.	R	OH	5th	9-Min		....	14 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Evans, William E.	R	CA	4th	10-Min		....	14 Mar 1933	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..
Cochran, Thomas	R	PA	1st	11-Min		....	10 Jan 1934	to 1 Mar 1934		..	..
Fuller, Claude A.	D	AR	3rd	1-MjR		....	19 Jan 1934	to 3 Jan 1935		..	..

74th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA	DOT	AE	MN	AN
Doughton, Robert L.	D	NC	13th	1-Maj	Chr	....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Hill, Samuel B.	D	WA	7th	2-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 25 Jun 1936	RH	AF	..
Cullen, Thomas H.	D	NY	9th	3-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Sullivan, Christopher D.	D	NY	10th	4-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Sanders, Morgan G.	D	TX	8th	5-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
McCormack, John W.	D	MA	5th	6-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Lewis, David J.	D	MD	6th	7-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Vinson, Fred M.	D	KY	6th	8-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Cooper, Jere	D	TN	4th	9-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Boehne, John W. Jr.	D	IN	3rd	10-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Fuller, Claude A.	D	AR	4th	11-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Disney, Wesley E.	D	OK	3rd	12-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Lamneck, Arthur P.	D	OH	3rd	13-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Buck, Frank H.	D	CA	2nd	14-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Duncan, Richard M.	D	MO	2nd	15-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Thompson, Chester C.	D	IL	2nd	16-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Brooks, J. Twing	D	PA	2nd	17-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Dingell, John D.	D	MI	2nd	18-Maj		....	3 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Treadway, Allen T.	R	MA	12th	1-Min	RM	....	14 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Bacharach, Isaac	R	NJ	11th	2-Min		....	14 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Crowther, Frank	R	NY	9th	3-Min		....	14 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Knutson, Harold	R	MN	10th	4-Min		....	14 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Reed, Daniel A.	R	NY	9th	5-Min		....	14 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Woodruff, Roy O.	R	MI	9th	6-Min		....	14 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..
Jenkins, Thomas A.	R	OH	6th	7-Min		....	14 Jan 1935	to 3 Jan 1937		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
75th Congress												
Doughton, Robert L.	D	NC	14th	1-Maj	Chr	....	5 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Cullen, Thomas H.	D	NY	10th	2-Maj		....	5 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Sullivan, Christopher D.	D	NY	11th	3-Maj		....	5 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Sanders, Morgan G.	D	TX	9th	4-Maj		....	5 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
McCormack, John W.	D	MA	6th	5-Maj		....	5 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Lewis, David J.	D	MD	7th	6-Maj		....	5 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Vinson, Fred M.	D	KY	7th	7-Maj		....	5 Jan 1937	to	12 May 1938	RH	AF	..
Cooper, Jere	D	TN	5th	8-Maj		....	5 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Boehne, John W. Jr.	D	IN	4th	9-Maj		....	5 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Fuller, Claude A.	D	AR	5th	10-Maj		....	5 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Disney, Wesley E.	D	OK	4th	11-Maj		....	5 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Lamneck, Arthur P.	D	OH	4th	12-Maj		....	5 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Buck, Frank H.	D	CA	3rd	13-Maj		....	5 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Duncan, Richard M.	D	MO	3rd	14-Maj		....	5 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Thompson, Chester C.	D	IL	3rd	15-Maj		....	5 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Dingell, John D.	D	MI	3rd	16-Maj		....	5 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Robertson, A. Willis	D	VA	3rd	17-Maj		....	5 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Wearin, Otha D.	D	IA	3rd	18-Maj		....	6 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Treadway, Allen T.	R	MA	13th	1-Min	RM	....	6 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Crowther, Frank	R	NY	10th	2-Min		....	6 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Knutson, Harold	R	MN	11th	3-Min		....	6 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Reed, Daniel A.	R	NY	10th	4-Min		....	6 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Woodruff, Roy O.	R	MI	10th	5-Min		....	6 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Jenkins, Thomas A.	R	OH	7th	6-Min		....	6 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
Thurston, Lloyd	R	IA	7th	7-Min		....	14 Jan 1937	to	3 Jan 1939		..	..
76th Congress												
Doughton, Robert L.	D	NC	15th	1-Maj	Chr	....	3 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Cullen, Thomas H.	D	NY	11th	2-Maj		....	3 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Sullivan, Christopher D.	D	NY	12th	3-Maj		....	3 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
McCormack, John W.	D	MA	7th	4-Maj		....	3 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Cooper, Jere	D	TN	6th	5-Maj		....	3 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Boehne, John W. Jr.	D	IN	5th	6-Maj		....	3 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Disney, Wesley E.	D	OK	5th	7-Maj		....	3 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Buck, Frank H.	D	CA	4th	8-Maj		....	3 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Duncan, Richard M.	D	MO	4th	9-Maj		....	3 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Dingell, John D.	D	MI	4th	10-Maj		....	3 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Robertson, A. Willis	D	VA	4th	11-Maj		....	3 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Maloney, Paul H.	D	LA	5th	12-Maj		....	9 Jan 1939	to	15 Dec 1940	RH	AF	..
Boland, Patrick J.	D	PA	5th	13-Maj		....	9 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
West, Milton H.	D	TX	4th	14-Maj		....	9 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
McKeough, Raymond S.	D	IL	3rd	15-Maj		....	9 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Treadway, Allen T.	R	MA	14th	1-Min	RM	....	4 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Crowther, Frank	R	NY	11th	2-Min		....	4 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Knutson, Harold	R	MN	12th	3-Min		....	4 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Reed, Daniel A.	R	NY	11th	4-Min		....	4 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Woodruff, Roy O.	R	MI	11th	5-Min		....	4 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Jenkins, Thomas A.	R	OH	8th	6-Min		....	4 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
McLean, Donald H.	R	NJ	4th	7-Min		....	18 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Gearhart, Bertrand W.	R	CA	3rd	8-Min		....	18 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Carlson, Frank	R	KS	3rd	9-Min		....	18 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..
Jarrett, Benjamin	R	PA	2nd	10-Min		....	18 Jan 1939	to	3 Jan 1941		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
					77th Congress							
Doughton, Robert L.	D	NC	16th	1-Maj	Chr	....	3 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Cullen, Thomas H.	D	NY	12th	2-Maj		....	3 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Cooper, Jere	D	TN	7th	3-Maj		....	3 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Boehne, John W. Jr.	D	IN	6th	4-Maj		....	3 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Disney, Wesley E.	D	OK	6th	5-Maj		....	3 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Buck, Frank H.	D	CA	5th	6-Maj		....	3 Jan 1941	to	17 Sep 1942	MD	..	..
Duncan, Richard M.	D	MO	5th	7-Maj		....	3 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Dingell, John D.	D	MI	5th	8-Maj		....	3 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Robertson, A. Willis	D	VA	5th	9-Maj		....	3 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Boland, Patrick J.	D	PA	6th	10-Maj		....	3 Jan 1941	to	18 May 1942	MD	..	..
West, Milton H.	D	TX	5th	11-Maj		....	3 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
McKeough, Raymond S.	D	IL	4th	12-Maj		....	3 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Hill, Knute	D	WA	5th	13-Maj		....	10 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Healey, Arthur D.	D	MA	5th	14-Maj		....	10 Jan 1941	to	3 Aug 1942	RH	AF	..
Ford, Aaron Lane	D	MS	4th	15-Maj		....	10 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Treadway, Allen T.	R	MA	15th	1-Min	RM	....	6 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Crowther, Frank	R	NY	12th	2-Min		....	6 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Knutson, Harold	R	MN	15th	3-Min		....	6 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Reed, Daniel A.	R	NY	12th	4-Min		....	6 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Woodruff, Roy O.	R	MI	12th	5-Min		....	6 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Jenkins, Thomas A.	R	OH	9th	6-Min		....	6 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
McLean, Donald H.	R	NJ	5th	7-Min		....	6 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Gearhart, Bertrand W.	R	CA	4th	8-Min		....	6 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Carlson, Frank	R	KS	4th	9-Min		....	6 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Jarrett, Benjamin	R	PA	3rd	10-Min		....	6 Jan 1941	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
McGranery, James P.	D	PA	3rd	1-MjR		....	24 Jun 1942	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	2nd	2-MjR		....	15 Oct 1942	to	3 Jan 1943		..	..
					78th Congress							
Doughton, Robert L.	D	NC	17th	1-Maj	Chr	....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Cullen, Thomas H.	D	NY	13th	2-Maj		....	12 Jan 1943	to	1 Mar 1944	MD	..	..
Cooper, Jere	D	TN	8th	3-Maj		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Disney, Wesley E.	D	OK	7th	4-Maj		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Dingell, John D.	D	MI	6th	5-Maj		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Robertson, A. Willis	D	VA	6th	6-Maj		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
West, Milton H.	D	TX	6th	7-Maj		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
McGranery, James P.	D	PA	4th	8-Maj		....	12 Jan 1943	to	17 Nov 1943	RH	AF	..
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	3rd	9-Maj		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Gregory, Noble J.	D	KY	4th	10-Maj		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Camp, A. Sidney	D	GA	3rd	11-Maj		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Lynch, Walter A.	D	NY	3rd	12-Maj		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Forand, Aime J.	D	RI	3rd	13-Maj		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Wasielewski, Thaddeus F.B.	D	WI	2nd	14-Maj		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Maloney, Paul H.	D	LA	6th	15-Maj		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Treadway, Allen T.	R	MA	16th	1-Min	RM	....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Knutson, Harold	R	MN	14th	2-Min		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Reed, Daniel A.	R	NY	13th	3-Min		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Woodruff, Roy O.	R	MI	13th	4-Min		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Jenkins, Thomas A.	R	OH	10th	5-Min		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
McLean, Donald H.	R	NJ	6th	6-Min		....	12 Jan 1943	to	21 Jun 1944	LB	..	..
Gearhart, Bertrand W.	R	CA	5th	7-Min		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Carlson, Frank	R	KS	5th	8-Min		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Simpson, Richard M.	R	PA	4th	9-Min		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Dewey, Charles S.	R	IL	2nd	10-Min		....	12 Jan 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Eberharter, Herman P.	D	PA	4th	1-MjR		....	3 Dec 1943	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
King, Cecil R.	D	CA	2nd	2-MjR		....	16 Mar 1944	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..
Kean, Robert W.	R	NJ	3rd	1-MnR		....	21 Jun 1944	to	3 Jan 1945		..	..

79th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Doughton, Robert L.	D	NC	18th	1-Maj	Chr	....	3 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Cooper, Jere	D	TN	9th	2-Maj		....	3 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Dingell, John D.	D	MI	7th	3-Maj		....	3 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Robertson, A. Willis	D	VA	7th	4-Maj		....	3 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
West, Milton H.	D	TX	7th	5-Maj		....	3 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	4th	6-Maj		....	3 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Gregory, Noble J.	D	KY	5th	7-Maj		....	3 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Camp, A. Sidney	D	GA	4th	8-Maj		....	3 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Lynch, Walter A.	D	NY	4th	9-Maj		....	3 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Forand, Aime J.	D	RI	4th	10-Maj		....	3 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Wasielewski, Thaddeus F.B.	D	WI	3rd	11-Maj		....	3 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Maloney, Paul H.	D	LA	7th	12-Maj		....	3 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Eberharter, Herman P.	D	PA	5th	13-Maj		....	3 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
King, Cecil R.	D	CA	3rd	14-Maj		....	3 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Anderson, Clinton P.	D	NM	3rd	15-Maj		....	3 Jan 1945	to	30 Jun 1945	RH	AF	..
Knutson, Harold	R	MN	15th	1-Min	RM	....	6 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Reed, Daniel A.	R	NY	14th	2-Min		....	6 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Woodruff, Roy O.	R	MI	14th	3-Min		....	6 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Jenkins, Thomas A.	R	OH	11th	4-Min		....	6 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Gearhart, Bertrand W.	R	CA	6th	5-Min		....	6 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Carlson, Frank	R	KS	6th	6-Min		....	6 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Simpson, Richard M.	R	PA	5th	7-Min		....	6 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Kean, Robert W.	R	NJ	4th	8-Min		....	6 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Gifford, Charles L.	R	MA	13th	9-Min		....	25 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
Curtis, Carl T.	R	NE	4th	10-Min		....	25 Jan 1945	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..
O'Brien, Thomas J.	D	IL	5th	1-MjR		....	26 Mar 1946	to	3 Jan 1947		..	..

80th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Knutson, Harold	R	MN	16th	1-Maj	Chr	8th	7 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		DE	..
Reed, Daniel A.	R	NY	15th	2-Maj		8th	7 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Woodruff, Roy O.	R	MI	15th	3-Maj		8th	7 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Jenkins, Thomas A.	R	OH	12th	4-Maj		8th	7 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Gearhart, Bertrand W.	R	CA	7th	5-Maj		5th	7 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		DE	..
Simpson, Richard M.	R	PA	6th	6-Maj		3rd	7 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Kean, Robert W.	R	NJ	5th	7-Maj		3rd	7 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Gifford, Charles L.	R	MA	14th	8-Maj		2nd	7 Jan 1947	to	23 Aug 1947	MD	..	..
Curtis, Carl T.	R	NE	5th	9-Maj		2nd	7 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Mason, Noah M.	R	IL	6th	10-Maj		1st	14 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Martin, Thomas E.	R	IA	5th	11-Maj		1st	14 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Grant, Robert A.	R	IN	5th	12-Maj		1st	14 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		DE	..
Holmes, Hal	R	WA	3rd	13-Maj		1st	14 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Ellis, Hubert S.	R	WV	3rd	14-Maj		1st	14 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		DE	..
Byrnes, John W.	R	WI	2nd	15-Maj		1st	14 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Doughton, Robert L.	D	NC	19th	1-Min	RM	12th	9 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Cooper, Jere	D	TN	10th	2-Min		9th	9 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Dingell, John D.	D	MI	8th	3-Min		7th	9 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
West, Milton H.	D	TX	8th	4-Min		5th	9 Jan 1947	to	28 Oct 1948	MD	..	..
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	5th	5-Min		4th	9 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Gregory, Noble J.	D	KY	6th	6-Min		3rd	9 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Camp, A. Sidney	D	GA	5th	7-Min		3rd	9 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Lynch, Walter A.	D	NY	5th	8-Min		3rd	9 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Forand, Aime J.	D	RI	5th	9-Min		3rd	9 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Eberharter, Herman P.	D	PA	6th	10-Min		3rd	9 Jan 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	..
Goodwin, Angier L.	R	MA	3rd	1-MjR		1st	18 Dec 1947	to	2 Jan 1949		..	NT
81st Congress												
Doughton, Robert L.	D	NC	20th	1-Maj	Chr	13th	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Cooper, Jere	D	TN	11th	2-Maj		10th	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Dingell, John D.	D	MI	9th	3-Maj		8th	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	6th	4-Maj		5th	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Gregory, Noble J.	D	KY	7th	5-Maj		4th	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Camp, A. Sidney	D	GA	6th	6-Maj		4th	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Lynch, Walter A.	D	NY	6th	7-Maj		4th	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		UC	..
Forand, Aime J.	D	RI	6th	8-Maj		4th	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Eberharter, Herman P.	D	PA	7th	9-Maj		4th	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
King, Cecil R.	D	CA	5th	10-Maj		1st	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
O'Brien, Thomas J.	D	IL	7th	11-Maj		1st	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Combs, Jesse M.	D	TX	3rd	12-Maj		1st	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Boggs, T. Hale	D	LA	3rd	13-Maj		1st	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Carroll, John A.	D	CO	2nd	14-Maj		1st	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		UC	..
Young, Stephen M.	D	OH	4th	15-Maj		1st	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		DE	..
Reed, Daniel A.	R	NY	16th	1-Min	RM	9th	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Woodruff, Roy O.	R	MI	16th	2-Min		9th	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Jenkins, Thomas A.	R	OH	13th	3-Min		9th	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Simpson, Richard M.	R	PA	7th	4-Min		4th	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Kean, Robert W.	R	NJ	6th	5-Min		4th	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Curtis, Carl T.	R	NE	6th	6-Min		3rd	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Mason, Noah M.	R	IL	7th	7-Min		2nd	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Martin, Thomas E.	R	IA	6th	8-Min		2nd	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Holmes, Hal	R	WA	4th	9-Min		2nd	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
Byrnes, John W.	R	WI	3rd	10-Min		2nd	5 Jan 1949	to	2 Jan 1951		..	..
82nd Congress												
Doughton, Robert L.	D	NC	21st	1-Maj	Chr	14th	3 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		RT	..
Cooper, Jere	D	TN	12th	2-Maj		11th	3 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Dingell, John D.	D	MI	10th	3-Maj		9th	3 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	7th	4-Maj		6th	3 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Gregory, Noble J.	D	KY	8th	5-Maj		5th	3 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Camp, A. Sidney	D	GA	7th	6-Maj		5th	3 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Forand, Aime J.	D	RI	7th	7-Maj		5th	3 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Eberharter, Herman P.	D	PA	8th	8-Maj		5th	3 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
King, Cecil R.	D	CA	6th	9-Maj		2nd	3 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
O'Brien, Thomas J.	D	IL	8th	10-Maj		2nd	3 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Combs, Jesse M.	D	TX	4th	11-Maj		2nd	3 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		RT	..
Boggs, T. Hale	D	LA	4th	12-Maj		2nd	3 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Keogh, Eugene J.	D	NY	8th	13-Maj		1st	3 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Granger, Walter K.	D	UT	6th	14-Maj		1st	3 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		UC	..
Harrison, Burr P.	D	VA	4th	15-Maj		1st	3 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	NT
Reed, Daniel A.	R	NY	17th	1-Min	RM	10th	4 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Woodruff, Roy O.	R	MI	17th	2-Min		10th	4 Jan 1951	to	2 Jul 1952	CN	RT	..
Jenkins, Thomas A.	R	OH	14th	3-Min		10th	4 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Simpson, Richard M.	R	PA	8th	4-Min		5th	4 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Kean, Robert W.	R	NJ	7th	5-Min		5th	4 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Curtis, Carl T.	R	NE	7th	6-Min		4th	4 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Mason, Noah M.	R	IL	8th	7-Min		3rd	4 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Martin, Thomas E.	R	IA	7th	8-Min		3rd	4 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Holmes, Hal	R	WA	5th	9-Min		3rd	4 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Byrnes, John W.	R	WI	4th	10-Min		3rd	4 Jan 1951	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
Goodwin, Angier L.	R	MA	5th	1-MnR		1st	2 Jul 1952	to	2 Jan 1953		..	..
83rd Congress												
Reed, Daniel A.	R	NY	18th	1-Maj	Chr	11th	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Jenkins, Thomas A.	R	OH	15th	2-Maj		11th	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Simpson, Richard M.	R	PA	9th	3-Maj		6th	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Kean, Robert W.	R	NJ	8th	4-Maj		6th	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Curtis, Carl T.	R	NE	8th	5-Maj		5th	14 Jan 1953	to	31 Dec 1954	RH	EF	..
Mason, Noah M.	R	IL	9th	6-Maj		4th	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Martin, Thomas E.	R	IA	8th	7-Maj		4th	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		EF	..
Holmes, Hal	R	WA	6th	8-Maj		4th	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Byrnes, John W.	R	WI	5th	9-Maj		4th	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Goodwin, Angier L.	R	MA	6th	10-Maj		2nd	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		DE	..
Sadlak, Antoni N.	R	CT	4th	11-Maj		1st	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Baker, Howard H.	R	TN	2nd	12-Maj		1st	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Curtis, Thomas B.	R	MO	2nd	13-Maj		1st	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Knox, Victor A.	R	MI	1st	14-Maj		1st	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	NT
Utt, James B.	R	CA	1st	15-Maj		1st	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	NT
Cooper, Jere	D	TN	13th	1-Min	RM	12th	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Dingell, John D.	D	MI	11th	2-Min		10th	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	8th	3-Min		7th	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Gregory, Noble J.	D	KY	9th	4-Min		6th	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Camp, A. Sidney	D	GA	8th	5-Min		6th	14 Jan 1953	to	24 Jul 1954	MD	..	..
Forand, Aime J.	D	RI	8th	6-Min		6th	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Eberharter, Herman P.	D	PA	9th	7-Min		6th	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
King, Cecil R.	D	CA	7th	8-Min		3rd	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
O'Brien, Thomas J.	D	IL	9th	9-Min		3rd	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Boggs, T. Hale	D	LA	5th	10-Min		3rd	14 Jan 1953	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
Keogh, Eugene J.	D	NY	9th	1-MnR		1st	27 Jul 1954	to	2 Jan 1955		..	..
84th Congress												
Cooper, Jere	D	TN	14th	1-Maj	Chr	13th	5 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Dingell, John D.	D	MI	12th	2-Maj		11th	5 Jan 1955	to	19 Sep 1955	MD	..	..
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	9th	3-Maj		8th	5 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Gregory, Noble J.	D	KY	10th	4-Maj		7th	5 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Forand, Aime J.	D	RI	9th	5-Maj		7th	5 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Eberharter, Herman P.	D	PA	10th	6-Maj		7th	5 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
King, Cecil R.	D	CA	8th	7-Maj		4th	5 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
O'Brien, Thomas J.	D	IL	10th	8-Maj		4th	5 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Boggs, T. Hale	D	LA	6th	9-Maj		4th	5 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Keogh, Eugene J.	D	NY	10th	10-Maj		2nd	5 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Harrison, Burr P.	D	VA	6th	11-Maj		1st	5 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Karsten, Frank M.	D	MO	5th	12-Maj		1st	5 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Herlong, Albert S. Jr.	D	FL	4th	13-Maj		1st	5 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
McCarthy, Eugene J.	D	MN	4th	14-Maj		1st	5 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Ikard, Frank N.	D	TX	3rd	15-Maj		1st	5 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Reed, Daniel A.	R	NY	19th	1-Min	RM	12th	10 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Jenkins, Thomas A.	R	OH	16th	2-Min		12th	10 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Simpson, Richard M.	R	PA	10th	3-Min		7th	10 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Kean, Robert W.	R	NJ	9th	4-Min		7th	10 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Mason, Noah M.	R	IL	10th	5-Min		5th	10 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Holmes, Hal	R	WA	7th	6-Min		5th	10 Jan 1955	to	2 Jan 1957		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA	DOT	AE	MN	AN
Byrnes, John W.	R	WI	6th	7-Min		5th	10 Jan 1955 to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Sadlak, Antoni N.	R	CT	5th	8-Min		2nd	10 Jan 1955 to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Baker, Howard H.	R	TN	3rd	9-Min		2nd	10 Jan 1955 to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Curtis, Thomas B.	R	MO	3rd	10-Min		2nd	10 Jan 1955 to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
Machrowicz, Thaddeus M.	D	MI	3rd	1-MjR		1st	12 Jan 1956 to	2 Jan 1957		..	..
85th Congress											
Cooper, Jere	D	TN	15th	1-Maj	Ch1	14th	3 Jan 1957 to	18 Dec 1957	MD	..	..
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	10th	2-Maj	Ch2	9th	3 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
Gregory, Noble J.	D	KY	11th	3-Maj		8th	3 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		DN	..
Forand, Aime J.	D	RI	10th	4-Maj		8th	3 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
Eberharter, Herman P.	D	PA	11th	5-Maj		8th	3 Jan 1957 to	9 Sep 1958	MD	..	..
King, Cecil R.	D	CA	9th	6-Maj		5th	3 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
O'Brien, Thomas J.	D	IL	11th	7-Maj		5th	3 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
Boggs, T. Hale	D	LA	7th	8-Maj		5th	3 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
Keogh, Eugene J.	D	NY	11th	9-Maj		3rd	3 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
Harrison, Burr P.	D	VA	7th	10-Maj		2nd	3 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
Karsten, Frank M.	D	MO	6th	11-Maj		2nd	3 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
Herlong, Albert S. Jr.	D	FL	5th	12-Maj		2nd	3 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
McCarthy, Eugene J.	D	MN	5th	13-Maj		2nd	3 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		EF	..
Ikard, Frank N.	D	TX	4th	14-Maj		2nd	3 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
Machrowicz, Thaddeus M.	D	MI	4th	15-Maj		2nd	3 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
Reed, Daniel A.	R	NY	20th	1-Min	RM	13th	7 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
Jenkins, Thomas A.	R	OH	17th	2-Min		13th	7 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		RT	..
Simpson, Richard M.	R	PA	11th	3-Min		8th	7 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
Kean, Robert W.	R	NJ	10th	4-Min		8th	7 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		UC	..
Mason, Noah M.	R	IL	11th	5-Min		6th	7 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
Holmes, Hal	R	WA	8th	6-Min		6th	7 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		RT	..
Byrnes, John W.	R	WI	7th	7-Min		6th	7 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
Sadlak, Antoni N.	R	CT	6th	8-Min		3rd	7 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		DE	..
Baker, Howard H.	R	TN	4th	9-Min		3rd	7 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
Curtis, Thomas B.	R	MO	4th	10-Min		3rd	7 Jan 1957 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
Frazier, James B. Jr.	D	TN	5th	1-MjR		1st	15 Jan 1958 to	2 Jan 1959		..	..
86th Congress											
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	11th	1-Maj	Chr	10th	7 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		..	..
Forand, Aime J.	D	RI	11th	2-Maj		9th	7 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		RT	..
King, Cecil R.	D	CA	10th	3-Maj		6th	7 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		..	..
O'Brien, Thomas J.	D	IL	12th	4-Maj		6th	7 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		..	..
Boggs, T. Hale	D	LA	8th	5-Maj		6th	7 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		..	..
Keogh, Eugene J.	D	NY	12th	6-Maj		4th	7 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		..	..
Harrison, Burr P.	D	VA	8th	7-Maj		3rd	7 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		..	..
Karsten, Frank M.	D	MO	7th	8-Maj		3rd	7 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		..	..
Herlong, Albert S. Jr.	D	FL	6th	9-Maj		3rd	7 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		..	..
Ikard, Frank N.	D	TX	5th	10-Maj		3rd	7 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		..	..
Machrowicz, Thaddeus M.	D	MI	5th	11-Maj		3rd	7 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		..	..
Frazier, James B. Jr.	D	TN	6th	12-Maj		2nd	7 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		..	..
Green, William J. Jr.	D	PA	7th	13-Maj		1st	7 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		..	..
Watts, John C.	D	KY	5th	14-Maj		1st	7 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		..	..
Metcalf, Lee	D	MT	4th	15-Maj		1st	7 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		EF	..
Reed, Daniel A.	R	NY	21st	1-Min	RM1	14th	15 Jan 1959 to	19 Feb 1959	MD	..	..
Simpson, Richard M.	R	PA	12th	2-Min	RM2	9th	15 Jan 1959 to	7 Jan 1960	MD	..	..
Mason, Noah M.	R	IL	12th	3-Min	RM3	7th	15 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		..	..
Byrnes, John W.	R	WI	8th	4-Min		7th	15 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		..	..
Baker, Howard H.	R	TN	5th	5-Min		4th	15 Jan 1959 to	2 Jan 1961		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA	DOT	AE	MN	AN
Curtis, Thomas B.	R	MO	5th	6-Min		4th	15 Jan 1959	to 2 Jan 1961		..	..
Knox, Victor A.	R	MI	4th	7-Min		1st	19 Jan 1959	to 2 Jan 1961		..	..
Utt, James B.	R	CA	4th	8-Min		1st	19 Jan 1959	to 2 Jan 1961		..	..
Betts, Jackson E.	R	OH	5th	9-Min		1st	19 Jan 1959	to 2 Jan 1961		..	..
Alger, Bruce R.	R	TX	3rd	10-Min		1st	19 Jan 1959	to 2 Jan 1961		..	..
Bosch, Albert H.	R	NY	4th	1-MnR		1st	25 Feb 1959	to 31 Dec 1960	RH	ES	..
Lafore, John A. Jr.	R	PA	2nd	2-MnR		1st	18 Jan 1960	to 30 Aug 1960	CN	DN	..
Mumma, Walter M.	R	PA	5th	3-MnR		1st	30 Aug 1960	to 2 Jan 1961		..	..
				87th Congress							
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	12th	1-Maj	Chr	11th	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
King, Cecil R.	D	CA	11th	2-Maj		7th	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
O'Brien, Thomas J.	D	IL	13th	3-Maj		7th	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Boggs, T. Hale	D	LA	9th	4-Maj		7th	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Keogh, Eugene J.	D	NY	13th	5-Maj		5th	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Harrison, Burr P.	D	VA	9th	6-Maj		4th	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		RT	..
Karsten, Frank M.	D	MO	8th	7-Maj		4th	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Herlong, Albert S. Jr.	D	FL	7th	8-Maj		4th	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Ikard, Frank N.	D	TX	6th	9-Maj		4th	23 Jan 1961	to 15 Dec 1961	RN	RT	..
Machrowicz, Thaddeus M.	D	MI	6th	10-Maj		4th	23 Jan 1961	to 18 Sep 1961	RH	AF	..
Frazier, James B. Jr.	D	TN	7th	11-Maj		3rd	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		DN	..
Green, William J. Jr.	D	PA	8th	12-Maj		2nd	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Watts, John C.	D	KY	6th	13-Maj		2nd	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Ullman, Albert C.	D	OR	3rd	14-Maj		1st	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Burke, James A.	D	MA	2nd	15-Maj		1st	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Mason, Noah M.	R	IL	13th	1-Min	RM	8th	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		RT	..
Byrnes, John W.	R	WI	9th	2-Min		8th	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Baker, Howard H.	R	TN	6th	3-Min		5th	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Curtis, Thomas B.	R	MO	6th	4-Min		5th	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Knox, Victor A.	R	MI	5th	5-Min		2nd	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Utt, James B.	R	CA	5th	6-Min		2nd	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Betts, Jackson E.	R	OH	6th	7-Min		2nd	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Alger, Bruce R.	R	TX	4th	8-Min		2nd	23 Jan 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Mumma, Walter M.	R	PA	6th	9-Min		2nd	23 Jan 1961	to 25 Feb 1961	MD	..	..
Derounian, Steven B.	R	NY	5th	10-Min		1st	13 Feb 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Thompson, Clark W.	D	TX	9th	1-MjR		1st	16 Jan 1962	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Griffiths, Martha W.	D	MI	4th	2-MjR		1st	16 Jan 1962	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
Schneebeli, Herman T.	R	PA	2nd	1-MnR		1st	8 Mar 1961	to 2 Jan 1963		..	..
				88th Congress							
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	13th	1-Maj	Chr	12th	9 Jan 1963	to 2 Jan 1965		..	..
King, Cecil R.	D	CA	12th	2-Maj		8th	9 Jan 1963	to 2 Jan 1965		..	..
O'Brien, Thomas J.	D	IL	14th	3-Maj		8th	9 Jan 1963	to 14 Apr 1964	MD	..	..
Boggs, T. Hale	D	LA	10th	4-Maj		8th	9 Jan 1963	to 2 Jan 1965		..	..
Keogh, Eugene J.	D	NY	14th	5-Maj		6th	9 Jan 1963	to 2 Jan 1965		..	..
Karsten, Frank M.	D	MO	9th	6-Maj		5th	9 Jan 1963	to 2 Jan 1965		..	..
Herlong, Albert S. Jr.	D	FL	8th	7-Maj		5th	9 Jan 1963	to 2 Jan 1965		..	..
Green, William J. Jr.	D	PA	9th	8-Maj		3rd	9 Jan 1963	to 21 Dec 1963	MD	..	..
Watts, John C.	D	KY	7th	9-Maj		3rd	9 Jan 1963	to 2 Jan 1965		..	..
Ullman, Albert C.	D	OR	4th	10-Maj		2nd	9 Jan 1963	to 2 Jan 1965		..	..
Burke, James A.	D	MA	3rd	11-Maj		2nd	9 Jan 1963	to 2 Jan 1965		..	..
Thompson, Clark W.	D	TX	10th	12-Maj		2nd	9 Jan 1963	to 2 Jan 1965		..	..
Griffiths, Martha W.	D	MI	5th	13-Maj		2nd	9 Jan 1963	to 2 Jan 1965		..	..
Bass, Ross	D	TN	5th	14-Maj		1st	17 Jan 1963	to 3 Nov 1964	RH	EF	..
Jennings, William Pat	D	VA	5th	15-Maj		1st	17 Jan 1963	to 2 Jan 1965		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Byrnes, John W.	R	WI	10th	1-Min	RM	9th	17 Jan 1963	to	2 Jan 1965		..	..
Baker, Howard H.	R	TN	7th	2-Min		6th	17 Jan 1963	to	7 Jan 1964	MD	..	..
Curtis, Thomas B.	R	MO	7th	3-Min		6th	17 Jan 1963	to	2 Jan 1965		..	..
Knox, Victor A.	R	MI	6th	4-Min		3rd	17 Jan 1963	to	2 Jan 1965		DE	..
Utt, James B.	R	CA	6th	5-Min		3rd	17 Jan 1963	to	2 Jan 1965		..	..
Betts, Jackson E.	R	OH	7th	6-Min		3rd	17 Jan 1963	to	2 Jan 1965		..	..
Alger, Bruce R.	R	TX	5th	7-Min		3rd	17 Jan 1963	to	2 Jan 1965		DE	..
Derounian, Steven B.	R	NY	6th	8-Min		2nd	17 Jan 1963	to	2 Jan 1965		DE	..
Schneebeli, Herman T.	R	PA	3rd	9-Min		2nd	17 Jan 1963	to	2 Jan 1965		..	..
Collier, Harold R.	R	IL	4th	10-Min		1st	24 Jan 1963	to	2 Jan 1965		..	..
Rhodes, George M.	D	PA	8th	1-MjR		1st	21 Jan 1964	to	2 Jan 1965		..	..
Rostenkowski, Daniel D.	D	IL	3rd	2-MjR		1st	5 May 1964	to	2 Jan 1965		..	..
Broyhill, Joel T.	R	VA	6th	1-MnR		1st	22 Jan 1964	to	2 Jan 1965		..	..

89th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	14th	1-Maj	Chr	13th	7 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
King, Cecil R.	D	CA	13th	2-Maj		9th	7 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Boggs, T. Hale	D	LA	11th	3-Maj		9th	7 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Keogh, Eugene J.	D	NY	15th	4-Maj		7th	7 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		RT	..
Karsten, Frank M.	D	MO	10th	5-Maj		6th	7 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Herlong, Albert S. Jr.	D	FL	9th	6-Maj		6th	7 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Watts, John C.	D	KY	8th	7-Maj		4th	7 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Ullman, Albert C.	D	OR	5th	8-Maj		3rd	7 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Burke, James A.	D	MA	4th	9-Maj		3rd	7 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Thompson, Clark W.	D	TX	11th	10-Maj		3rd	7 Jan 1965	to	30 Dec 1966	RN	RT	..
Griffiths, Martha W.	D	MI	6th	11-Maj		3rd	7 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Jennings, William Pat	D	VA	6th	12-Maj		2nd	7 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		DE	..
Rhodes, George M.	D	PA	9th	13-Maj		2nd	7 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Rostenkowski, Daniel D.	D	IL	4th	14-Maj		2nd	7 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Landrum, Phillip M.	D	GA	7th	15-Maj		1st	7 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Vanik, Charles A.	D	OH	6th	16-Maj		1st	7 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Fulton, Richard H.	D	TN	2nd	17-Maj		1st	7 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Byrnes, John W.	R	WI	11th	1-Min	RM	10th	21 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Curtis, Thomas B.	R	MO	8th	2-Min		7th	21 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Utt, James B.	R	CA	7th	3-Min		4th	21 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Betts, Jackson E.	R	OH	8th	4-Min		4th	21 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Schneebeli, Herman T.	R	PA	4th	5-Min		3rd	21 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Collier, Harold R.	R	IL	5th	6-Min		2nd	21 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Broyhill, Joel T.	R	VA	7th	7-Min		2nd	21 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..
Battin, James F.	R	MT	3rd	8-Min		1st	21 Jan 1965	to	2 Jan 1967		..	..

90th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	15th	1-Maj	Chr	14th	10 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
King, Cecil R.	D	CA	14th	2-Maj		10th	10 Jan 1967	to	31 Jul 1968	CN	RT	..
Boggs, T. Hale	D	LA	12th	3-Maj		10th	10 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Karsten, Frank M.	D	MO	11th	4-Maj		7th	10 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		RT	..
Herlong, Albert S. Jr.	D	FL	10th	5-Maj		7th	10 Jan 1967	to	23 Jul 1968	CN	AF	..
Watts, John C.	D	KY	9th	6-Maj		5th	10 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Ullman, Albert C.	D	OR	6th	7-Maj		4th	10 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Burke, James A.	D	MA	5th	8-Maj		4th	10 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Griffiths, Martha W.	D	MI	7th	9-Maj		4th	10 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Rhodes, George M.	D	PA	10th	10-Maj		3rd	10 Jan 1967	to	31 Jul 1968	CN	RT	..
Rostenkowski, Daniel D.	D	IL	5th	11-Maj		3rd	10 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Landrum, Phillip M.	D	GA	8th	12-Maj		2nd	10 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Vanik, Charles A.	D	OH	7th	13-Maj		2nd	10 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Fulton, Richard H.	D	TN	3rd	14-Maj		2nd	10 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Gilbert, Jacob H.	D	NY	5th	15-Maj		1st	17 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Byrnes, John W.	R	WI	12th	1-Min	RM	11th	16 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Curtis, Thomas B.	R	MO	9th	2-Min		8th	16 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		UC	..
Utt, James B.	R	CA	8th	3-Min		5th	16 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Betts, Jackson E.	R	OH	9th	4-Min		5th	16 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Schneebeli, Herman T.	R	PA	5th	5-Min		4th	16 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Collier, Harold R.	R	IL	6th	6-Min		3rd	16 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Broyhill, Joel T.	R	VA	8th	7-Min		3rd	16 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Battin, James F.	R	MT	4th	8-Min		2nd	16 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Conable, Barber B. Jr.	R	NY	2nd	9-Min		1st	26 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Bush, George H. W.	R	TX	1st	10-Min		1st	26 Jan 1967	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Burleson, Omar T.	D	TX	11th	1-MjR		1st	30 Jul 1968	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Corman, James C.	D	CA	4th	2-MjR		1st	1 Aug 1968	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..
Green, William J. III	D	PA	3rd	3-MjR		1st	1 Aug 1968	to	2 Jan 1969		..	..

91st Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	16th	1-Maj	Chr	15th	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Boggs, T. Hale	D	LA	13th	2-Maj		11th	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Watts, John C.	D	KY	10th	3-Maj		6th	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Ullman, Albert C.	D	OR	7th	4-Maj		5th	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Burke, James A.	D	MA	6th	5-Maj		5th	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Griffiths, Martha W.	D	MI	8th	6-Maj		5th	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Rostenkowski, Daniel D.	D	IL	6th	7-Maj		4th	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Landrum, Phillip M.	D	GA	9th	8-Maj		3rd	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Vanik, Charles A.	D	OH	8th	9-Maj		3rd	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Fulton, Richard H.	D	TN	4th	10-Maj		3rd	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Gilbert, Jacob H.	D	NY	6th	11-Maj		2nd	3 Jan 1969	to	15 Dec 1970	CN	DN	..
Burleson, Omar T.	D	TX	12th	12-Maj		2nd	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Corman, James C.	D	CA	5th	13-Maj		2nd	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Green, William J. III	D	PA	4th	14-Maj		2nd	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Gibbons, Sam M.	D	FL	4th	15-Maj		1st	14 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Byrnes, John W.	R	WI	13th	1-Min	RM	12th	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Utt, James B.	R	CA	9th	2-Min		6th	3 Jan 1969	to	1 Mar 1970	MD	..	..
Betts, Jackson E.	R	OH	10th	3-Min		6th	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Schneebeli, Herman T.	R	PA	6th	4-Min		5th	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Collier, Harold R.	R	IL	7th	5-Min		4th	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Broyhill, Joel T.	R	VA	9th	6-Min		4th	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Battin, James F.	R	MT	5th	7-Min		3rd	3 Jan 1969	to	27 Feb 1969	RH	AF	..
Conable, Barber B. Jr.	R	NY	3rd	8-Min		2nd	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Bush, George H. W.	R	TX	2nd	9-Min		2nd	3 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		UC	..
Morton, Rogers C.B.	R	MD	4th	10-Min		1st	29 Jan 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Carey, Hugh L.	D	NY	5th	1-MjR		1st	16 Dec 1970	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Chamberlain, Charles E.	R	MI	7th	1-MnR		1st	5 Mar 1969	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..
Pettis, Jerry L.	R	CA	2nd	2-MnR		1st	30 Apr 1970	to	2 Jan 1971		..	..

92nd Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	17th	1-Maj	Chr	16th	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Boggs, T. Hale	D	LA	14th	2-Maj		12th	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Feb 1971	CN	..	..
Watts, John C.	D	KY	11th	3-Maj		7th	22 Jan 1971	to	24 Sep 1971	MD	..	..
Ullman, Albert C.	D	OR	8th	4-Maj		6th	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Burke, James A.	D	MA	7th	5-Maj		6th	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Griffiths, Martha W.	D	MI	9th	6-Maj		6th	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Rostenkowski, Daniel D.	D	IL	7th	7-Maj		5th	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Landrum, Phillip M.	D	GA	10th	8-Maj		4th	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Vanik, Charles A.	D	OH	9th	9-Maj		4th	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Fulton, Richard H.	D	TN	5th	10-Maj		4th	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Burleson, Omar T.	D	TX	13th	11-Maj		3rd	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Corman, James C.	D	CA	6th	12-Maj		3rd	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Green, William J. III	D	PA	5th	13-Maj		3rd	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Gibbons, Sam M.	D	FL	5th	14-Maj		2nd	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Carey, Hugh L.	D	NY	6th	15-Maj		2nd	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Byrnes, John W.	R	WI	14th	1-Min	RM	13th	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		RT	..
Betts, Jackson E.	R	OH	11th	2-Min		7th	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		RT	..
Schneebeli, Herman T.	R	PA	7th	3-Min		6th	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Collier, Harold R.	R	IL	8th	4-Min		5th	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Broyhill, Joel T.	R	VA	10th	5-Min		5th	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Conable, Barber B. Jr.	R	NY	4th	6-Min		3rd	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Morton, Rogers C.B.	R	MD	5th	7-Min		2nd	22 Jan 1971	to	29 Jan 1971	RH	AF	..
Chamberlain, Charles E.	R	MI	8th	8-Min		2nd	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Pettis, Jerry L.	R	CA	3rd	9-Min		2nd	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Duncan, John J.	R	TN	4th	10-Min		1st	22 Jan 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Waggonner, Joe D. Jr.	D	LA	6th	1-MjR		1st	4 Feb 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Karth, Joseph E.	D	MN	7th	2-MjR		1st	6 Oct 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
Brotzman, Donald G.	R	CO	4th	1-MnR		1st	4 Feb 1971	to	2 Jan 1973		..	..
93rd Congress												
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	18th	1-Maj	Chr	17th	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Ullman, Albert C.	D	OR	9th	2-Maj		7th	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Burke, James A.	D	MA	8th	3-Maj		7th	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Griffiths, Martha W.	D	MI	10th	4-Maj		7th	24 Jan 1973	to	17 Dec 1974	LB	RT	..
Rostenkowski, Daniel D.	D	IL	8th	5-Maj		6th	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Landrum, Phillip M.	D	GA	11th	6-Maj		5th	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Vanik, Charles A.	D	OH	10th	7-Maj		5th	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Fulton, Richard H.	D	TN	6th	8-Maj		5th	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Burleson, Omar T.	D	TX	14th	9-Maj		4th	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Corman, James C.	D	CA	7th	10-Maj		4th	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Green, William J. III	D	PA	6th	11-Maj		4th	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Gibbons, Sam M.	D	FL	6th	12-Maj		3rd	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Carey, Hugh L.	D	NY	7th	13-Maj		3rd	24 Jan 1973	to	17 Dec 1974	LB	ES	..
Waggonner, Joe D. Jr.	D	LA	7th	14-Maj		2nd	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Karth, Joseph E.	D	MN	8th	15-Maj		2nd	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Schneebeli, Herman T.	R	PA	8th	1-Min	RM	7th	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Collier, Harold R.	R	IL	9th	2-Min		6th	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		RT	..
Broyhill, Joel T.	R	VA	11th	3-Min		6th	24 Jan 1973	to	31 Dec 1974	RN	DE	..
Conable, Barber B. Jr.	R	NY	5th	4-Min		4th	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Chamberlain, Charles E.	R	MI	9th	5-Min		3rd	24 Jan 1973	to	31 Dec 1974	RN	RT	..
Pettis, Jerry L.	R	CA	4th	6-Min		3rd	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Duncan, John J.	R	TN	5th	7-Min		2nd	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Brotzman, Donald G.	R	CO	5th	8-Min		2nd	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		DE	..
Clancy, Donald D.	R	OH	7th	9-Min		1st	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Archer, William R.	R	TX	2nd	10-Min		1st	24 Jan 1973	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Pike, Otis G.	D	NY	7th	1-MjR		1st	18 Dec 1974	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
Vander Veen, Richard F.	D	MI	1st	2-MjR		1st	18 Dec 1974	to	2 Jan 1975		..	..
94th Congress												
Ullman, Albert C.	D	OR	10th	1-Maj	Chr	8th	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Mills, Wilbur D.	D	AR	19th	2-Maj		18th	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		RT	..
Burke, James A.	D	MA	9th	3-Maj		8th	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Rostenkowski, Daniel D.	D	IL	9th	4-Maj		7th	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Landrum, Phillip M.	D	GA	12th	5-Maj		6th	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		RT	..
Vanik, Charles A.	D	OH	11th	6-Maj		6th	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Fulton, Richard H.	D	TN	7th	7-Maj		6th	20 Jan 1975	to	14 Aug 1975	RH	ES	..
Burleson, Omar T.	D	TX	15th	8-Maj		5th	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Corman, James C.	D	CA	8th	9-Maj		5th	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Green, William J. III	D	PA	7th	10-Maj		5th	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		UC	..
Gibbons, Sam M.	D	FL	7th	11-Maj		4th	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Waggonner, Joe D. Jr.	D	LA	8th	12-Maj		3rd	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Karth, Joseph E.	D	MN	9th	13-Maj		3rd	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		RT	..
Pike, Otis G.	D	NY	8th	14-Maj		2nd	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Vander Veen, Richard F.	D	MI	2nd	15-Maj		2nd	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		DE	..
Pickle, J. J. (Jake)	D	TX	7th	16-Maj		1st	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Helstoski, Henry	D	NJ	6th	17-Maj		1st	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		DE	..
Rangel, Charles B.	D	NY	3rd	18-Maj		1st	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Cotter, William R.	D	CT	3rd	19-Maj		1st	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Stark, Fortney Pete	D	CA	2nd	20-Maj		1st	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Jones, James R.	D	OK	2nd	21-Maj		1st	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Jacobs, Andrew Jr.	D	IN	5th	22-Maj		1st	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Mikva, Abner J.	D	IL	3rd	23-Maj		1st	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Keys, Martha E.	D	KS	1st	24-Maj		1st	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Fisher, Joseph L.	D	VA	1st	25-Maj		1st	20 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Schneebeli, Herman T.	R	PA	9th	1-Min	RM	8th	23 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		RT	..
Conable, Barber B. Jr.	R	NY	6th	2-Min		5th	23 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Pettis, Jerry L.	R	CA	5th	3-Min		4th	23 Jan 1975	to	14 Feb 1975	MD	..	..
Duncan, John J.	R	TN	6th	4-Min		3rd	23 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Clancy, Donald D.	R	OH	8th	5-Min		2nd	23 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		DE	..
Archer, William R.	R	TX	3rd	6-Min		2nd	23 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Vander Jagt, Guy A.	R	MI	6th	7-Min		1st	23 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Steiger, William A.	R	WI	5th	8-Min		1st	23 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Crane, Philip M.	R	IL	4th	9-Min		1st	23 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Frenzel, William E.	R	MN	3rd	10-Min		1st	23 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Martin, James G.	R	NC	2nd	11-Min		1st	23 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Bafalis, Louis A. (Skip)	R	FL	2nd	12-Min		1st	23 Jan 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Ford, Harold E.	D	TN	1st	1-MjR		1st	30 Sep 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
Ketchum, William M.	R	CA	2nd	1-MnR		1st	21 Mar 1975	to	2 Jan 1977		..	..
95th Congress												
Ullman, Albert C.	D	OR	11th	1-Maj	Chr	9th	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Burke, James A.	D	MA	10th	2-Maj		9th	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		RT	..
Rostenkowski, Daniel D.	D	IL	10th	3-Maj		8th	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Vanik, Charles A.	D	OH	12th	4-Maj		7th	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Burleson, Omar T.	D	TX	16th	5-Maj		6th	19 Jan 1977	to	31 Dec 1978	RN	RT	..
Corman, James C.	D	CA	9th	6-Maj		6th	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Gibbons, Sam M.	D	FL	8th	7-Maj		5th	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Waggonner, Joe D. Jr.	D	LA	9th	8-Maj		4th	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		RT	..
Pike, Otis G.	D	NY	9th	9-Maj		3rd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		RT	..
Pickle, J. J. (Jake)	D	TX	8th	10-Maj		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Rangel, Charles B.	D	NY	4th	11-Maj		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Cotter, William R.	D	CT	4th	12-Maj		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Stark, Fortney Pete	D	CA	3rd	13-Maj		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Jones, James R.	D	OK	3rd	14-Maj		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Jacobs, Andrew Jr.	D	IN	6th	15-Maj		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Mikva, Abner J.	D	IL	4th	16-Maj		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Keys, Martha E.	D	KS	2nd	17-Maj		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		DE	..
Fisher, Joseph L.	D	VA	2nd	18-Maj		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Ford, Harold E.	D	TN	2nd	19-Maj		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Holland, Kenneth L.	D	SC	2nd	20-Maj		1st	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Brodhead, William M.	D	MI	2nd	21-Maj		1st	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Jenkins, Edgar L.	D	GA	1st	22-Maj		1st	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Gephardt, Richard A.	D	MO	1st	23-Maj		1st	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Tucker, James G. Jr.	D	AR	1st	24-Maj		1st	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		UC	..
Lederer, Raymond F.	D	PA	1st	25-Maj		1st	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Conable, Barber B. Jr.	R	NY	7th	1-Min	RM	6th	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Duncan, John J.	R	TN	7th	2-Min		4th	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Archer, William R.	R	TX	4th	3-Min		3rd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Vander Jagt, Guy A.	R	MI	7th	4-Min		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Steiger, William A.	R	WI	6th	5-Min		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	4 Dec 1978	MD	..	..
Crane, Philip M.	R	IL	5th	6-Min		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Frenzel, William E.	R	MN	4th	7-Min		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Martin, James G.	R	NC	3rd	8-Min		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Bafalis, Louis A. (Skip)	R	FL	3rd	9-Min		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Ketchum, William M.	R	CA	3rd	10-Min		2nd	19 Jan 1977	to	24 Jun 1978	MD	..	..
Schulze, Richard T.	R	PA	2nd	11-Min		1st	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Gradison, Willis D. Jr.	R	OH	2nd	12-Min		1st	19 Jan 1977	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..
Rousselot, John H.	R	CA	6th	1-MnR		1st	29 Jun 1978	to	2 Jan 1979		..	..

96th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Ullman, Albert C.	D	OR	12th	1-Maj	Chr	10th	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		DE	..
Rostenkowski, Daniel D.	D	IL	11th	2-Maj		9th	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Vanik, Charles A.	D	OH	13th	3-Maj		8th	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		RT	..
Corman, James C.	D	CA	10th	4-Maj		7th	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		DE	..
Gibbons, Sam M.	D	FL	9th	5-Maj		6th	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Pickle, J. J. (Jake)	D	TX	9th	6-Maj		3rd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Rangel, Charles B.	D	NY	5th	7-Maj		3rd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Cotter, William R.	D	CT	5th	8-Maj		3rd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Stark, Fortney Pete	D	CA	4th	9-Maj		3rd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Jones, James R.	D	OK	4th	10-Maj		3rd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Jacobs, Andrew Jr.	D	IN	7th	11-Maj		3rd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Mikva, Abner J.	D	IL	5th	12-Maj		3rd	24 Jan 1979	to	26 Sep 1979	RH	AF	..
Fisher, Joseph L.	D	VA	3rd	13-Maj		3rd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		DE	..
Ford, Harold E.	D	TN	3rd	14-Maj		3rd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Holland, Kenneth L.	D	SC	3rd	15-Maj		2nd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Brodhead, William M.	D	MI	3rd	16-Maj		2nd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Jenkins, Edgar L.	D	GA	2nd	17-Maj		2nd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Gephardt, Richard A.	D	MO	2nd	18-Maj		2nd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Lederer, Raymond F.	D	PA	2nd	19-Maj		2nd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	NT
Downey, Thomas J.	D	NY	3rd	20-Maj		1st	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Heftel, Cecil	D	HI	2nd	21-Maj		1st	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Fowler, Wyche Jr.	D	GA	2nd	22-Maj		1st	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Guarini, Frank J.	D	NJ	1st	23-Maj		1st	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Shannon, James M.	D	MA	1st	24-Maj		1st	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Conable, Barber B. Jr.	R	NY	8th	1-Min	RM	7th	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Duncan, John J.	R	TN	8th	2-Min		5th	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Archer, William R.	R	TX	5th	3-Min		4th	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Vander Jagt, Guy A.	R	MI	8th	4-Min		3rd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Crane, Philip M.	R	IL	6th	5-Min		3rd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Frenzel, William E.	R	MN	5th	6-Min		3rd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Martin, James G.	R	NC	4th	7-Min		3rd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Bafalis, Louis A. (Skip)	R	FL	4th	8-Min		3rd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Schulze, Richard T.	R	PA	3rd	9-Min		2nd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Gradison, Willis D. Jr.	R	OH	3rd	10-Min		2nd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Rousselot, John H.	R	CA	7th	11-Min		2nd	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Moore, W. Henson	R	LA	3rd	12-Min		1st	24 Jan 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..
Russo, Martin A.	D	IL	3rd	1-MjR		1st	23 Oct 1979	to	2 Jan 1981		..	..

97th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Rostenkowski, Daniel D.	D	IL	12th	1-Maj	Chr	10th	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Gibbons, Sam M.	D	FL	10th	2-Maj		7th	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Pickle, J. J. (Jake)	D	TX	10th	3-Maj		4th	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Rangel, Charles B.	D	NY	6th	4-Maj		4th	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Cotter, William R.	D	CT	6th	5-Maj		4th	28 Jan 1981	to	8 Sep 1981	MD	..	..
Stark, Fortney Pete	D	CA	5th	6-Maj		4th	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Jones, James R.	D	OK	5th	7-Maj		4th	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Jacobs, Andrew Jr.	D	IN	8th	8-Maj		4th	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Ford, Harold E.	D	TN	4th	9-Maj		4th	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Holland, Kenneth L.	D	SC	4th	10-Maj		3rd	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		DE	..
Brodhead, William M.	D	MI	4th	11-Maj		3rd	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		RT	..
Jenkins, Edgar L.	D	GA	3rd	12-Maj		3rd	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Gephardt, Richard A.	D	MO	3rd	13-Maj		3rd	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Downey, Thomas J.	D	NY	4th	14-Maj		2nd	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Heftel, Cecil	D	HI	3rd	15-Maj		2nd	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Fowler, Wyche Jr.	D	GA	3rd	16-Maj		2nd	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Guarini, Frank J.	D	NJ	2nd	17-Maj		2nd	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Shannon, James M.	D	MA	2nd	18-Maj		2nd	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Russo, Martin A.	D	IL	4th	19-Maj		2nd	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Pease, Donald J.	D	OH	3rd	20-Maj		1st	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Hance, Kent	D	TX	2nd	21-Maj		1st	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Matsui, Robert T.	D	CA	2nd	22-Maj		1st	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Bailey, Donald A	D	PA	2nd	23-Maj		1st	25 Feb 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		DN	..
Conable, Barber B. Jr.	R	NY	9th	1-Min	RM	8th	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Duncan, John J.	R	TN	9th	2-Min		6th	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Archer, William R.	R	TX	6th	3-Min		5th	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Vander Jagt, Guy A.	R	MI	9th	4-Min		4th	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Crane, Philip M.	R	IL	7th	5-Min		4th	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Frenzel, William E.	R	MN	6th	6-Min		4th	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Martin, James G.	R	NC	5th	7-Min		4th	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Bafalis, Louis A. (Skip)	R	FL	5th	8-Min		4th	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		UC	..
Schulze, Richard T.	R	PA	4th	9-Min		3rd	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Gradison, Willis D. Jr.	R	OH	4th	10-Min		3rd	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Rousselot, John H.	R	CA	8th	11-Min		3rd	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		DE	..
Moore, W. Henson	R	LA	4th	12-Min		2nd	28 Jan 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..
Anthony, Beryl F. Jr.	D	AR	2nd	1-MjR		1st	7 Oct 1981	to	2 Jan 1983		..	..

98th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Rostenkowski, Daniel D.	D	IL	13th	1-Maj	Chr	11th	6 Jan 1983	to	2 Jan 1985		..	..
Gibbons, Sam M.	D	FL	11th	2-Maj		8th	6 Jan 1983	to	2 Jan 1985		..	..
Pickle, J. J. (Jake)	D	TX	11th	3-Maj		5th	6 Jan 1983	to	2 Jan 1985		..	..
Rangel, Charles B.	D	NY	7th	4-Maj		5th	6 Jan 1983	to	2 Jan 1985		..	..
Stark, Fortney Pete	D	CA	6th	5-Maj		5th	6 Jan 1983	to	2 Jan 1985		..	..
Jones, James R.	D	OK	6th	6-Maj		5th	6 Jan 1983	to	2 Jan 1985		..	..
Jacobs, Andrew Jr.	D	IN	9th	7-Maj		5th	6 Jan 1983	to	2 Jan 1985		..	..
Ford, Harold E.	D	TN	5th	8-Maj		5th	6 Jan 1983	to	2 Jan 1985		..	..
Jenkins, Edgar L.	D	GA	4th	9-Maj		4th	6 Jan 1983	to	2 Jan 1985		..	..
Gephardt, Richard A.	D	MO	4th	10-Maj		4th	6 Jan 1983	to	2 Jan 1985		..	..
Downey, Thomas J.	D	NY	5th	11-Maj		3rd	6 Jan 1983	to	2 Jan 1985		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA	DOT	AE	MN	AN
Heftel, Cecil	D	HI	4th	12-Maj		3rd	31 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Fowler, Wyche Jr.	D	GA	4th	13-Maj		3rd	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Guarini, Frank J.	D	NJ	3rd	14-Maj		3rd	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Shannon, James M.	D	MA	3rd	15-Maj		3rd	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		UC	..
Russo, Martin A.	D	IL	5th	16-Maj		3rd	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Pease, Donald J.	D	OH	4th	17-Maj		2nd	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Hance, Kent	D	TX	3rd	18-Maj		2nd	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		UC	..
Matsui, Robert T.	D	CA	3rd	19-Maj		2nd	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Anthony, Beryl F. Jr.	D	AR	3rd	20-Maj		2nd	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Flippo, Ronnie G.	D	AL	4th	21-Maj		1st	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Dorgan, Byron L.	D	ND	2nd	22-Maj		1st	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Kennelly, Barbara B.	D	CT	2nd	23-Maj		1st	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Conable, Barber B. Jr.	R	NY	10th	1-Min	RM	9th	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		RT	..
Duncan, John J.	R	TN	10th	2-Min		7th	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Archer, William R.	R	TX	7th	3-Min		6th	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Vander Jagt, Guy A.	R	MI	10th	4-Min		5th	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Crane, Philip M.	R	IL	8th	5-Min		5th	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Frenzel, William E.	R	MN	7th	6-Min		5th	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Martin, James G.	R	NC	6th	7-Min		5th	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		ES	..
Schulze, Richard T.	R	PA	5th	8-Min		4th	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Gradison, Willis D. Jr.	R	OH	5th	9-Min		4th	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Moore, W. Henson	R	LA	5th	10-Min		3rd	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Campbell, Carroll A Jr	R	SC	3rd	11-Min		1st	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..
Thomas, William M.	R	CA	3rd	12-Min		1st	6 Jan 1983	to 2 Jan 1985		..	..

99th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA	DOT	AE	MN	AN
Rostenkowski, Daniel D.	D	IL	14th	1-Maj	Chr	12th	7 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Gibbons, Sam M.	D	FL	12th	2-Maj		9th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Pickle, J. J. (Jake)	D	TX	12th	3-Maj		6th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Rangel, Charles B.	D	NY	8th	4-Maj		6th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Stark, Fortney Pete	D	CA	7th	5-Maj		6th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Jones, James R.	D	OK	7th	6-Maj		6th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		UC	..
Jacobs, Andrew Jr.	D	IN	10th	7-Maj		6th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Ford, Harold E.	D	TN	6th	8-Maj		6th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Jenkins, Edgar L.	D	GA	5th	9-Maj		5th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Gephardt, Richard A.	D	MO	5th	10-Maj		5th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Downey, Thomas J.	D	NY	6th	11-Maj		4th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Heftel, Cecil	D	HI	5th	12-Maj		4th	30 Jan 1985	to 11 Jul 1986	RS	UC	..
Fowler, Wyche Jr.	D	GA	5th	13-Maj		4th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		EF	..
Guarini, Frank J.	D	NJ	4th	14-Maj		4th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Russo, Martin A.	D	IL	6th	15-Maj		4th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Pease, Donald J.	D	OH	5th	16-Maj		3rd	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Matsui, Robert T.	D	CA	4th	17-Maj		3rd	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Anthony, Beryl F. Jr.	D	AR	4th	18-Maj		3rd	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Flippo, Ronnie G.	D	AL	5th	19-Maj		2nd	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Dorgan, Byron L.	D	ND	3rd	20-Maj		2nd	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Kennelly, Barbara B.	D	CT	3rd	21-Maj		2nd	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Donnelly, Brian J.	D	MA	4th	22-Maj		1st	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Coyne, William J.	D	PA	3rd	23-Maj		1st	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Duncan, John J.	R	TN	11th	1-Min	RM	8th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Archer, William R.	R	TX	8th	2-Min		7th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Vander Jagt, Guy A.	R	MI	11th	3-Min		6th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Crane, Philip M.	R	IL	9th	4-Min		6th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Frenzel, William E.	R	MN	8th	5-Min		6th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..
Schulze, Richard T.	R	PA	6th	6-Min		5th	30 Jan 1985	to 2 Jan 1987		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Gradison, Willis D. Jr.	R	OH	6th	7-Min		5th	30 Jan 1985	to	2 Jan 1987		..	..
Moore, W. Henson	R	LA	6th	8-Min		4th	30 Jan 1985	to	2 Jan 1987		UC	..
Campbell, Carroll A Jr	R	SC	4th	9-Min		2nd	30 Jan 1985	to	2 Jan 1987		UC	..
Thomas, William M.	R	CA	4th	10-Min		2nd	30 Jan 1985	to	2 Jan 1987		..	..
McGrath, Raymond J.	R	NY	3rd	11-Min		1st	30 Jan 1985	to	2 Jan 1987		..	..
Daub, Hal	R	NE	3rd	12-Min		1st	30 Jan 1985	to	2 Jan 1987		..	..
Gregg, Judd	R	NH	3rd	13-Min		1st	30 Jan 1985	to	2 Jan 1987		..	..
Andrews, Michael A.	D	TX	2nd	1-MjR		1st	29 Jul 1986	to	2 Jan 1987		..	..

100th Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Rostenkowski, Daniel D.	D	IL	15th	1-Maj	Chr	13th	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Gibbons, Sam M.	D	FL	13th	2-Maj		10th	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Pickle, J. J. (Jake)	D	TX	13th	3-Maj		7th	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Rangel, Charles B.	D	NY	9th	4-Maj		7th	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Stark, Fortney Pete	D	CA	8th	5-Maj		7th	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Jacobs, Andrew Jr.	D	IN	11th	6-Maj		7th	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Ford, Harold E.	D	TN	7th	7-Maj		7th	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Jenkins, Edgar L.	D	GA	6th	8-Maj		6th	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Gephardt, Richard A.	D	MO	6th	9-Maj		6th	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Downey, Thomas J.	D	NY	7th	10-Maj		5th	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Guarini, Frank J.	D	NJ	5th	11-Maj		5th	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Russo, Martin A.	D	IL	7th	12-Maj		5th	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Pease, Donald J.	D	OH	6th	13-Maj		4th	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Matsui, Robert T.	D	CA	5th	14-Maj		4th	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Anthony, Beryl F. Jr.	D	AR	5th	15-Maj		4th	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Flippo, Ronnie G.	D	AL	6th	16-Maj		3rd	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Dorgan, Byron L.	D	ND	4th	17-Maj		3rd	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Kennelly, Barbara B.	D	CT	4th	18-Maj		3rd	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Donnelly, Brian J.	D	MA	5th	19-Maj		2nd	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Coyne, William J.	D	PA	4th	20-Maj		2nd	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Andrews, Michael A.	D	TX	3rd	21-Maj		2nd	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Levin, Sander M.	D	MI	3rd	22-Maj		3rd	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Moody, Jim	D	WI	3rd	23-Maj		3rd	6 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Duncan, John J.	R	TN	12th	1-Min	RM1	9th	21 Jan 1987	to	2 Jun 1988	MD	..	..
Archer, William R.	R	TX	9th	2-Min	RM2	8th	21 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Vander Jagt, Guy A.	R	MI	12th	3-Min		7th	21 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Crane, Philip M.	R	IL	10th	4-Min		7th	21 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Frenzel, William E.	R	MN	9th	5-Min		7th	21 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Schulze, Richard T.	R	PA	7th	6-Min		6th	21 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Gradison, Willis D. Jr.	R	OH	7th	7-Min		6th	21 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Thomas, William M.	R	CA	5th	8-Min		3rd	21 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
McGrath, Raymond J.	R	NY	4th	9-Min		2nd	21 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Daub, Hal	R	NE	4th	10-Min		2nd	21 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		UC	..
Gregg, Judd	R	NH	4th	11-Min		2nd	21 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		ES	..
Brown, Hank	R	CO	4th	12-Min		1st	21 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Chandler, Rodney	R	WA	3rd	13-Min		1st	21 Jan 1987	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..
Shaw, E. Clay Jr.	R	FL	4th	1-MnR		1st	7 Jul 1988	to	2 Jan 1989		..	..

101st Congress

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Rostenkowski, Daniel D.	D	IL	16th	1-Maj	Chr	14th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Gibbons, Sam M.	D	FL	14th	2-Maj		11th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Pickle, J. J. (Jake)	D	TX	14th	3-Maj		8th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Rangel, Charles B.	D	NY	10th	4-Maj		8th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Stark, Fortney Pete	D	CA	9th	5-Maj		8th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Jacobs, Andrew Jr.	D	IN	12th	6-Maj		8th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..

MEMBER	PARTY	STATE	CHS	RANK	SP	CMS	DOA		DOT	AE	MN	AN
Ford, Harold E.	D	TN	8th	7-Maj		8th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Jenkins, Edgar L.	D	GA	7th	8-Maj		7th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Gephardt, Richard A.	D	MO	7th	9-Maj		7th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Downey, Thomas J.	D	NY	8th	10-Maj		6th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Guarini, Frank J.	D	NJ	6th	11-Maj		6th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Russo, Martin A.	D	IL	8th	12-Maj		6th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Pease, Donald J.	D	OH	7th	13-Maj		5th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Matsui, Robert T.	D	CA	6th	14-Maj		5th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Anthony, Beryl F. Jr.	D	AR	6th	15-Maj		5th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Flippo, Ronnie G.	D	AL	7th	16-Maj		4th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Dorgan, Byron L.	D	ND	5th	17-Maj		4th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Kennelly, Barbara B.	D	CT	5th	18-Maj		4th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Donnelly, Brian J.	D	MA	6th	19-Maj		3rd	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Coyne, William J.	D	PA	5th	20-Maj		3rd	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Andrews, Michael A.	D	TX	4th	21-Maj		3rd	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Levin, Sander M.	D	MI	4th	22-Maj		4th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Moody, Jim	D	WI	4th	23-Maj		4th	3 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Archer, William R.	R	TX	10th	1-Min	RM	9th	4 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Vander Jagt, Guy A.	R	MI	13th	2-Min		8th	4 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Crane, Philip M.	R	IL	11th	3-Min		8th	4 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Frenzel, William E.	R	MN	10th	4-Min		8th	4 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Schulze, Richard T.	R	PA	8th	5-Min		7th	4 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Gradison, Willis D. Jr.	R	OH	8th	6-Min		7th	4 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Thomas, William M.	R	CA	6th	7-Min		4th	4 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
McGrath, Raymond J.	R	NY	5th	8-Min		3rd	4 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Brown, Hank	R	CO	5th	9-Min		2nd	4 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Chandler, Rodney	R	WA	4th	10-Min		2nd	4 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Shaw, E. Clay Jr.	R	FL	5th	11-Min		2nd	4 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Sundquist, Donald K.	R	TN	4th	12-Min		1st	4 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..
Johnson, Nancy L.	R	CT	4th	13-Min		1st	4 Jan 1989	to	---		..	..

Biographies of Committee Members

Abbot, Joel (JR-GA), Ridgefield, CT, Mar. 17, 1776-Nov. 19, 1826; House 1817-25; Congresses on Ways and Means 15.

Aldrich, Richard S. (R-RI), Washington, DC, Feb. 29, 1884-Dec. 25, 1941; House 1923-33; Congresses on Ways and Means 69, 70, 71, 72.

Alexander, Mark (J-VA), Boydton, VA, Feb. 7, 1792-Oct. 7, 1883; House 1819-33; Congresses on Ways and Means 21, 22.

Alger, Bruce R. (R-TX), Dallas, TX, June 12, 1918- ; House 1955-65; Congresses on Ways and Means 86, 87, 88.

Allen, Alfred G. (D-OH), Wilmington, OH, July 23, 1867-Dec. 9, 1932; House 1911-17; Congresses on Ways and Means 64.

Allison, William B. (R-IA), Perry, OH, Mar. 2, 1829-Aug. 4, 1908; House 1863-71; Senate 1873-Aug. 4, 1908; Congresses on Ways and Means 39, 40, 41.

Alston, Willis (JR-NC), Littleton, NC, 1769-Apr. 10, 1837; House 1799-1815, 1825-31; Congresses on Ways and Means 10, 11, 13.

Ames, Fisher (PAU-MA), Dedham, MA, Apr. 9, 1758-July 4, 1808; House 1789-1797; Congresses on Ways and Means 3.

PARTY AFFILIATIONS

AJ	Anti-Jacksonian
AM	Anti-Masonic
AP	American Party
CU	Constitutional Unionist
D	Democrat
F	Federalist
FS	Free Soil
I	Independent
ID	Independent Democrat
J	Jacksonian
JR	Jeffersonian Republican
LR	Liberal Republican
N	Nullifier
NAM	National Anti-Monopolist
OP	Opposition Party
PAU	Party Affiliation Unknown
P	Progressive
R	Republican
SRD	States Rights Democrat
U	Unionist
UU	Unconditional Unionist
UR	Union Republican
W	Whig

Anderson, Clinton P. (D-NM), Centerville, SD, Oct. 23, 1895-Nov. 11, 1975; House 1941-June 30, 1945; Senate 1949-73; Congresses on Ways and Means 79.

Anderson, Sydney (R-MN), Zumbrota, MN, Sept. 18, 1881-Oct. 8, 1948; House 1911-25; Congresses on Ways and Means 63.

Andrews, Michael A. (D-TX), Houston, TX, Feb. 7, 1944- ; House 1983- ; Congresses on Ways and Means 99, 100, 101.

Ansberry, Timothy T. (D-OH), Defiance, OH, Dec. 24, 1871-July 5, 1943; House 1907-Jan. 9, 1915; Congresses on Ways and Means 62, 63.

Anthony, Beryl F., Jr. (D-AR), El Dorado, AR, Feb. 21, 1938- ; House 1979- ; Congresses on Ways and Means 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Appleton, William (W, R-MA), Brookfield, MA, Nov. 16, 1786-Feb. 15, 1862; House 1851-55, 1861-Sept. 27, 1861; Congresses on Ways and Means 32, 33, 37.

Archer, Stevenson (JR-MD), Churchville, MD, Oct. 11, 1786-June 26, 1848; House Oct. 26, 1811-17, 1819-21; Congresses on Ways and Means 13.

Archer, William R., Jr. (R-TX), Houston, TX, Mar. 22, 1928- ; House 1971- ; Congresses on Ways and Means 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Ashmun, George (W-MA), Blandford, MA, Dec. 25, 1804-July 16, 1870; House 1845-51; Congresses on Ways and Means 31.

Atherton, Charles G. (D-NH), Amherst, NH, July 4, 1804-Nov. 15, 1853; House 1837-43; Senate 1843-49; Congresses on Ways and Means 25, 26, 27.

Babcock, Joseph W. (R-WI), Swanton, VT, Mar. 6, 1850-Apr. 27, 1909; House 1893-1907; Congresses on Ways and Means 57, 58, 59.

Bacharach, Isaac (R-NJ), Philadelphia, PA, Jan. 5, 1870-Sept. 5, 1956; House 1915-37; Congresses on Ways and Means 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74.

Bacon, Ezekiel (JR-MA), Boston, MA, Sept. 1, 1776-Oct. 18, 1870; House Sept. 16, 1807-13; Congresses on Ways and Means 11, 12; Chairman 12th Congress.

Bafalis, Louis A., "Skip" (R-FL), Boston, MA, Sept. 28, 1929- ; House 1973-83; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95, 96, 97.

Bailey, Donald A. (D-PA), Pittsburgh, PA, July 21, 1945- ; House 1979-83; Congresses on Ways and Means 97.

Bailey, Joseph W. (D-TX), Crystal Springs, MS, Oct. 6, 1862-Apr. 13, 1929; House 1891-1901; Senate 1901-Jan. 3, 1913; Congresses on Ways and Means 55.

Baker, Howard H. (R-TN), Somerset, KY, Jan. 12, 1902-Jan. 7, 1964; House 1951-Jan. 7, 1964; Congresses on Ways and Means 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88.

Baldwin, Abraham (JR-GA), North Guilford, CT, Nov. 2, 1754-Apr. 4, 1807; House 1789-99; Senate 1799-Apr. 4, 1807; Congresses on Ways and Means 3, 4, 5; Member of Continental Congress 1785 and 1787-88; Delegate to the United States Constitutional Convention and signer of the United States Constitution 1787.

Banks, Nathaniel P. (R-MA), Waltham, MA, Jan. 30, 1816-Sept. 1, 1894; House 1853-Dec. 24, 1857, Dec. 4, 1865-73, 1875-79, 1889-91; Congresses on Ways and Means 35, 45; Speaker of the House 34th Congress; Governor of MA 1858-61.

Barbour, Philip P. (J-VA), Gordonsville, VA, May 25, 1783-Feb. 25, 1841; House Sept. 19, 1814-25, 1827-Oct. 15, 1830; Congresses on Ways and Means 21; Speaker of the House 17th Congress; Associate Justice of the Supreme Court 1836-Feb. 25, 1841.

Barnard, Daniel D. (W-NY), Sheffield, MA, July 16, 1779-Apr. 24, 1861; House 1827-29, 1839-45; Congresses on Ways and Means 28.

Bartlett, Bailey (F-MA), Haverhill, MA, Jan. 29, 1750-Sept. 9, 1830; House Nov. 27, 1797-1801; Congresses on Ways and Means 6.

Bass, Ross (D-TN), Pulaski, TN, Mar. 17, 1918- ; House 1955-Nov. 3, 1964; Senate Nov. 4, 1964-67; Congresses on Ways and Means 88.

Battin, James F. (R-MT), Wichita, KS, Feb.

13, 1925- ; House 1961-Feb. 27, 1969; Congresses on Ways and Means 89, 90, 91.

Bayard, James A., Sr. (F-DE), Philadelphia, PA, July 28, 1767-Aug. 6, 1815; House 1797-1803; Senate Nov. 13, 1804-13; Congresses on Ways and Means 5, 7.

Bayly, Thomas H. (D-VA), Drummondtown, VA, Dec. 11, 1810-June 23, 1856; House May 6, 1844-June 23, 1856; Congresses on Ways and Means 28, 31; Chairman 31st Congress.

Bayne, Thomas M. (R-PA), Bellevue, PA, June 14, 1836-June 16, 1894; House 1877-91; Congresses on Ways and Means 51.

Beck, James B. (D-KY), Dumfriesshire, Scotland, Feb. 13, 1822-May 3, 1890; House 1867-75; Senate 1877-May 3, 1890; Congresses on Ways and Means 42, 43.

Betts, Jackson E. (R-OH), Findlay, OH, May 26, 1904- ; House 1951-73; Congresses on Ways and Means 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92.

Bibb, William W. (JR-GA), Amelia County, VA, Oct. 2, 1781-July 9, 1820; House Jan. 26, 1807-Nov. 6, 1813; Senate Nov. 6, 1813-Nov. 9, 1816; Congresses on Ways and Means 12, 13; Governor of AL 1817-July 9, 1820.

Biddle, Richard (W-PA), Philadelphia, PA, Mar. 25, 1796-July 6, 1847; House 1837-40; Congresses on Ways and Means 26.

Billinghurst, Charles (R-WI), Brighton, NY, July 27, 1818-Aug. 18, 1865; House 1855-59; Congresses on Ways and Means 34.

Binney, Horace (W-PA), Philadelphia, PA, Jan. 4, 1780-Aug. 12, 1875; House 1833-35; Congresses on Ways and Means 23.

Bixler, Harris J. (R-PA), New Buffalo, PA, Sept. 16, 1870-Mar. 29, 1941; House 1921-27; Congresses on Ways and Means 69.

Blackburn, Joseph C. S. (D-KY), Spring Station, KY, Oct. 1, 1838-Sept. 12, 1918; House 1875-85; Senate 1885-97, 1901-07; Congresses on Ways and Means 48.

Blaine, James G. (R-ME), West Brownsville, PA, January 31, 1830-Jan. 27, 1893; House 1863-July 10, 1876; Senate July 10, 1876-1881; Congresses on Ways and Means 44; Speaker of the House 41st-43d Congresses.

Blair, Austin (R-MI), Caroline, NY, Feb. 8, 1818-Aug. 6, 1894; House 1867-73; Congresses on Ways and Means 41; Governor of MI, 1861-65.

Blount, James H. (D-GA), Clinton, GA, Sept. 12, 1837-Mar. 8, 1903; House 1873-93; Congresses on Ways and Means 48.

Blount, Thomas (JR-NC), Craven (now Pitt) County, NC, May 10, 1759-Feb. 7, 1812; House 1793-99, 1805-09, 1811-Feb. 7, 1812; Congresses on Ways and Means 4, 5.

Blow, Henry T. (UU-MO), Southampton County, VA, July 15, 1817-Sept. 11, 1875; House 1863-67; Congresses on Ways and Means 38.

Boatner, Charles J. (D-LA), Columbia, LA, Jan. 23, 1849-Mar. 21, 1903; House 1889-95, June 10, 1896-97; Congresses on Ways and Means 54.

Boehne, John W., Jr. (D-IN), Evansville, IN, Mar. 2, 1895-July 5, 1973; House 1931-43; Congresses on Ways and Means 73, 74, 75, 76, 77.

Boggs, Thomas H., Sr. (D-LA), Long Beach, MS, Feb. 15, 1914-Missing and presumed dead Oct. 16, 1972; House 1941-43, 1947-Jan. 3, 1973; Congresses on Ways and Means 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91.

Boland, Patrick J. (D-PA), Scranton, PA, Jan. 6, 1880-May 18, 1942; House 1931-May 18, 1942; Congresses on Ways and Means 76, 77.

Bonynge, Robert W. (R-CO), New York, NY, Sept. 8, 1863-Sept. 22, 1939; House Feb. 16, 1904-Mar. 3, 1909; Congresses on Ways and Means 60.

Bosch, Albert H. (R-NY), New York, NY, Oct. 30, 1908- ; House 1953-Dec. 31, 1960; Congresses on Ways and Means 86.

Botts, John M. (W-VA), Dumfries, VA, Sept. 16, 1802-Jan. 8, 1869; House 1839-43, 1847-49; Congresses on Ways and Means 27.

Boudinot, Elias (PAU-NJ), Philadelphia, PA, May 2, 1740-Oct. 24, 1821; House 1789-95; Congresses on Ways and Means 3; Member of the Continental Congress 1778, and 1781-83, President of the Continental Congress 1782 and 1783.

Bourne, Benjamin (F-RI), Bristol, RI, Sept. 9, 1755-Sept. 17, 1808; House Aug. 31, 1790-96; Congresses on Ways and Means 3, 4.

Boutell, Henry S. (R-IL), Boston, MA, Mar. 14, 1856-Mar. 11, 1926; House Nov. 23, 1897-1911; Congresses on Ways and Means 58, 59, 60, 61.

Bowers, George M. (R-WV), Gerrardstown, WV, Sept. 13, 1863-Dec. 7, 1925; House May 9, 1916-23; Congresses on Ways and Means 66, 67.

Boyle, John (JR-KY), Botetourt County, VA, Oct. 28, 1774-Feb. 28, 1835; House 1803-09; Congresses on Ways and Means 8.

Bradbury, Theophilus (F-MA), Newbury, MA, Nov. 13, 1739-Sept. 6, 1803; House 1795-July 24, 1797; Congresses on Ways and Means 4.

Brantley, William G. (D-GA), Blackshear, GA, Sept. 18, 1860-Sept. 11, 1934; House 1897-1913; Congresses on Ways and Means 61, 62.

Breckinridge, Clifton R. (D-AR), Lexington, KY, Nov. 22, 1846-Dec. 3, 1932; House 1883-Sept. 5, 1890, Nov. 4, 1890-Aug. 14, 1894; Congresses on Ways and Means 49, 50, 51, 53; Son of John C. Breckinridge.

Breckinridge, John C. (D-KY), Lexington, KY, Jan. 15, 1821-May 17, 1875; House 1851-55; Senate Mar. 4-Dec. 4, 1861; Congresses on Ways and Means 33; Vice President of the United States 1857-61; Father of Clifton R. Breckinridge, Cousin of William C. P. Breckinridge.

Breckinridge, William C. P. (D-KY), Baltimore, MD, Aug. 28, 1837-Nov. 18, 1904; House 1885-95; Congresses on Ways and Means 49, 50; Cousin of John C. Breckinridge.

Brent, Richard (JR-VA), Aquia Creek, VA, 1757-Dec. 30, 1814; House 1795-99, 1801-03; Senate 1809-Dec. 30, 1814; Congresses on Ways and Means 5; Uncle of William L. Brent.

Brent, William L. (AJ-LA), Port Tobacco, MD, Feb. 20, 1784-July 7, 1848; House 1823-29; Congresses on Ways and Means 19, 20; Nephew of Richard Brent.

Briggs, George N. (W-MA), Adams, MA, Apr. 12, 1796-Sept. 11, 1861; House 1831-43; Congresses on Ways and Means 25; Governor of MA 1844-51.

Brodhead, William M. (D-MI), Cleveland, OH, Sept. 12, 1941- ; House 1975-83; Congresses on Ways and Means 95, 96, 97.

Brooks, James (W, D-NY), Portland, ME, Nov. 10, 1810-Apr. 30, 1873; House 1849-53, 1863-Apr. 7, 1866, 1867-Apr. 30, 1873; Congresses on Ways and Means 31, 32, 39, 40, 41, 42.

Brooks, Joshua T. (D-PA), Edgeworth (now Sewickley), PA, Feb. 27, 1884-Feb. 7, 1956; House 1933-37; Congresses on Ways and Means 74.

Brotzman, Donald G. (R-CO), Logan County, CO, June 28, 1922- ; House 1963-65, 1967-75; Congresses on Ways and Means 92, 93.

Broussard, Robert F. (D-LA), New Iberia, LA, Aug. 17, 1864-Apr. 12, 1918; House 1897-1915; Senate 1915-Apr. 12, 1918; Congresses on Ways and Means 61.

Brown, George H. "Hank" (R-CO), Denver, CO, Feb 12, 1940– ; House 1981– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 100, 101.

Brown, John (F-RI), Providence, RI, Jan. 27, 1736–Sept. 20, 1803; House 1799–1801; Congresses on Ways and Means 6.

Browne, Thomas M. (R-IN), New Paris, OH, Apr. 19, 1829–July 17, 1891; House 1877–91; Congresses on Ways and Means 48, 49, 50.

Broyhill, Joel T. (R-VA), Hopewell, VA, Nov. 4, 1919– ; House 1953–Dec. 31, 1974; Congresses on Ways and Means 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93.

Bryan, William J. (D-NE), Salem, IL, Mar. 19, 1860–July 26, 1925; House 1891–95; Congresses on Ways and Means 52, 53.

Buck, Daniel (F-VT), Hebron, CT, Nov. 9, 1753–Aug. 16, 1816; House 1795–97; Congresses on Ways and Means 4.

Buck, Frank H. (D-CA), Vacaville, CA, Sept. 23, 1887–Sept. 17, 1942; House 1933–Sept. 17, 1942; Congresses on Ways and Means 74, 75, 76, 77.

Burchard, Horatio C. (R-IL), Marshall, NY, Sept. 22, 1825–May 14, 1908; House Dec. 6, 1869–79; Congresses on Ways and Means 42, 43, 44, 45.

Burke, James A. (D-MA), Boston, MA, Mar. 30, 1910–Oct. 13, 1983; House 1959–79; Congresses on Ways and Means 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95.

Burleson, Omar T. (D-TX), Anson, TX, Mar. 19, 1906– ; House 1947–Dec. 31, 1978; Congresses on Ways and Means 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95.

Burrows, Julius C. (R-MI), North East, PA, Jan. 9, 1837–Nov. 16, 1915; House 1873–75, 1879–83, 1885–Jan. 23, 1895; Senate Jan. 24, 1895–1911; Congresses on Ways and Means 50, 51, 52, 53.

Burwell, William A. (JR-VA), Boydton, VA, Mar. 15, 1780–Feb. 16, 1821; House Dec. 1, 1806–Feb. 16, 1821; Congresses on Ways and Means 12, 14, 15, 16.

Bush, George H. W. (R-TX), Milton, MA, June 12, 1924– ; House 1967–71; Congresses on Ways and Means 90, 91; Vice President of the United States 1981–89; 41st President of the United States 1989– .

Bynum, William D. (D-IN), Newberry, IN, June 26, 1846–Oct. 21, 1927; House 1885–95; Congresses on Ways and Means 50, 53.

Byrnes, John W. (R-WI), Green Bay, WI, June 12, 1913–Jan. 12, 1985; House 1945–73; Congresses on Ways and Means 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92.

Cadwalader, Lambert (PAU-NJ), Trenton, NJ, 1742–Sept. 13, 1823; House 1789–91, 1793–95; Congresses on Ways and Means 1; Member of Continental Congress 1785–87.

Calderhead, William A. (R-KS), New Lexington, OH, Sept. 26, 1844–Dec. 18, 1928; House 1895–97, 1899–1911; Congresses on Ways and Means 60, 61.

Cambreleng, Churchill C. (JR, D-NY), Washington, NC, Oct. 24, 1786–Apr. 30, 1862; House 1821–39; Congresses on Ways and Means 17, 18, 23, 24, 25; Chairman 24th and 25th Congresses.

Camp, Albert S. (D-GA), Moreland, GA, July 26, 1892–July 24, 1954; House Aug. 1, 1939–July 24, 1954; Congresses on Ways and Means 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83.

Campbell, Carroll A., Jr. (JR-SC), Greenville, SC, July 24, 1940– ; House 1979–87; Congresses on Ways and Means 98, 99; Governor of SC 1987– .

Campbell, George W. (JR-TN), Sutherlandshire, Scotland, Feb. 9, 1796–Feb. 17, 1848; House 1803–09; Senate Oct. 8, 1811–Feb. 17, 1814, Oct. 10, 1815–Apr. 20, 1818; Congresses on Ways and Means 10; Chairman 10th Congress.

Campbell, James H. (W-PA), Williamsport, PA, Feb. 8, 1820–Apr. 12, 1895; House 1855–57, 1859–63; Congresses on Ways and Means 34.

Campbell, Lewis D. (R-OH), Franklin, OH, Aug. 9, 1811–Nov. 26, 1882; House 1849–May 25, 1858, 1871–73; Congresses on Ways and Means 34, 35; Chairman 34th Congress.

Canfield, Harry C. (D-IN), Moores Hill, IN, Nov. 22, 1875–Feb. 9, 1945; House 1923–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 71, 72.

Carew, John F. (D-NY), Williamsburg, NY, Apr. 16, 1873–Apr. 10, 1951; House 1913–Dec. 18, 1929; Congresses on Ways and Means 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71.

Carey, Hugh L. (D-NY), Brooklyn, NY, Apr. 11, 1919– ; House 1961–Dec. 31, 1974; Congresses on Ways and Means 91, 92, 93; Governor of NY 1975–83.

Carlisle, John G. (D-KY), Campbell (now Kenton) County, KY, Sept. 5, 1835–July 31, 1910; House 1877–May 26, 1890; Senate May 26, 1890–Feb. 4, 1893; Congresses on Ways and Means 46, 47, 51; Speaker of the House 48th–50th Congresses.

Carlson, Frank (R-KS), Concordia, KS, Jan. 23, 1893–May 30, 1987; House 1935–47; Senate Nov. 29, 1950–69; Congresses on Ways and Means 76, 77, 78, 79; Governor of KS 1947–Nov. 29, 1950.

Carroll, John A. (D-CO), Denver, CO, July 30, 1901–August 31, 1983; House 1947–51; Senate 1957–63; Congresses on Ways and Means 81.

Casey, John J. (D-PA), Wilkes-Barre Township, PA, May 26, 1875–May 5, 1929; House 1913–17, 1919–21, 1923–25, 1927–May 5, 1929; Congresses on Ways and Means 64, 68.

Chamberlain, Charles E. (R-MI), Locke Township, MI, July 22, 1917– ; House 1957–Dec. 31, 1974; Congresses on Ways and Means 91, 92, 93.

Champlin, Christopher G. (F-RI), Newport, RI, Apr. 12, 1768–Mar. 18, 1840; House 1797–1801; Senate June 26, 1809–Oct. 2, 1811; Congresses on Ways and Means 5.

Chandler, Rodney D. (R-WA), La Grande, OR, July 13, 1942– ; House 1983– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 100, 101.

Chandler, Thomas A. (R-OK), Eucha, Indian Territory (now OK), July 26, 1871–June 22, 1953; House 1917–19, 1921–23; Congresses on Ways and Means 67.

Chapin, Chester W. (D-MA), Ludlow, MA, Dec. 16, 1798–June 10, 1883; House 1875–77; Congresses on Ways and Means 44.

Chappell, Absalom H. (W-GA), Hancock County, GA, Dec. 18, 1801–Dec. 11, 1878; House Oct. 2, 1843–45; Congresses on Ways and Means 28.

Cheves, Langdon (JR-SC), Rocky River, SC, Sept. 17, 1776–June 26, 1857; House Dec. 31, 1810–15; Congresses on Ways and Means 12; Chairman 12th Congress; Speaker of the House 13th Congress.

Chindblom, Carl R. (R-IL), Chicago, IL, Dec. 21, 1870–Sept. 12, 1956; House 1919–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 68, 69, 70, 71, 72.

Christie, Gabriel (PAU-MD), Perryman, MD, 1755–Apr. 1, 1808; House 1793–97, 1799–1801; Congresses on Ways and Means 3.

Claiborne, William C. C. (JR-TN/LA), Sussex County, VA, 1775–Nov. 23, 1817; House Nov. 23, 1797–1801 (TN); Senate Mar. 4–Nov. 23, 1817 (LA); Congresses on Ways and Means 5; Governor of LA 1812–16.

Clancy, Donald D. (R-OH), Cincinnati, OH, July 24, 1921– ; House 1961–77; Congresses on Ways and Means 93, 94.

Clark, James B. "Champ" (D-MO), Lawrenceburg, KY, Mar. 7, 1850–Mar. 2, 1921; House 1893–95, 1897–Mar. 2, 1921; Congresses on Ways and Means 58, 59, 60, 61;

Speaker of the House 62th–65th Congresses.

Clay, Joseph (JR–PA), Philadelphia, PA, July 24, 1769–Aug. 27, 1811; House 1803–08; Congresses on Ways and Means 8, 9; Chairman 9th Congress.

Cobb, Howell (D–GA), Jefferson County, GA, Sept. 7, 1815–Oct. 9, 1868; House 1843–51, 1855–57; Congresses on Ways and Means 34; Speaker of the House 31st Congress; Governor of GA 1851–53.

Cobb, Seth W. (D–MO), Petersburg, VA, Dec. 5, 1838–May 22, 1909; House 1891–97; Congresses on Ways and Means 54.

Cochran, James (F–NY), Albany, NY, Feb. 11, 1796–Nov. 7, 1848; House 1797–99; Congresses on Ways and Means 5.

Cochran, Thomas C. (R–PA), Sandy Creek Township, PA, Nov. 30, 1877–Dec. 10, 1957; House 1927–35; Congresses on Ways and Means 73.

Cockran, William B. (D–NY), County Sligo, Ireland, Feb. 28, 1854–Mar. 1, 1923; House 1887–89, Nov. 3, 1891–95, Feb. 23, 1904–09, 1921–Mar. 1, 1923; Congresses on Ways and Means 52, 53, 58, 59, 60.

Coit, Joshua (F–CT), New London, CT, Oct. 7, 1758–Sept. 5, 1798; House 1793–Sept. 5, 1798; Congresses on Ways and Means 5.

Collier, Harold R. (R–IL), Lansing, MI, Dec. 12, 1915– ; House 1957–75; Congresses on Ways and Means 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93.

Collier, James W. (D–MS), Vicksburg, MS, Sept. 28, 1872–Sept. 28, 1933; House 1909–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72; Chairman 72d Congress.

Combs, Jesse M. (D–TX), Center, TX, July 7, 1889–Aug. 21, 1953; House 1945–53; Congresses on Ways and Means 81, 82.

Conable, Barber B., Jr. (R–NY), Warsaw, NY, Nov. 2, 1922– ; House 1965–85; Congresses on Ways and Means 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98.

Conger, Omar D. (R–MI), Cooperstown, NY, Apr. 1, 1818–July 11, 1898; House 1869–81; Senate 1881–87; Congresses on Ways and Means 46.

Conkling, Roscoe (R–NY), Albany, NY, Oct. 3, 1829–Apr. 18, 1888; House 1859–63, 1865–1867; Senate 1867–May 16, 1881; Congresses on Ways and Means 39.

Connor, Henry W. (D–NC), Amelia Court House, VA, Aug. 5, 1793–Jan. 6, 1866; House 1821–41; Congresses on Ways and Means 26.

Conry, Michael F. (D–NY), Shenandoah, PA, Apr. 2, 1870–Mar. 2, 1917; House 1909–Mar. 2, 1917; Congresses on Ways and Means 64.

Cook, Daniel P. (AJ–IL), Scott County, KY, 1794–Oct. 16, 1827; House 1819–27; Congresses on Ways and Means 19.

Cooper, Jere (D–TN), Dyersburg, TN, July 20, 1893–Dec. 18, 1957; House 1929–Dec. 18, 1957; Congresses on Ways and Means 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85; Chairman 84th and 85th Congress.

Cooper, Mark A. (W–GA), Powelltown, GA, Apr. 20, 1800–Mar. 17, 1885; House 1839–41, Jan. 3, 1842–June 26, 1843; Congresses on Ways and Means 26.

Cooper, Samuel B. (D–TX), Eddyville, KY, May 30, 1850–Aug. 21, 1918; House 1893–1905, 1907–09; Congresses on Ways and Means 56, 57, 58.

Copley, Ira C. (R–IL), Galesburg, IL, Oct. 25, 1864–Nov. 1, 1947; House 1911–23; Congresses on Ways and Means 66, 67.

Corman, James C. (D–CA), Galena, KS, Oct. 20, 1920– ; House 1961–81; Congresses on Ways and Means 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96.

Corning, Erastus (D–NY), Norwich, CT, Dec. 14, 1794–Apr. 9, 1872; House 1857–59, 1861–Oct. 5, 1863; Congresses on Ways and Means 37.

Corwin, Thomas (W–OH), Bourbon County, KY, July 29, 1794–Dec. 18, 1865; House 1831–May 30, 1840, 1859–Mar. 12, 1861; Senate 1845–July 20, 1850; Congresses on Ways and Means 23, 24; Governor of OH 1840–42.

Cotter, William R. (D–CT), Hartford, CT, July 18, 1926–Sept. 8, 1981; House 1971–Sept. 8, 1981; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95, 96, 97.

Coxe, William, Jr. (F–NJ), Burlington, NJ, May 3, 1762–Feb. 25, 1831; House 1813–15; Congresses on Ways and Means 13.

Coyne, William J. (D–PA), Pittsburgh, PA, Aug. 24, 1936– ; House 1981– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 99, 100, 101.

Craik, William (F–MD), Port Tobacco, MD, Oct. 31, 1761–prior to 1814; House Dec. 5, 1796–1801; Congresses on Ways and Means 5.

Crane, Philip M. (R–IL), Chicago, IL, Nov. 3, 1930– ; House Nov. 25, 1969– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Crawford, Joel (JR–GA), Columbia County, GA, June 15, 1783–Apr. 5, 1858; House 1817–21; Congresses on Ways and Means 15, 16.

Crawford, Martin J. (D–GA), Jasper County, GA, Mar. 17, 1820–July 23, 1883; House 1855–Jan. 23, 1861; Congresses on Ways and Means 35, 36.

Creighton, William, Jr. (JR–OH), Berkeley County, VA, Oct. 29, 1778–Oct. 1, 1851; House May 4, 1813–17, 1827–Dec. 11, 1928, 1829–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 13.

Crisp, Charles F. (D–GA), Sheffield, England, Jan. 29, 1845–Oct. 23, 1896; House 1883–Oct. 23, 1896; Congresses on Ways and Means 54; Speaker of the House 52d and 53d Congresses; Father of Charles R. Crisp.

Crisp, Charles R. (D–GA), Ellaville, GA, Oct. 19, 1870–Feb. 7, 1937; House Dec. 19, 1896–97, 1913–Oct. 7, 1932; Congresses on Ways and Means 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72; Son of Charles F. Crisp.

Crowther, Frank (R–NY), Liverpool, England, July 10, 1870–July 20, 1955; House 1919–43; Congresses on Ways and Means 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77.

Crumpacker, Edgar D. (R–IN), Westville, IN, May 27, 1851–May 19, 1920; House 1897–1913; Congresses on Ways and Means 60, 61.

Cullen, Thomas H. (D–NY), Brooklyn, NY, Mar. 29, 1868–Mar. 1, 1944; House 1919–Mar. 1, 1944; Congresses on Ways and Means 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78.

Curtis, Carl T. (R–NE), Minden, NE, Mar. 15, 1905– ; House 1939–Dec. 31, 1954; Senate Jan. 1, 1955–79; Congresses on Ways and Means 79, 80, 81, 82, 83.

Curtis, Charles (R–KS), Topeka, KS, Jan. 25, 1860–Feb. 8, 1936; House 1893–Jan. 28, 1907; Senate Jan. 29, 1907–13, 1915–29; Congresses on Ways and Means 58, 59; Vice President of United States 1929–33.

Curtis, Thomas B. (R–MO), St. Louis, MO, May 14, 1911– ; House 1951–69; Congresses on Ways and Means 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90.

Cushman, Francis W. (R–WA), Brighton, IA, May 8, 1867–July 6, 1909; House 1899–July 6, 1909; Congresses on Ways and Means 61.

Dalzell, John (R–PA), New York, NY, Apr. 19, 1845–Oct. 2, 1927; House 1887–1913; Congresses on Ways and Means 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62.

Daub, Harold J., Jr. "Hal" (R–NE), Fort Bragg, NC, Apr. 23, 1941– ; House 1981–1989; Congresses on Ways and Means 99, 100.

Davenport, Frederick M. (R–NY), Salem, MA, Aug. 27, 1866–Dec. 26, 1956; House 1925–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 70, 71.

Davenport, John (F–CT), Stamford, CT, Jan. 16, 1752–Nov. 28, 1830; House 1799–1817; Congresses on Ways and Means 8.

Davis, Garrett (W–KY), Mount Sterling, KY, Sept. 10, 1801–Sept. 22, 1982; House 1839–47; Senate Dec. 10, 1861–Sept. 22, 1872; Congresses on Ways and Means 28.

Davis, Henry W. (AP–MD), Annapolis, MD, Aug. 16, 1817–Dec. 30, 1865; House 1855–61, 1863–65; Congresses on Ways and Means 34, 35, 36.

Davis, Thomas T. (JR–KY), unknown–Nov. 15, 1807; House 1797–1803; Congresses on Ways and Means 5.

Dawes, Henry L. (R–MA), Cummington, MA, Oct. 30, 1816–Feb. 5, 1903; House 1857–75; Senate 1875–93; Congresses on Ways and Means 42, 43; Chairman 42d and 43d Congresses.

De Witt, Alexander (AP–MA), New Braintree, MA, Apr. 2, 1798–Jan. 13, 1879; House 1853–57; Congresses on Ways and Means 34.

Derounian, Steven B. (R–NY), Sofia, Bulgaria, Apr. 6, 1918– ; House 1953–65; Congresses on Ways and Means 87, 88.

Dewey, Charles S. (R–IL), Cadiz, OH, Nov. 10, 1880–Dec. 27, 1980; House 1941–45; Congresses on Ways and Means 78.

Dickinson, Clement C. (D–MO), Prince Edward Court House, VA, Dec. 6, 1849–Jan. 14, 1938; House Feb. 1, 1910–21, 1923–29, 1931–35; Congresses on Ways and Means 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73.

Dickson, William (JR–TN), Duplin County, NC, May 5, 1770–Feb. 1816; House 1801–07; Congresses on Ways and Means 7, 9.

Dingell, John D. (D–MI), Detroit, MI, Feb. 2, 1894–Sept. 19, 1955; House 1933–Sept. 19, 1955; Congresses on Ways and Means 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84.

Dingley, Nelson, Jr. (R–ME), Durham, ME, Feb. 15, 1832–Jan. 13, 1899; House Sept. 12, 1881–Jan. 13, 1899; Congresses on Ways and Means 51, 54, 55; Chairman 54th and 55th Congresses; Governor of ME 1874.

Disney, Wesley E. (D–OK), Richland, KS, Oct. 31, 1883–Mar. 26, 1961; House 1931–45; Congresses on Ways and Means 74, 75, 76, 77, 78.

Dixon, Lincoln (D–IN), Vernon, IN, Feb. 9, 1860–Sept. 16, 1932; House 1905–19; Congresses on Ways and Means 62, 63, 64, 65.

Dolliver, Jonathan P. (R–IA), Kingwood, VA (now WV), Feb. 6, 1858–Oct. 15, 1910; House 1889–Aug. 22, 1900; Senate Aug. 22, 1900–Oct. 15, 1910; Congresses on Ways and Means 54, 55, 56.

Donnelly, Brian J. (D–MA), Boston, MA, Mar. 2, 1946– ; House 1979– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 99, 100, 101.

Dorgan, Byron L. (D–ND), Dickinson, ND, May 14, 1942– ; House 1981– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 98, 99, 100, 101.

Doughton, Robert L. (D–NC), Laurel Springs, NC, Nov. 7, 1863–Oct. 1, 1954; House 1911–53; Congresses on Ways and Means 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82; Chairman 73d–79th, 81st and 82d Congresses.

Dowdell, James F. (D–AL), Monticello, GA, Nov. 26, 1818–Sept. 6, 1871; House 1853–59; Congresses on Ways and Means 35.

Downey, Thomas J. (D–NY), Ozone Park, NY, Jan. 28, 1949– ; House 1975– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Driver, William J. (D–AR), Osceola, AR, Mar. 2, 1873–Oct. 1, 1948; House 1921–39; Congresses on Ways and Means 72.

Dromgoole, George C. (D–VA), Lawrenceville, VA, May 15, 1797–Apr. 27, 1847; House 1835–41, 1843–Apr. 27, 1847; Congresses on Ways and Means 28, 29.

Duer, William (W–NY), New York, NY, May 25, 1805–Aug. 25, 1879; House 1847–51; Congresses on Ways and Means 31.

Duncan, John J. (R–TN), Huntsville, TN, Mar. 24, 1919–June 21, 1988; House 1965–June 21, 1988; Congresses on Ways and Means 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

Duncan, Richard M. (D–MO), Edgerton, MO, Nov. 10, 1889–Aug. 1, 1974; House 1933–43; Congresses on Ways and Means 74, 75, 76, 77.

Dunham, Cyrus L. (D–IN), Dryden, NY, Jan. 16, 1817–Nov. 21, 1877; House 1849–55; Congresses on Ways and Means 32.

Dunnell, Mark H. (R–MN), Buxton, ME, July 2, 1823–Aug. 9, 1904; House 1871–83, 1889–91; Congresses on Ways and Means 46, 47.

Dwight, Henry W. (AJ–MA), Stockbridge, MA, Feb. 26, 1788–Feb. 21, 1845; House 1821–31; Congresses on Ways and Means 19, 20, 21.

Dwight, John W. (R–NY), Dryden, NY, May 24, 1859–Jan. 19, 1928; House Nov. 2, 1902–13; Congresses on Ways and Means 61.

Eberharter, Herman P. (D–PA), Pittsburgh, PA, Apr. 29, 1892–Sept. 9, 1958; House 1937–Sept. 9, 1958; Congresses on Ways and Means 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85.

Ellis, Hubert S. (R–WV), Hurricane, WV, July 6, 1887–Dec. 3, 1959; House 1943–49; Congresses on Ways and Means 80.

Ellis, William R. (R–OR), Waveland, IN, Apr. 23, 1850–Jan. 18, 1915; House 1893–99, 1907–11; Congresses on Ways and Means 61.

Eppes, John W. (JR–VA), Chesterfield County, VA, Apr. 19, 1773–Sept. 13, 1823; House 1803–11, 1813–15; Senate 1817–Dec. 4, 1819; Congresses on Ways and Means 10, 11, 13; Chairman 11th and 13th Congresses.

Errett, Russell (R–PA), New York, NY, Nov. 10, 1817–Apr. 7, 1891; House 1877–83; Congresses on Ways and Means 47.

Eslick, Edward E. (D–TN), Pulaski, TN, Apr. 19, 1872–June 14, 1932; House 1925–June 14, 1932; Congresses on Ways and Means 72.

Estep, Harry A. (R–PA), Pittsburgh, PA, Feb. 1, 1884–Feb. 28, 1968; House 1927–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 70, 71, 72.

Evans, George (W–ME), Hallowell, ME, Jan. 12, 1797–Apr. 6, 1867; House July 20, 1829–41; Senate 1841–47; Congresses on Ways and Means 26.

Evans, Walter (R–KY), Glasgow, KY, Sept. 18, 1842–Dec. 30, 1923; House 1895–99; Congresses on Ways and Means 54, 55.

Evans, William E. (R–CA), London, KY, Dec. 14, 1877–Nov. 12, 1959; House 1927–35; Congresses on Ways and Means 73.

Everett, Horace (W–VT), Foxboro, MA, July 17, 1779–Jan. 30, 1851; House 1829–43; Congresses on Ways and Means 25.

Fairchild, George W. (R–NY), Oneonta, NY, May 6, 1854–Dec. 31, 1924; House 1907–19; Congresses on Ways and Means 64, 65.

Faust, Charles L. (R–MO), Bellefontaine, OH, Apr. 24, 1879–Dec. 17, 1928; House 1921–Dec. 17, 1928; Congresses on Ways and Means 69, 70.

Felton, William H. (ID–GA), Lexington, GA, June 1, 1823–Sept. 24, 1909; House 1875–81; Congresses on Ways and Means 46.

Fenton, Reuben E. (R-NY), Carroll, NY, July 4, 1819-Aug. 25, 1885; House 1853-55, 1857-Dec. 20, 1864; Senate 1869-75; Congresses on Ways and Means 38; Governor of NY 1865-68.

Fillmore, Millard (W-NY), Locke Township (now Summerhill), NY, Jan. 7, 1800-Mar. 8, 1874; House 1833-35, 1837-43; Congresses on Ways and Means 27; Chairman 27th Congress; Vice President of the United States 1849-July 9, 1850; 13th President of the United States July 10, 1850-53.

Finkelburg, Gustavus A. (LR-MO), Cologne, Germany, Apr. 6, 1837-May 18, 1908; House 1869-73; Congresses on Ways and Means 42.

Fisher, Joseph L. (D-VA), Pawtucket, RI, Jan. 11, 1914- ; House 1975-81; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95, 96.

Fisk, James (JR-VT), Greenwich, MA, Oct. 4, 1763-Nov. 17, 1844; House 1805-09, 1811-15; Senate Nov. 4, 1817-Jan. 8, 1818; Congresses on Ways and Means 10, 12.

Fisk, Jonathan (JR-NY), Amherst, NH, Sept. 26, 1778-July 13, 1832; House 1809-11, 1813-Mar. 1815; Congresses on Ways and Means 13.

Fitzsimons, Thomas (PAU-PA), Ireland, 1741-Aug. 26, 1811; House 1789-95; Congresses on Ways and Means 1, 3; Chairman 1st Congress; Member of the Continental Congress 1782-83; Delegate to the United States Constitutional Convention and signer of United States Constitution 1787.

Fletcher, Richard (W-MA), Cavendish, VT, Jan. 8, 1788-June 21, 1869; House 1837-39; Congresses on Ways and Means 25.

Flippo, Ronnie G. (D-AL), Florence, AL, Aug. 15, 1937- ; House 1977- ; Congresses on Ways and Means 98, 99, 100, 101.

Flower, Roswell P. (D-NY), Theresa, NY, Aug. 7, 1835-May 12, 1899; House Nov. 8, 1881-83, 1889-Sept. 16, 1891; Congresses on Ways and Means 51; Governor of NY 1891-95.

Forand, Aime J. (D-RI), Fall River, MA, May 23, 1895-Jan. 18, 1972; House 1937-39, 1941-61; Congresses on Ways and Means 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86.

Ford, Aaron L. (D-MS), Potts Camp, MS, Dec. 21, 1903-July 8, 1983; House 1935-43; Congresses on Ways and Means 77.

Ford, Harold E. (D-TN), Memphis, TN, May 20, 1945- ; House 1975- ; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Fordney, Joseph W. (R-MI), Hartford City, IN, Nov. 5, 1853-Jan. 8, 1932; House 1899-1923; Congresses on Ways and Means 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67; Chairman 66th and 67th Congresses.

Foster, Abiel (F-NH), Andover, MA, Aug. 8, 1735-Feb. 6, 1806; House 1789-91, 1795-1803; Congresses on Ways and Means 5; Member of the Continental Congress 1783-85.

Foster, Charles (R-OH), Tiffin, OH, Apr. 12, 1828-Jan. 9, 1904; House 1871-79; Congresses on Ways and Means 43; Governor of OH 1880-84.

Fowler, Wyche, Jr. (D-GA), Atlanta, GA, Oct. 6, 1940- ; House Apr. 6, 1977-87; Senate 1987- ; Congresses on Ways and Means 96, 97, 98, 99.

Frazier, James B., Jr. (D-TN), Chattanooga, TN, June 23, 1890-Oct. 30, 1978; House 1949-63; Congresses on Ways and Means 85, 86, 87.

Frear, James A. (R-WI), Hudson, WI, Oct. 24, 1861-May 28, 1939; House 1913-35; Congresses on Ways and Means 66, 67, 68, 71, 73.

Frenzel, William E. (R-MN), St. Paul, MN, July 31, 1928- ; House 1971- ; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Frye, William P. (R-ME), Lewiston, ME, Sept. 2, 1830-Aug. 8, 1911; House 1871-Mar. 17, 1881; Senate Mar. 18, 1881-Aug. 8, 1911; Congresses on Ways and Means 46.

Fuller, Claude A. (D-AR), Prophetstown, IL, Jan. 20, 1876-Jan. 8, 1968; House 1929-39; Congresses on Ways and Means 73, 74, 75.

Fulton, Richard H. (D-TN), Nashville, TN, Jan. 27, 1927- ; House 1963-Aug. 14, 1975; Congresses on Ways and Means 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94.

Gaines, Joseph H. (R-WV), Washington, DC, Sept. 3, 1864-Apr. 12, 1951; House 1901-11; Congresses on Ways and Means 60, 61.

Gaither, Nathan (J-KY), Mocksville, NC, Sept. 15, 1788-Aug. 12, 1862; House 1829-33; Congresses on Ways and Means 22.

Gallatin, Albert (JR-PA), Geneva, Switzerland, Jan. 29, 1761-Aug. 12, 1849; House 1795-1801; Senate Dec. 2, 1793-Feb. 28, 1794; Congresses on Ways and Means 4, 5, 6.

Gardner, Augustus P. (R-MA), Boston, MA, Nov. 5, 1865-Jan. 14, 1918; House Nov. 3, 1902-May 15, 1917; Congresses on Ways and Means 63, 64, 65.

Garfield, James A. (R-OH), Orange, OH, Nov. 19, 1831-Sept. 19, 1881; House 1863-Nov. 8, 1880; Congresses on Ways and Means 39, 44, 45, 46; 20th President of the United States Mar. 4-July 2, 1881.

Garner, John N. (D-TX), Detroit, TX, Nov. 22, 1868-Nov. 7, 1967; House 1903-33; Congresses on Ways and Means 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71; Speaker of the House 72d Congress; Vice President of the United States 1933-41.

Garnett, James M. (JR-VA), Loretto, VA, June 8, 1770-Apr. 23, 1843; House 1805-09; Congresses on Ways and Means 9.

Gaston, William (F-NC), New Bern, NC, Sept. 19, 1778-Jan. 23, 1844; House 1813-17; Congresses on Ways and Means 13, 14.

Gear, John H. (R-IA), Ithaca, NY, Apr. 7, 1825-July 14, 1900; House 1887-91, 1893-95; Senate 1895-July 14, 1900; Congresses on Ways and Means 51, 53; Governor of IA 1878-81.

Gearhart, Bertrand W. (R-CA), Fresno, CA, May 31, 1890-Oct. 11, 1955; House 1935-49; Congresses on Ways and Means 76, 77, 78, 79, 80.

Gephardt, Richard A. (D-MO), St. Louis, MO, Jan. 31, 1941- ; House 1977- ; Congresses on Ways and Means 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Gerry, Elbridge (PAU-MA), Marblehead, MA, July 17, 1744-Nov. 23, 1814; House 1789-93; Congresses on Ways and Means 1; Member of the Continental Congress 1776-80, 1783-85; Signer of the Declaration of Independence; Delegate to the United States Constitutional Convention, 1787; Governor of MA 1810-11; Vice President of the United States, 1813-Nov. 23, 1814.

Gibbons, Sam M. (D-FL), Tampa, FL, Jan. 20, 1920- ; House 1963- ; Congresses on Ways and Means 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Gibson, Randall Lee (D-LA), Versailles, KY, Sept. 10, 1832-Dec. 15, 1892; House 1875-83; Senate 1883-Dec. 15, 1892; Congresses on Ways and Means 45, 46.

Gifford, Charles L. (R-MA), Cotuit, MA, Mar. 15, 1871-Aug. 23, 1947; House Nov. 7, 1922-Aug. 23, 1947; Congresses on Ways and Means 79, 80.

Gilbert, Ezekiel (F-NY), Middletown, CT, Mar. 25, 1756-July 17, 1841; House 1793-97; Congresses on Ways and Means 4.

Gilbert, Jacob H. (D-NY), New York, NY, June 17, 1920-Feb. 27, 1981; House Mar. 8, 1960-71; Congresses on Ways and Means 90, 91.

Giles, William B. (JR-VA), Amelia Court House, VA, Aug. 12, 1762–Dec. 4, 1830; House Dec. 7, 1790–Oct. 2, 1798, 1801–03; Senate Aug. 11, 1804–15; Congresses on Ways and Means 5; Governor of VA 1827–30.

Gilman, Nicholas (F-NH), Exeter, NH, Aug. 3, 1755–May 2, 1814; House 1789–97; Senate 1805–May 2, 1814; Congresses on Ways and Means 3, 4; Member of the Continental Congress 1787–88; Delegate to the United States Constitutional Convention and signer of the United States Constitution 1787–89.

Gilmer, George R. (J-GA), Lexington, GA, Apr. 11, 1790–Nov. 16, 1859; House 1821–23, Oct. 1, 1827–29, 1833–35; Congresses on Ways and Means 20; Governor of GA 1829–31, 1837–39.

Gilmer, Thomas W. (W-VA), Gilmerton, VA, Apr. 6, 1802–Feb. 28, 1844; House 1841–Feb. 16, 1844; Congresses on Ways and Means 27; Governor of VA 1840–41.

Gilmore, John (J-PA), Somerset County, PA, Feb. 18, 1780–May 11, 1845; House 1829–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 21, 22.

Goodwin, Angier L. (R-MA), Fairfield, ME, Jan. 30, 1881–June 20, 1975; House 1943–55; Congresses on Ways and Means 80, 82, 83.

Gorham, Benjamin (AJ-MA), Charlestown, MA, Feb. 13, 1775–Sept. 27, 1855; House Nov. 6, 1820–23, July 23, 1827–31, 1833–35; Congresses on Ways and Means 23.

Gourdin, Theodore (JR-SC), Kingstree, SC, Mar. 20, 1764–Jan. 17, 1826; House 1813–15; Congresses on Ways and Means 13.

Gradison, Willis D., Jr. (R-OH), Cincinnati, OH, Dec. 28, 1928– ; House 1975– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Granger, Daniel L. D. (D-RI), Providence, RI, May 30, 1852–Feb. 14, 1909; House 1903–Feb. 14, 1909; Congresses on Ways and Means 59, 60.

Granger, Walter K. (D-UT), St. George, UT, Oct. 11, 1888–Apr. 21, 1978; House 1941–53; Congresses on Ways and Means 82.

Grant, Robert A. (R-IN), Bourbon, IN, July 31, 1905– ; House 1939–49; Congresses on Ways and Means 80.

Green, James S. (D-MO), Rectortown, VA, Feb. 28, 1817–Jan. 19, 1870; House 1847–51; Senate Jan. 12, 1857–61; Congresses on Ways and Means 31.

Green, William J., III (D-PA), Philadelphia, PA, June 24, 1938– ; House Apr. 28, 1964–77; Congresses on Ways and Means 90, 91, 92, 93, 94; Son of William J. Green, Jr.

Green, William J., Jr. (D-PA), Philadelphia, PA, Mar. 5, 1910–Dec. 21, 1963; House 1945–47, 1949–Dec. 21, 1963; Congresses on Ways and Means 86, 87, 88; Father of William J. Green III.

Green, William R. (R-IA), Colchester, CT, Nov. 7, 1856–June 11, 1947; House June 5, 1911–Mar. 31, 1928; Congresses on Ways and Means 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70; Chairman 68th–70th Congresses.

Greenup, Christopher (JR-KY), Westmoreland County, VA, 1750–Apr. 27, 1818; House Nov. 9, 1792–97; Congresses on Ways and Means 4; Governor of KY 1804–08.

Gregg, Judd A. (R-NH), Nashua, NH, Feb. 14, 1947– ; House 1981–89; Congresses on Ways and Means 99, 100; Governor of NH 1989– .

Gregory, Noble J. (D-KY), Mayfield, KY, Aug. 30, 1897–Sept. 26, 1971; House 1937–59; Congresses on Ways and Means 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85.

Griffiths, Martha W. (D-MI), Pierce City, MO, Jan. 29, 1912– ; House 1955–Dec. 31, 1974; Congresses on Ways and Means 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93.

Griggs, James M. (D-GA), Lagrange, GA, Mar. 29, 1861–Jan. 5, 1910; House 1897–Jan. 5, 1910; Congresses on Ways and Means 60, 61.

Griswold, John A. (R-NY), Cairo, NY, Nov. 18, 1822–Feb. 22, 1902; House 1869–71; Congresses on Ways and Means 40.

Griswold, Roger (F-CT), Lyme, CT, May 21, 1762–Oct. 25, 1812; House 1795–1805; Congresses on Ways and Means 5, 6, 7, 8; Chairman 6th Congress; Governor of CT 1811–Oct. 25, 1812.

Grosvenor, Charles H. (R-OH), Pomfret, CT, Sept. 20, 1833–Oct. 30, 1917; House 1885–91, 1893–1907; Congresses on Ways and Means 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59.

Grove, William B. (PAU-NC), Fayetteville, NC, Jan. 15, 1764–Mar. 30, 1818; House 1791–1803; Congresses on Ways and Means 3.

Guarini, Frank J., Jr. (D-NJ), Jersey City, NJ, Aug. 20, 1924– ; House 1979– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Hadley, Lindley H. (R-WA), Sylvania, IN, June 19, 1861–Nov. 1, 1948; House 1915–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72.

Hamer, Thomas L. (D-OH), Northumberland County, PA, July, 1800–Dec. 2, 1846; House 1833–39; Congresses on Ways and Means 25.

Hammond, Winfield S. (D-MN), Southboro, MA, Nov. 17, 1863–Dec. 30, 1915; House 1907–Jan. 6, 1915; Congresses on Ways and Means 62, 63; Governor of MN Jan. 7–Dec. 30, 1915.

Hampton, Moses (W-PA), Beaver, PA, Oct. 28, 1803–June 27, 1878; House 1847–51; Congresses on Ways and Means 31.

Hance, Kent R. (D, R-TX), Dimmit, TX, Nov. 14, 1942– ; House 1979–85; Congresses on Ways and Means 97, 98.

Hancock, John (D-TX), Bellefonte, AL, Oct. 24, 1824–July 19, 1893; House 1871–77, 1883–85; Congresses on Ways and Means 44.

Harper, Robert G. (F-SC/MD), Fredericksburg, VA, Jan. 1765–Jan. 14, 1825; House Feb. 5, 1795–1801 (SC); Senate 1815–Dec. 6, 1816 (MD); Congresses on Ways and Means 5, 6; Chairman 5th and 6th Congresses.

Harris, Henry R. (D-GA), Sparta, GA, Feb. 2, 1828–Oct. 15, 1909; House 1873–79, 1885–87; Congresses on Ways and Means 45, 49.

Harrison, Burr P. (D-VA), Winchester, VA, July 2, 1904–Dec. 29, 1973; House Nov. 6, 1946–63; Congresses on Ways and Means 82, 84, 85, 86, 87.

Harrison, Francis B. (D-NY), New York, NY, Dec. 18, 1873–Nov. 21, 1957; House 1903–05, 1907–Sept. 1, 1913; Congresses on Ways and Means 61, 62, 63.

Haskell, Dudley C. (R-KS), Springfield, VT, Mar. 23, 1842–Dec. 16, 1883; House 1877–Dec. 16, 1883; Congresses on Ways and Means 47; Grandfather of Otis H. Holmes.

Hastings, Seth (F-MA), Cambridge, MA, Apr. 8, 1762–Nov. 19, 1831; House Aug. 24, 1801–07; Congresses on Ways and Means 8.

Haven, Nathaniel A. (F-NH), Portsmouth, NH, July 19, 1762–Mar. 13, 1831; House 1809–11; Congresses on Ways and Means 11.

Haven, Solomon G. (W-NY), Chenango County, NY, Nov. 27, 1810–Dec. 24, 1861; House 1851–57; Congresses on Ways and Means 33.

Hawley, Willis C. (R-OR), Monroe, OR, May 5, 1864–July 24, 1941; House 1907–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72; Chairman 70th and 71st Congresses.

Haynes, Charles E. (D-GA), Brunswick, VA, Apr. 15, 1784-Aug. 29, 1841; House 1825-31, 1835-39; Congresses on Ways and Means 25.

Healey, Arthur D. (D-MA), Somerville, MA, Dec. 29, 1889-Sept. 16, 1948; House 1933-Aug. 3, 1942; Congresses on Ways and Means 77.

Heftel, Cecil L. (D-HI), Chicago, IL, Sept. 30, 1924- ; House 1977-July11, 1986; Congresses on Ways and Means 96, 97, 98, 99.

Helstoski, Henry (D-NJ), Wallington, NJ, Mar. 21, 1925- ; House 1965-77; Congresses on Ways and Means 94.

Helvering, Guy T. (D-KS), Felicity, OH, Jan. 10, 1878-July 4, 1946; House 1913-19; Congresses on Ways and Means 64, 65.

Henderson, Bennett H. (JR-TN), Bedford, VA, Sept. 5, 1784-unknown; House 1815-17; Congresses on Ways and Means 14.

Herbert, Hilary A. (D-AL), Laurens, SC, Mar. 12, 1834-Mar. 6, 1919; House 1877-93; Congresses on Ways and Means 48.

Herlong, Albert S., Jr. (D-FL), Manistee, AL, Feb. 14, 1909- ; House 1949-69; Congresses on Ways and Means 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90.

Hewitt, Abram S. (D-NY), Haverstraw, NY, July 31, 1822-Jan. 18, 1903; House 1875-79, 1881-Dec. 30, 1886; Congresses on Ways and Means 48, 49.

Hibbard, Harry (D-NH), Concord, VT, June 1, 1816-July 28, 1872; House 1849-55; Congresses on Ways and Means 31, 32, 33.

Hill, Benjamin H. (D-GA), Hillsborough, GA, Sept. 14, 1823-Aug. 16, 1882; House May 5, 1875-77; Senate 1877-Aug. 16, 1882; Congresses on Ways and Means 44.

Hill, Ebenezer J. (R-CT), Redding, CT, Aug. 4, 1845-Sept. 27, 1917; House 1895-1913, 1915-Sept. 27, 1917; Congresses on Ways and Means 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65.

Hill, Knute (D-WA), Creston, IL, July 31, 1876-Dec. 3, 1963; House 1933-43; Congresses on Ways and Means 77.

Hill, Samuel B. (D-WA), Franklin, AR, Apr. 2, 1875-Mar. 16, 1958; House Sept. 25, 1923-June 25, 1936; Congresses on Ways and Means 71, 72, 73, 74.

Hillhouse, James (F-CT), Montville, CT, Oct. 20, 1754-Dec. 29, 1832; House 1791-96; Senate Dec. 6, 1796-June 10, 1810; Congresses on Ways and Means 4.

Hindman, William (F-MD), Dorchester County, MD, Apr. 1, 1743-Jan. 19, 1822; House Jan. 30, 1793-99; Senate Dec. 12, 1800-Nov. 19, 1801; Congresses on Ways and Means 4, 5; Member of the Continental Congress 1785-86.

Hiscock, Frank (JR-NY), Pompey, NY, Sept. 6, 1834-June 18, 1914; House 1877-87; Senate 1887-93; Congresses on Ways and Means 48, 49.

Hogan, John (D-MO), Mallow, Ireland, Jan. 2, 1805-Feb. 5, 1892; House 1865-67; Congresses on Ways and Means 39.

Holland, James (JR-NC), Anson County, NC, 1754-May 19, 1823; House 1795-97, 1801-11; Congresses on Ways and Means 7.

Holland, Kenneth L. (D-SC), Hickory, NC, Nov. 24, 1934- ; House 1975-83; Congresses on Ways and Means 95, 96, 97.

Holmes, Otis H. (R-WA), Cresco, IA, Feb. 22, 1902-July 27, 1977; House 1943-59; Congresses on Ways and Means 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85; Grandson of Dudley C. Haskell.

Hooper, Samuel (R-MA), Marblehead, MA, Feb. 3, 1808-Feb. 14, 1875; House Dec. 2, 1861-Feb. 14, 1875; Congresses on Ways and Means 37, 38, 39, 40, 41; Chairman 41st Congress.

Hopkins, Albert J. (R-IL), Cortland, IL, Aug. 15, 1846-Aug. 23, 1922; House Dec. 7, 1885-1903; Senate 1903-09; Congresses on Ways and Means 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57.

Horton, Valentine B. (R-OH), Windsor, VT, Jan. 29, 1802-Jan. 14, 1888; House 1855-59, 1861-63; Congresses on Ways and Means 37.

Hosmer, Hezekiah L. (F-NY), June 7, 1765-June 9, 1814; House 1797-99; Congresses on Ways and Means 5.

Houghton, Alanson B. (R-NY), Cambridge, MA, Oct. 10, 1863-Sept. 15, 1941; House 1919-Feb. 28, 1922; Congresses on Ways and Means 67.

Houston, George S. (D-AL), Franklin, TN, Jan. 17, 1811-Dec. 31, 1879; House 1841-49, 1851-Jan. 21, 1861; Senate Mar. 4-Dec. 31, 1879; Congresses on Ways and Means 29, 30, 32, 33; Chairman 32d and 33d Congresses; Governor of AL 1874-78.

Howard, William A. (R-MI), Hinesburg, VT, Apr. 8, 1813-Apr. 10, 1880; House 1855-59, May 15, 1860-61; Congresses on Ways and Means 34, 35, 36.

Hubbard, David (D-AL), Old Liberty (now Bedford), VA, 1792-Jan. 20, 1874; House 1839-41, 1849-51; Congresses on Ways and Means 26.

Hubbard, Henry (D-NH), Charlestown, NH, May 3, 1784-June 5, 1857; House 1829-18; Senate 1835-41; Congresses on Ways and Means 23; Governor of NH 1841-43.

Hubbard, Samuel D. (W-CT), Middletown, CT, Aug. 10, 1799-Oct. 8, 1855; House 1845-49; Congresses on Ways and Means 30.

Hubbell, Jay A. (R-MI), Avon, MI, Sept. 15, 1829-Oct. 13, 1900; House 1873-83; Congresses on Ways and Means 47.

Hudson, Charles (W-MA), Marlboro, MA, Nov. 14, 1795-May 4, 1881; House May 3, 1841-49; Congresses on Ways and Means 30.

Hughes, William (D-NJ), Drogheda, Ireland, Apr. 3, 1872-Jan. 30, 1918; House 1903-05, 1907-Sept. 27, 1912; Senate 1913-Jan. 30, 1918; Congresses on Ways and Means 62.

Hull, Cordell (D-TN), Olympus, TN, Oct. 2, 1871-July 23, 1955; House 1907-21, 1923-31; Senate 1931-Mar. 3, 1933; Congresses on Ways and Means 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71.

Hungerford, Orville (D-NY), Farmington, CT, Oct. 29, 1790-Apr. 6, 1851; House 1843-47; Congresses on Ways and Means 29.

Hurd, Frank H. (D-OH), Mount Vernon, OH, Dec. 25, 1840-July 10, 1896; House 1875-77, 1879-81, 1883-85; Congresses on Ways and Means 48.

Ikard, Frank N. (D-TX), Henrietta, TX, Jan. 30, 1913- ; House Sept. 8, 1951-Dec. 15, 1961; Congresses on Ways and Means 84, 85, 86, 87.

Imlay, James H. (F-NJ), Upper Freehold, NJ, Nov. 26, 1764-Mar. 6, 1823; House 1797-1801; Congresses on Ways and Means 6.

Ingersoll, Joseph R. (W-PA), Philadelphia, PA, June 14, 1786-Feb. 20, 1868; House 1835-37, Oct. 12, 1841-49; Congresses on Ways and Means 24, 27, 28, 29.

Ingersoll, Ralph I. (AJ-CT), New Haven, CT, Feb. 8, 1789-Aug. 26, 1872; House 1825-33; Congresses on Ways and Means 21, 22.

Ingham, Samuel D. (JR-PA), New Hope, PA, Sept. 16, 1779-June 5, 1860; House 1813-July 6, 1818, Oct. 8, 1822-29; Congresses on Ways and Means 13, 14, 18.

Jackson, Andrew (JR-TN), Waxhaw Settlement, SC, Mar. 15, 1767-June 8, 1845; House Dec. 5, 1796-Sept. 1797; Senate Sept. 26, 1797-Apr. 1798, 1823-Oct. 14, 1825; Congresses on Ways and Means 4; 7th President of the United States 1829-37.

Jackson, James (PAU-GA), Moreton-Hampstead, Devonshire, England, Sept. 21, 1757-Mar. 19, 1806; House 1789-91; Senate 1793-95, 1801-Mar. 19, 1806; Congresses on Ways and Means 1; Governor of GA 1798-1801.

Jacobs, Andrew, Jr. (D-IN), Indianapolis, IN, Feb. 24, 1932- ; House 1965-73, 1975- ; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

James, Ollie M. (D-KY), Marion, KY, July 27, 1871-Aug. 28, 1918; House 1903-13; Senate 1913-Aug. 28, 1918; Congresses on Ways and Means 62.

Jarrett, Benjamin (R-PA), Sharon, PA, July 18, 1881-July 20, 1944; House 1937-43; Congresses on Ways and Means 76, 77.

Jenkins, Edgar L. (D-GA), Young Harris, GA, Jan. 4, 1933- ; House 1977- ; Congresses on Ways and Means 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Jenkins, Thomas A. (R-OH), Oak Hill, OH, Oct. 28, 1880-Dec. 21, 1959; House 1925-59; Congresses on Ways and Means 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85.

Jennings, William P. (D-VA), Camp, VA, Aug. 20, 1919- ; House 1955-67; Congresses on Ways and Means 88, 89.

Johnson, Cave (D-TN), Robertson County, TN, Jan. 11, 1793-Nov. 23, 1866; House 1829-37, 1839-45; Congresses on Ways and Means 24.

Johnson, Martin N. (R-ND), Racine County, WI, Mar. 3, 1850-Oct. 21, 1909; House 1891-99; Senate Mar. 4, 1909-Oct. 21, 1909; Congresses on Ways and Means 54, 55.

Johnson, Nancy L. (R-CT), Chicago, IL, Jan. 5, 1935- ; House 1983- ; Congresses on Ways and Means 101.

Johnson, Richard M. (JR-KY), Jefferson County, KY, Oct. 17, 1780-Nov. 19, 1850; House 1807-19, 1829-37; Senate Dec. 10, 1819-29; Congresses on Ways and Means 11, 12; Vice President of United States 1837-41.

Jones, Francis (JR-TN), unknown-unknown; House 1817-23; Congresses on Ways and Means 16, 17.

Jones, George W. (D-TN), King and Queen County, VA, Mar. 15, 1806-Nov. 14, 1884; House 1843-59; Congresses on Ways and Means 31, 32, 33, 34.

Jones, James K. (D-AR), Marshall County, MS, Sept. 29, 1839-June 1, 1908; House 1881-85; Senate 1885-1903; Congresses on Ways and Means 48.

Jones, James R. (D-OK), Muskogee, OK, May 5, 1939- ; House 1973-87; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99.

Jones, J. Glancy (D-PA), Caernarvon Township, PA, Oct. 7, 1811-Mar. 24, 1878; House 1851-53, Feb. 4, 1854-Oct. 30, 1858; Congresses on Ways and Means 32, 35; Chairman 35th Congress.

Jones, John W. (D-VA), Amelia Court House, VA, Nov. 22, 1791-Jan. 29, 1848; House 1835-45; Congresses on Ways and Means 25, 26, 27; Chairman 26th Congress; Speaker of the House 28th Congress.

Jones, Seaborn (D-GA), Augusta, GA, Feb. 1, 1788-Mar. 18, 1864; House 1833-35, 1845-47; Congresses on Ways and Means 29.

Jones, Walter (JR-VA), Williamsburg, VA, Dec. 18, 1745-Dec. 31, 1815; House 1797-99, 1803-11; Congresses on Ways and Means 5.

Karsten, Frank M. (D-MO), San Antonio, TX, Jan. 7, 1913- ; House 1947-69; Congresses on Ways and Means 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90.

Karth, Joseph E. (D-MN), New Brighton, MN, Aug. 26, 1922- ; House 1959-77; Congresses on Ways and Means 92, 93, 94.

Kasson, John A. (R-IA), Charlotte, VT, Jan. 11, 1822-May 18, 1910; House 1863-67, 1873-77, 1881-July 13, 1884; Congresses on Ways and Means 38, 43, 47, 48.

Kean, Robert W. (R-NJ), Elberon, NJ, Sept. 28, 1893-Sept. 21, 1980; House 1939-59; Congresses on Ways and Means 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85.

Kearns, Charles C. (R-OH), Tonica, IL, Feb. 11, 1869-Dec. 17, 1931; House 1915-31; Congresses on Ways and Means 68, 69, 70, 71.

Kelley, William D. (R-PA), Philadelphia, PA, Apr. 12, 1814-Jan. 9, 1890; House 1861-Jan. 9, 1890; Congresses on Ways and Means 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50; Chairman 47th Congress.

Kelly, John (D-NY), New York, NY, Apr. 20, 1822-June 1, 1886; House 1855-Dec. 25, 1858; Congresses on Ways and Means 35.

Kennelly, Barbara B. (D-CT), Hartford, CT, July 10, 1936- ; House Jan. 12, 1982- ; Congresses on Ways and Means 98, 99, 100, 101.

Keogh, Eugene J. (D-NY), Brooklyn, NY, Aug. 30, 1907- ; House 1937-67; Congresses on Ways and Means 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89.

Kerr, Michael C. (D-IN), Titusville, PA, Mar. 15, 1827-Aug. 19, 1876; House 1865-73, 1875-Aug. 19, 1876; Congresses on Ways and Means 42; Speaker of the House 44th Congress.

Ketchum, William M. (R-CA), Los Angeles, CA, Sept. 2, 1921-June 24, 1978; House 1973-June 24, 1978; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95.

Keys, Martha E. (D-KS), Hutchinson, KS, Aug. 10, 1930- ; House 1975-79; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95.

King, Cecil R. (D-CA), Fort Niagara, NY, Jan. 13, 1898-Mar. 17, 1974; House Aug. 25, 1942-69; Congresses on Ways and Means 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90.

Kitchin, Claude (D-NC), Scotland Neck, NC, Mar. 24, 1869-May 31, 1923; House 1901-May 31, 1923; Congresses on Ways and Means 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67; Chairman 64th and 65th Congresses.

Knox, Victor A. (R-MI), Chippewa County, MI, Jan. 13, 1899-Dec. 13, 1976; House 1953-65; Congresses on Ways and Means 83, 86, 87, 88.

Knutson, Harold (R-MN), Skien, Norway, Oct. 20, 1880-Aug. 21, 1953; House 1917-49; Congresses on Ways and Means 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80; Chairman 80th Congress.

La Follette, Robert M. (R-WI), Primrose, WI, June 14, 1855-June 18, 1925; House 1885-91; Senate Jan. 2, 1906-June 18, 1925; Congresses on Ways and Means 51; Governor of WS 1901-06.

Lafore, John A., Jr. (R-PA), Bala, PA, May 25, 1905- ; House Nov. 5, 1957-61; Congresses on Ways and Means 86.

Lamneck, Arthur P. (D-OH), Port Washington, OH, Mar. 12, 1880-Apr. 23, 1944; House 1931-39; Congresses on Ways and Means 74, 75.

Landrum, Phillip M. (D-GA), Martin, GA, Sept. 10, 1907- ; House 1953-77; Congresses on Ways and Means 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94.

Latimer, Henry (PAU-DE), Newport, DE, Apr. 24, 1752-Dec. 19, 1819; House Feb. 14, 1794-Feb. 7, 1795; Senate Feb. 7, 1795-Feb. 28, 1801; Congresses on Ways and Means 3.

Laurance, John (PAU-NY), Falmouth, England in 1750-Nov. 11, 1810; House 1789-93; Senate Nov. 9, 1796-Aug. 1800; Congresses on Ways and Means 1; Member of the Continental Congress 1785-87.

Lawrence, Abbott (W-MA), Groton, MA, Dec. 16, 1792-Aug. 18, 1855; House 1835-37, 1839-Sept. 18, 1840; Congresses on Ways and Means 24, 26.

Lederer, Raymond F. (D-PA), Philadelphia, PA, May 19, 1938- ; House 1977-Apr. 29, 1981; Congresses on Ways and Means 95, 96.

Letcher, John (D-VA), Lexington, VA, Mar. 29, 1813-Jan. 26, 1884; House 1851-59; Congresses on Ways and Means 34, 35; Governor of VA 1860-64.

Levin, Sander M. (D-MI), Detroit, MI, Sept. 6, 1931- ; House 1983- ; Congresses on Ways and Means 100, 101.

Lewis, David J. (D-MD), Nuttals Bank, PA, May 1, 1869-Aug. 12, 1952; House 1911-17, 1931-39; Congresses on Ways and Means 72, 73, 74, 75.

Lewis, Dixon H. (SRD-AL), Dinwiddie County, VA, Aug. 10, 1802-Oct. 25, 1848; House 1829-Apr. 22, 1844; Senate Apr. 22, 1844-Oct. 25, 1848; Congresses on Ways and Means 27, 28.

Littlejohn, De Witt C. (R-NY), Bridgewater, NY, Feb. 7, 1818-Oct. 27, 1892; House 1863-65; Congresses on Ways and Means 38.

Livermore, Samuel (PAU-NH), Waltham, MA, May 14, 1732-May 18, 1803; House 1789-93; Senate 1793-June 12, 1801; Congresses on Ways and Means 1; Member of the Continental Congress 1780-82, 1785-1786.

Logan, John A. (R-IL), Murphysboro, IL, Feb. 9, 1826-Dec. 26, 1886; House 1859-Apr. 2, 1862, 1867-71; Senate 1871-77, 1879-Dec. 26, 1886; Congresses on Ways and Means 40.

Long, Chester I. (R-KS), Greenwood Township, PA, Oct. 12, 1860-July 1, 1934; House 1895-97, 1899-1903; Senate 1903-09; Congresses on Ways and Means 56, 57.

Longworth, Nicholas (R-OH), Cincinnati, OH, Nov. 5, 1869-Apr. 9, 1931; House 1903-13, 1915-Apr. 9, 1931; Congresses on Ways and Means 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67; Speaker of the House 69th-71st Congresses.

Lowndes, William (JR-SC), Jacksonborough, SC, Feb. 11, 1782-Oct. 27, 1822; House 1811-May 8, 1822; Congresses on Ways and Means 13, 14, 15; Chairman 14th and 15th Congresses.

Loyall, George (D-VA), Norfolk, VA, May 29, 1789-Feb. 24, 1868; House Mar. 9, 1830-31, 1833-37; Congresses on Ways and Means 23, 24.

Lynch, Walter A. (D-NY), New York, NY, July 7, 1894-Sept. 10, 1957; House Feb. 20, 1940-51; Congresses on Ways and Means 78, 79, 80, 81.

Machrowicz, Thaddeus M. (D-MI), Gostyn, Poland, Aug. 21, 1899-Feb. 17, 1970; House 1951-Sept. 18, 1961; Congresses on Ways and Means 84, 85, 86, 87.

Maclay, William B. (D-NY), New York, NY, Mar. 20, 1812-Feb. 19, 1882; House 1843-49, 1857-61; Congresses on Ways and Means 35.

Madison, James (JR-VA), Port Conway, VA, Mar. 16, 1751-June 28, 1836; House 1789-97; Congresses on Ways and Means 1, 3, 4; Member of the Continental Congress 1780-83, 1787-88; Delegate to the United States Constitutional Convention and signer of the United States Constitution 1787; 4th President of the United States 1809-17.

Malbone, Francis (F-RI), Newport, RI, Mar. 20, 1759-June 4, 1809; House 1793-97; Senate Mar. 4, 1809-June 4, 1809; Congresses on Ways and Means 4.

Mallory, Robert (U-KY), Madison Court House, VA, Nov. 15, 1815-Aug. 11, 1885; House 1859-65; Congresses on Ways and Means 38.

Maloney, Paul H. (D-LA), New Orleans, LA, Feb. 14, 1876-Mar. 26, 1967; House 1931-Dec. 15, 1940, 1943-47; Congresses on Ways and Means 76, 78, 79.

Marshall, Samuel S. (D-IL), Shawneetown, IL, Mar. 12, 1821-July 26, 1890; House 1855-59, 1865-75; Congresses on Ways and Means 41.

Marshall, Thomas F. (W-KY), Frankfort, KY, June 7, 1801-Sept. 22, 1864; House 1841-43; Congresses on Ways and Means 27; Nephew of John Marshall.

Martin, James G. (R-NC), Savannah, GA, Dec. 11, 1935- ; House 1973-85; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95, 96, 97, 98; Governor of NC 1985- .

Martin, Thomas E. (R-IA), Melrose, IA, Jan. 18, 1893-June 27, 1971; House 1939-55; Senate 1955-61; Congresses on Ways and Means 80, 81, 82, 83.

Martin, Whitmell P. (P, D-LA), Napoleonville, LA, Aug. 12, 1867-Apr. 6, 1929; House 1915-Apr. 6, 1929; Congresses on Ways and Means 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70.

Marvin, Dudley (AJ-NY), Lyme, CT, May 9, 1786-June 25, 1856; House 1823-29, 1847-49; Congresses on Ways and Means 19.

Mason, Noah M. (R-IL), Glamorganshire, Wales, July 19, 1882-Mar. 29, 1965; House 1937-63; Congresses on Ways and Means 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87.

Mason, Samson (W-OH), Fort Ann, NY, July 24, 1793-Feb. 1, 1869; House 1835-43; Congresses on Ways and Means 26, 27.

Matsui, Robert T. (D-CA), Sacramento, CA, Sept. 17, 1941- ; House 1979- ; Congresses on Ways and Means 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Maybury, William C. (D-MI), Detroit, MI, Nov. 20, 1848-May 6, 1909; House 1883-87; Congresses on Ways and Means 49.

Maynard, Horace (AP, R-TN), Westboro, MA, Aug. 30, 1814-May 3, 1882; House 1857-63, 1866-75; Congresses on Ways and Means 37, 40, 41, 42.

McCall, Samuel W. (R-MA), East Providence, PA, Feb. 28, 1851-Nov. 4, 1923; House 1893-1913; Congresses on Ways and Means 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62; Governor of MA 1916-18.

McCarthy, Dennis (R-NY), Salina, NY, Mar. 19, 1814-Feb. 14, 1886; House 1867-71; Congresses on Ways and Means 41.

McCarthy, Eugene J. (D-MN), Watkins, MN, Mar. 29, 1916- ; House 1949-59; Senate 1959-71; Congresses on Ways and Means 84, 85.

McCleary, James T. (R-MN), Ingersoll, Ontario, Canada, Feb. 5, 1853-Dec. 17, 1924; House 1893-1907; Congresses on Ways and Means 59.

McClellan, George B. (D-NY), Dresden, Saxony, Nov. 23, 1865-Nov. 30, 1940; House 1895-Dec. 21, 1903; Congresses on Ways and Means 55, 56, 57, 58.

McClernand, John A. (D-IL), Breckinridge County, KY, May 30, 1812-Sept. 20, 1900; House 1843-51, Nov. 8, 1859-Oct. 28, 1861; Congresses on Ways and Means 37.

McClintic, James V. (D-OK), Bremond, TX, Sept. 8, 1878-Apr. 22, 1948; House 1915-35; Congresses on Ways and Means 73.

McCormack, John W. (D-MA), Boston, MA, Dec. 21, 1891-Nov. 22, 1980; House Nov. 6, 1928-71; Congresses on Ways and Means 72, 73, 74, 75, 76; Speaker of the House 87th-91st Congresses.

McDowell, James (D-VA), Rockbridge County, VA, Oct. 13, 1795-Aug. 24, 1851; House Mar. 6, 1846-51; Congresses on Ways and Means 30; Governor of VA 1843-46.

McDuffie, George (JR, J, N-SC), Columbia County, GA, Aug. 10, 1790-Mar. 11, 1851; House 1821-34; Senate Dec. 23, 1842-Aug. 17, 1846; Congresses on Ways and Means 18, 19, 20, 21, 22; Chairman

19th–22d Congresses; Governor of SC 1834–36.

McGillicuddy, Daniel J. (D-ME), Lewiston, ME, Aug. 27, 1859–July 30, 1936; House 1911–17; Congresses on Ways and Means 64.

McGranery, James P. (D-PA), Philadelphia, PA, July 8, 1895–Dec. 23, 1962; House 1937–43; Congresses on Ways and Means 77, 78.

McGrath, Raymond J. (R-NY), Valley Stream, NY, Mar. 27, 1942– ; House 1981–; Congresses on Ways and Means 99, 100, 101.

McKay, James I. (D-NC), Elizabethtown, NC, 1793–Sept. 4, 1853; House 1831–49; Congresses on Ways and Means 28, 29, 30; Chairman 28th and 29th Congresses.

McKenna, Joseph (R-CA), Philadelphia, PA, Aug. 10, 1843–Nov. 21, 1926; House 1885–Mar. 28, 1892; Congresses on Ways and Means 51, 52; Associate Justice of the Supreme Court 1898–1925.

McKeough, Raymond S. (D-IL), Chicago, IL, Apr. 29, 1888–Dec. 16, 1979; House 1935–43; Congresses on Ways and Means 76, 77.

McKim, Alexander (JR-MD), Brandywine, DE, Jan. 10, 1748–Jan. 18, 1832; House 1809–15; Congresses on Ways and Means 13; Uncle of Isaac McKim.

McKim, Isaac (JR, J, D-MD), Baltimore, MD, July 21, 1775–Apr. 1, 1838; House Jan. 4, 1823–25, 1833–Apr. 1, 1838; Congresses on Ways and Means 18, 23, 24, 25; Nephew of Alexander McKim.

McKinley, John (D-AL), Culpeper County, VA, May 1, 1780–July 19, 1852; House 1833–35; Senate Nov. 27, 1826–31, Mar. 4–Apr. 22, 1837; Congresses on Ways and Means 23; Associate Justice of the Supreme Court 1837–52.

McKinley, William, Jr. (R-OH), Niles, OH, Jan. 29, 1843–Sept. 14, 1901; House 1877–May 27, 1884, 1885–91; Congresses on Ways and Means 46, 47, 49, 50, 51; Chairman 51st Congress; Governor of OH 1892–96; 25th President of the United States 1897–Sept. 14, 1901.

McLane, Louis (F-DE), Smyrna, DE, May 28, 1786–Oct. 7, 1857; House 1817–27; Senate 1827–Apr. 16, 1829; Congresses on Ways and Means 16, 17, 18, 19; Chairman 17th–19th Congresses.

McLaughlin, James C. (R-MI), Beardstown, IL, Jan. 26, 1858–Nov. 29, 1932; House 1907–Nov. 29, 1932; Congresses on Ways and Means 68, 69, 70, 71, 72.

McLaurin, John L. (D-SC), Red Bluff, SC, May 9, 1860–July 29, 1934; House Dec. 5, 1892–May 31, 1897; Senate June 1, 1897–1903; Congresses on Ways and Means 54, 55.

McLean, Donald H. (R-NJ), Paterson, NJ, Mar. 18, 1884–Aug. 19, 1975; House 1933–45; Congresses on Ways and Means 76, 77, 78.

McMillin, Benton (D-TN), Monroe County, KY, Sept. 11, 1845–Jan. 8, 1933; House 1879–Jan. 6, 1899; Congresses on Ways and Means 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55; Governor of TN 1899–1903.

Meriwether, David (JR-GA), Charlottesville, VA, Apr. 10, 1755–Nov. 16, 1822; House Dec. 6, 1802–07; Congresses on Ways and Means 8, 9.

Metcalf, Lee W. (D-MT), Stevensville, MT, Jan. 28, 1911–Jan. 12, 1978; House 1953–61; Senate 1961–Jan. 12, 1978; Congresses on Ways and Means 86.

Metcalf, Victor H. (R-CA), Utica, NY, Oct. 10, 1853–Feb. 20, 1936; House 1899–July 1, 1904; Congresses on Ways and Means 57, 58.

Mikva, Abner J. (D-IL), Milwaukee, WI, Jan. 21, 1926– ; House 1969–73, 1975–Sept. 26, 1979; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95, 96.

Milledge, John (JR-GA), Savannah, GA, 1757–Feb. 9, 1818; House Nov. 22, 1792–93, 1795–99, 1801–May 1802; Senate June 19, 1806–Nov. 14, 1809; Congresses on Ways and Means 7; Governor of GA 1802–06.

Mills, Ogden L. (R-NY), Newport, RI, Aug. 23, 1884–Oct. 11, 1937; House 1921–27; Congresses on Ways and Means 67, 68, 69.

Mills, Roger Q. (D-TX), Todd County, KY, Mar. 30, 1832–Sept. 2, 1911; House 1873–Mar. 28, 1892; Senate Mar. 29, 1892–99; Congresses on Ways and Means 46, 48, 49, 50, 51; Chairman 50th Congress.

Mills, Wilbur D. (D-AR), Kensett, AR, May 24, 1909– ; House 1939–77; Congresses on Ways and Means 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94; Chairman 85th–93d Congresses.

Millson, John S. (D-VA), Norfolk, VA, Oct. 1, 1808–Mar. 1, 1874; House 1849–61; Congresses on Ways and Means 36.

Mitchell, John J. (D-MA), Marlboro, MA, May 9, 1873–Sept. 13, 1925; House Nov. 8, 1910–11, Apr. 15, 1913–15; Congresses on Ways and Means 63.

Mitchell, Thomas R. (JR-SC), Georgetown, SC, May 1783–Nov. 2, 1837; House 1821–23, 1825–29, 1831–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 17.

Montgomery, Alexander B. (D-KY), Tip Top, KY, Dec. 11, 1837–Dec. 27, 1910; House 1887–95; Congresses on Ways and Means 52, 53.

Montgomery, John (JR-MD), Carlisle, PA, 1764–July 17, 1828; House 1807–Apr. 29, 1811; Congresses on Ways and Means 10, 11.

Montgomery, Thomas (JR-KY), Nelson County, VA, 1779–Apr. 2, 1828; House 1813–15, Aug. 1, 1820–23; Congresses on Ways and Means 13.

Moody, Jim (D-WI), Richlands, VA, Sept. 2, 1935– ; House 1983– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 100, 101.

Moore, Joseph H. (JR-PA), Woodbury, NJ, Mar. 8, 1864–May 2, 1950; House Nov. 6, 1906–Jan. 4, 1920; Congresses on Ways and Means 63, 64, 65, 66.

Moore, Nicholas R. (JR-MD), Baltimore Town, MD, July 21, 1756–Oct. 7, 1816; House 1803–11, 1813–15; Congresses on Ways and Means 8.

Moore, William H., III (R-LA), Lake Charles, LA, Oct. 4, 1939– ; House Jan. 7, 1975–87; Congresses on Ways and Means 96, 97, 98, 99.

Moorhead, James K. (R-PA), Halifax, PA, Sept. 7, 1806–Mar. 6, 1884; House 1859–69; Congresses on Ways and Means 39, 40.

Morehead, Charles S. (W-KY), Bardstown, KY, July 7, 1802–Dec. 21, 1868; House 1847–51; Congresses on Ways and Means 30, 31; Governor of KY 1855–59.

Morrill, Justin S. (R-VT), Strafford, VT, Apr. 14, 1810–Dec. 28, 1898; House 1855–67; Senate 1867–Dec. 28, 1898; Congresses on Ways and Means 35, 36, 37, 38, 39; Chairman 39th Congress.

Morris, Lewis R. (F-VT), Scarsdale, NY, Nov. 2, 1760–Dec. 29, 1825; House 1797–1803; Congresses on Ways and Means 5.

Morrison, William R. (D-IL), Waterloo, IL, Sept. 14, 1824–Sept. 29, 1909; House 1863–65, 1873–87; Congresses on Ways and Means 44, 46, 47, 48, 49; Chairman 44th, 48th and 49th Congresses.

Morton, Rogers C. B. (R-MD), Louisville, KY, Sept. 19, 1914–Apr. 19, 1979; House 1963–Jan. 29, 1971; Congresses on Ways and Means 91, 92.

Moseley, Jonathan O. (F-CT), East Haddam, CT, Apr. 9, 1762–Sept. 9, 1838; House 1805–21; Congresses on Ways and Means 9, 14, 16.

Mott, Luther W. (R–NY), Oswego, NY, Nov. 30, 1874–July 10, 1923; House 1911–July 10, 1923; Congresses on Ways and Means 66, 67.

Mumma, Walter M. (R–PA), Steelton, PA, Nov. 20, 1890–Feb. 25, 1961; House 1951–Feb. 25, 1961; Congresses on Ways and Means 86, 87.

Murdock, Victor (R–KS), Burlingame, KS, Mar. 18, 1871–July 8, 1945; House May 26, 1903–15; Congresses on Ways and Means 63.

Murray, William V. (F–MD), Cambridge MD, Feb. 9, 1760–Dec. 11, 1803; House 1791–97; Congresses on Ways and Means 4.

Needham, James C. (R–CA), Carson City, NV, Sept. 17, 1864–July 11, 1942; House 1899–1913; Congresses on Ways and Means 58, 59, 60, 61, 62.

Nelson, Roger (JR–MD), Frederick, MD, 1759–June 7, 1815; House Nov. 6, 1804–May 14, 1810; Congresses on Ways and Means 9.

Newlands, Francis G. (D–NV), Natchez, MS, Aug. 28, 1848–Dec. 24, 1917; House 1893–1903; Senate 1903–Dec. 24, 1917; Congresses on Ways and Means 56, 57.

Niblack, William E. (D–IN), Dubois County, IN, May 19, 1822–May 7, 1893; House Dec. 7, 1857–61, 1865–75; Congresses on Ways and Means 40, 43.

Nicholas, John (JR–VA), Williamsburg, VA, about 1757–Dec. 31, 1819; House 1793–1801; Congresses on Ways and Means 6.

Nicholson, Joseph H. (JR–MD), Chestertown, MD, May 15, 1770–Mar. 4, 1817; House 1799–Mar. 1, 1806; Congresses on Ways and Means 6, 7, 8, 9.

Nicoll, Henry (D–NY), New York, NY, Oct. 23, 1812–Nov. 28, 1879; House 1847–49; Congresses on Ways and Means 30.

Norris, Moses, Jr. (D–NH), Pittsfield, NH, Nov. 8, 1799–Jan. 11, 1855; House 1843–47; Senate 1849–Jan. 11, 1855; Congresses on Ways and Means 28, 29.

Nott, Abraham (F–SC), Saybrook, CT, Feb. 5, 1768–June 19, 1830; House 1799–1801; Congresses on Ways and Means 6.

O'Brien, Thomas J. (D–IL), Chicago, IL, Apr. 30, 1878–Apr. 14, 1964; House 1933–39, 1943–Apr. 14, 1964; Congresses on Ways and Means 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88.

O'Shaunessy, George F. (D–RI), Galway, Ireland, May 1, 1868–Nov. 28, 1934; House 1911–19; Congresses on Ways and Means 65.

Oakley, Thomas J. (F–NY), Poughkeepsie, NY, Nov. 10, 1783–May 11, 1857; House 1813–15, 1827–May 9, 1828; Congresses on Ways and Means 13.

Oldfield, William A. (D–AR), Franklin, AR, Feb. 4, 1874–Nov. 19, 1928; House 1909–Nov. 19, 1928; Congresses on Ways and Means 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70.

Orr, Alexander D. (PAU–KY), Alexandria, VA, Nov. 6, 1761–June 21, 1835; House Nov. 8, 1792–97; Congresses on Ways and Means 3.

Orth, Godlove S. (R–IN), Lebanon, PA, Apr. 22, 1817–Dec. 16, 1882; House 1863–71, 1873–75, 1879–Dec. 16, 1882; Congresses on Ways and Means 41.

Otis, Harrison G. (F–MA), Boston, MA, Oct. 8, 1765–Oct. 28, 1848; House 1797–1801; Senate 1817–May 30, 1822; Congresses on Ways and Means 5, 6.

Overton, Walter H. (J–LA), Louisa Court House, VA, 1788–Dec. 24, 1845; House 1829–31; Congresses on Ways and Means 21.

Owens, George W. (D–GA), Savannah, GA, Aug. 29, 1786–Mar. 2, 1856; House 1835–39; Congresses on Ways and Means 24, 25.

Palmer, Alexander M. (D–PA), White Haven, PA, May 4, 1872–May 11, 1936; House 1909–15; Congresses on Ways and Means 62, 63.

Parker, Isaac (F–MA), Boston, MA, June 17, 1768–July 21, 1830; House 1797–99; Congresses on Ways and Means 5.

Patten, John (JR–DE), Kent County, DE, Apr. 26, 1746–Dec. 26, 1800; House 1793–Feb. 14, 1794, 1795–97; Congresses on Ways and Means 4; Member of the Continental Congress 1786.

Payne, Sereno E. (R–NY), Hamilton, NY, June 26, 1843–Dec. 10, 1914; House 1883–87, 1889–Dec. 10, 1914; Congresses on Ways and Means 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63; Chairman 55th–61st Congresses.

Pease, Donald J. (D–OH), Toledo, OH, Sept. 26, 1931– ; House 1977– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Pendleton, George H. (D–OH), Cincinnati, OH, July 19, 1825–Nov. 24, 1889; House 1857–65; Senate 1879–85; Congresses on Ways and Means 38.

Peters, Andrew J. (D–MA), West Roxbury, MA, Apr. 3, 1872–June 26, 1938; House 1907–Aug. 15, 1914; Congresses on Ways and Means 62, 63.

Pettis, Jerry L. (R–CA), Phoenix, AZ, July 18, 1916–Feb. 14, 1975; House 1967–Feb. 14, 1975; Congresses on Ways and Means 91, 92, 93, 94.

Phelps, James (D–CT), Colebrook, CT, Jan. 12, 1822–Jan. 15, 1900; House 1875–83; Congresses on Ways and Means 45, 46.

Phelps, John S. (D–MO), Simsbury, CT, Dec. 22, 1814–Nov. 20, 1886; House 1845–63; Congresses on Ways and Means 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37; Chairman 35th Congress; Governor of MO 1877–81.

Phillips, Henry M. (D–PA), Philadelphia, PA, June 30, 1811–Aug. 28, 1884; House 1857–59; Congresses on Ways and Means 35.

Pickens, Francis W. (D–SC), Colleton, SC, Apr. 7, 1805–Jan. 25, 1869; House Dec. 8, 1834–43; Congresses on Ways and Means 27; Governor of SC 1860–62.

Pickle, James J. "Jake" (D–TX), Big Spring, TX, Oct. 11, 1913– ; House Dec. 21, 1963– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Pike, Otis G. (D–NY), Riverhead, NY, Aug. 31, 1921– ; House 1961–79; Congresses on Ways and Means 93, 94, 95.

Pitcher, Nathaniel (JR–NY), Litchfield, CT, 1777–May 25, 1836; House 1819–23, 1831–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 17.

Pitkin, Timothy (F–CT), Farmington, CT, Jan. 21, 1766–Dec. 18, 1847; House Sept. 16, 1805–19; Congresses on Ways and Means 12, 13, 15.

Platt, Jonas (F–NY), Poughkeepsie, NY, June 30, 1769–Feb. 22, 1834; House 1799–1801; Congresses on Ways and Means 6.

Pleasants, James (JR–VA), Powhatan County, VA, Oct. 24, 1769–Nov. 9, 1836; House 1811–Dec. 14, 1819; Senate Dec. 14, 1819–Dec. 15, 1822; Congresses on Ways and Means 12, 13; Governor of VA 1822–25.

Polk, James K. (J, D–TN), Mecklenburg County, NC, Nov. 2, 1795–June 15, 1849; House 1825–39; Congresses on Ways and Means 22, 23; Chairman 23d Congress; Speaker of the House 24th and 25th Congresses; Governor of TN 1839–41; 11th President of the United States 1845–49.

Pollock, James (W–PA), Milton, PA, Sept. 11, 1810–Apr. 19, 1890; House Apr. 5, 1844–49; Congresses on Ways and Means 30; Governor of PA 1855–58.

Pope, John (D–KY), Prince William County, VA, 1770–July 12, 1845; House 1837–43; Senate 1807–13; Congresses on Ways and Means 25.

Potter, Elisha R. (F-RI), Little Rest (now Kingston), RI, Nov. 5, 1764–Sept. 26, 1835; House Nov. 15, 1796–97, 1809–15; Congresses on Ways and Means 4.

Pou, Edward W. (D-NC), Tuskegee, AL, Sept. 9, 1863–Apr. 1, 1934; House 1901–Apr. 1, 1934; Congresses on Ways and Means 60, 61.

Powell, Leven (F-VA), Manassas, VA, 1737–Aug. 23, 1810; House 1799–1801; Congresses on Ways and Means 6.

Pruyn, John V. L. (D-NY), Albany, NY, June 22, 1811–Nov. 21, 1877; House Dec. 7, 1863–65, 1867–69; Congresses on Ways and Means 38.

Quincy, Josiah (F-MA), Boston, MA, Feb. 4, 1772–July 1, 1864; House 1805–13; Congresses on Ways and Means 9.

Ragon, Heartsill (D-AR), Dublin, AR, Mar. 20, 1885–Sept. 15, 1940; House 1923–June 16, 1933; Congresses on Ways and Means 70, 71, 72, 73.

Rainey, Henry T. (D-IL), Carrollton, IL, Aug. 20, 1860–Aug. 19, 1934; House 1903–21, 1923–Aug. 19, 1934; Congresses on Ways and Means 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72; Speaker of the House 73d Congress.

Ramseyer, Christian W. (R-IA), Collinsville, OH, Mar. 13, 1875–Nov. 1, 1943; House 1915–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 70, 71.

Randall, Samuel J. (D-PA), Philadelphia, PA, Oct. 10, 1828–Apr. 13, 1890; House 1863–Apr. 13, 1890; Congresses on Ways and Means 47; Speaker of the House 44th–46th Congresses.

Randell, Choice B. (D-TX), Spring Place, GA, Jan. 1, 1857–Oct. 19, 1945; House 1901–13; Congresses on Ways and Means 60, 61, 62.

Randolph, John (JR, J-VA), Cawsons, VA, June 2, 1773–May 24, 1833; House 1799–1813, 1815–17, 1819–Dec. 26, 1825, 1827–29, Mar. 4, 1833–May 24, 1833; Senate Dec. 26, 1825–27; Congresses on Ways and Means 7, 8, 9, 20; Chairman 7th–9th and 20th Congresses.

Rangel, Charles B. (D-NY), New York, NY, June 11, 1930– ; House 1971– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Rathbun, George O. (D-NY), Scipioville, NY, 1803–Jan. 5, 1870; House 1843–47; Congresses on Ways and Means 28.

Rea, John (JR-PA), Chambersburg, PA, Jan. 27, 1755–Feb. 26, 1829; House 1803–11, May 11, 1813–15; Congresses on Ways and Means 11.

Read, Nathan (F-MA), Warren, MA, July 2, 1759–Jan. 20, 1849; House Nov. 25, 1800–03; Congresses on Ways and Means 7.

Reed, Daniel A. (R-NY), Sheridan, NY, Sept. 15, 1857–Feb. 19, 1959; House 1919–Feb. 19, 1959; Congresses on Ways and Means 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86; Chairman 83d Congress.

Reed, Thomas B. (R-ME), Portland, ME, Oct. 18, 1839–Dec. 7, 1902; House 1877–Sept. 4, 1899; Congresses on Ways and Means 48, 49, 50, 52, 53; Speaker of the House 41st, 44th–45th, 51st Congresses.

Rencher, Abraham (W-NC), Raleigh, NC, Aug. 12, 1798–July 6, 1883; House 1829–39, 1841–43; Congresses on Ways and Means 25, 27; Governor of NM 1857–61.

Rhett, Robert Barnwell [Smith] (D-SC), Beaufort, SC, Dec. 21, 1800–Sept. 14, 1876; House 1837–49; Senate Dec. 18, 1850–May 7, 1852; Congresses on Ways and Means 25, 26.

Rhodes, George M. (D-PA), Reading, PA, Feb. 24, 1898–Oct. 23, 1978; House 1949–69; Congresses on Ways and Means 88, 89, 90.

Richardson, James D. (D-TN), Rutherford County, TN, Mar. 10, 1843–July 24, 1914; House 1885–1905; Congresses on Ways and Means 55, 56, 57.

Robbins, John (D-PA), Bustleton (now a part of Philadelphia), PA, 1808–Apr. 27, 1880; House 1849–55, 1875–77; Congresses on Ways and Means 33.

Robbins, William M. (D-NC), Trinity, NC, Oct. 26, 1828–May 5, 1905; House 1873–79; Congresses on Ways and Means 45.

Roberts, Ellis H. (JR-NY), Utica, NY, Sept. 30, 1827–Jan. 8, 1918; House 1871–75; Congresses on Ways and Means 42, 43.

Roberts, Jonathan (JR-PA), Norristown, PA, Aug. 16, 1771–July 24, 1854; House 1811–Feb. 24, 1814; Senate Feb. 24, 1814–21; Congresses on Ways and Means 12, 13.

Robertson, A. Willis (D-VA), Martinsburg, WV, May 27, 1887–Nov. 1, 1971; House 1933–Nov. 5, 1946; Senate Nov. 6, 1946–Dec. 30, 1966; Congresses on Ways and Means 75, 76, 77, 78, 79.

Robertson, Samuel M. (D-LA), Plaquemine, LA, Jan. 1, 1852–Dec. 24, 1911; House Dec. 5, 1887–1907; Congresses on Ways and Means 55, 56, 57, 58, 59.

Robertson, Thomas B. (JR-LA), Petersburg, VA, Feb. 27, 1779–Oct. 5, 1828; House Apr. 30, 1812–Apr. 20, 1818; Congresses on Ways and Means 14; Governor of LA 1820–22.

Rodney, Caesar A. (JR-DE), Dover, DE, Jan. 4, 1772–June 10, 1824; House 1803–05, 1821–Jan. 24, 1822; Senate Jan. 24, 1822–Jan. 29, 1823; Congresses on Ways and Means 8.

Root, Erastus (JR-NY), Hebron, CT, Mar. 16, 1773–Dec. 24, 1846; House 1803–05, 1809–11, Dec. 26, 1815–17, 1831–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 11.

Ross, Thomas R. (JR-OH), New Garden Township, PA, Oct. 26, 1788–June 28, 1869; House 1819–25; Congresses on Ways and Means 16.

Rostenkowski, Daniel D. (D-IL), Chicago, IL, Jan. 2, 1928– ; House 1959– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101; Chairman 97th– .

Rousselot, John H. (R-CA), Los Angeles, CA, Nov. 1, 1927– ; House 1961–63, June 30, 1970–83; Congresses on Ways and Means 95, 96, 97.

Russell, Charles A. (R-CT), Worcester, MA, Mar. 2, 1852–Oct. 23, 1902; House 1887–Oct. 23, 1902; Congresses on Ways and Means 54, 55, 56, 57.

Russell, William A. (R-MA), Wells River, VT, Apr. 22, 1831–Jan. 10, 1899; House 1879–85; Congresses on Ways and Means 47, 48.

Russo, Martin A. (D-IL), Chicago, IL, Jan. 23, 1944– ; House 1975– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Sadlak, Antoni N. (R-CT), Rockville, CT, June 13, 1908–Oct. 18, 1969; House 1947–59; Congresses on Ways and Means 83, 84, 85.

Sage, Russell (W-NY), Shenandoah, NY, Aug. 4, 1816–July 22, 1906; House 1853–57; Congresses on Ways and Means 34.

Saltonstall, Leverett (W-MA), Haverhill, MA, June 13, 1783–May 8, 1845; House Dec. 5, 1838–43; Congresses on Ways and Means 26.

Sanders, Morgan G. (D-TX), Ben Wheeler, TX, July 14, 1878–Jan. 7, 1956; House 1921–39; Congresses on Ways and Means 72, 73, 74, 75.

Sands, Joshua (F-NY), Long Island, NY, Oct. 12, 1757–Sept. 13, 1835; House 1803–05, 1825–27; Congresses on Ways and Means 8.

Sayler, Milton (D-OH), Lewisburg, OH, Nov. 4, 1831–Nov. 17, 1892; House 1873–79; Congresses on Ways and Means 45.

Schenck, Robert C. (R-OH), Franklin, OH, Oct. 4, 1809–Mar. 23, 1890; House 1843–51, 1863–Jan. 5, 1871; Congresses on Ways and Means 40, 41; Chairman 40th and 41st Congresses.

Schneebeli, Herman T. (R–PA), Lancaster, PA, July 7, 1907–May 6, 1982; House Apr. 26, 1960–77; Congresses on Ways and Means 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94.

Schulze, Richard T. (R–PA), Philadelphia, PA, Aug. 7, 1929– ; House 1975– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Scott, William L. (D–PA), Washington, DC, July 2, 1828–Sept. 19, 1891; House 1885–89; Congresses on Ways and Means 50.

Seaver, Ebenezer (JR–MA), Roxbury, MA, July 5, 1763–Mar. 1, 1844; House 1803–13; Congresses on Ways and Means 11.

Sedgwick, Theodore (F–MA), West Hartford, CT, May 9, 1746–Jan. 24, 1813; House 1789–June 1796, 1799–1801; Senate June 11, 1796–99; Congresses on Ways and Means 4; Member of the Continental Congress 1785–86, 1788; Speaker of the House 6th Congress.

Sergeant, John (F, W–PA), Philadelphia, PA, Dec. 5, 1779–Nov. 23, 1852; House Oct. 10, 1815–23, 1827–29, 1837–Sept. 15, 1841; Congresses on Ways and Means 15, 25.

Sewall, Samuel (F–MA), Boston, MA, Dec. 11, 1757–June 8, 1814; House Dec. 7, 1796–Jan. 10, 1800; Congresses on Ways and Means 5.

Seymour, David L. (D–NY), Wethersfield, CT, Dec. 2, 1803–Oct. 11, 1867; House 1843–45, 1851–53; Congresses on Ways and Means 28.

Shackleford, Dorsey W. (D–MO), Sweet Springs, MO, Aug. 27, 1853–July 15, 1936; House Aug. 29, 1899–1919; Congresses on Ways and Means 62, 63.

Shallenberger, Ashton C. (D–NE), Toulon, IL, Dec. 23, 1862–Feb. 22, 1938; House 1901–03, 1915–19, 1923–29, 1931–35; Congresses on Ways and Means 73; Governor of NE 1909–11.

Shannon, James M. (D–MA), Methuen, MA, Apr. 4, 1952– ; House 1979–85; Congresses on Ways and Means 96, 97, 98.

Shaw, E. Clay, Jr. (R–FL), Miami, FL, Apr. 19, 1939– ; House 1981– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 100, 101.

Shaw, Henry (JR–MA), Putney, VT, 1788–Oct. 17, 1857; House 1817–21; Congresses on Ways and Means 16.

Sheldon, Lionel A. (R–LA), Worcester, NY, Aug. 30, 1828–Jan. 17, 1917; House 1869–75; Congresses on Ways and Means 43.

Sherman, John (R–OH), Lancaster, OH, *May 10, 1823–Oct. 22, 1900; House 1855–*Mar. 21, 1861; Senate Mar. 21, 1861–Mar. 8, 1877, 1881–Mar. 4, 1897; Congresses on Ways and Means 36; Chairman 36th Congress.

Shively, Benjamin F. (NAM, D–IN), Osceola, IN, Mar. 20, 1857–Mar. 14, 1916; House Dec. 1, 1884–85, 1887–93; Senate 1909–Mar. 14, 1916; Congresses on Ways and Means 52.

Simpson, Richard M. (R–PA), Huntingdon, PA, Aug. 30, 1900–Jan. 7, 1960; House May 11, 1937–Jan. 7, 1960; Congresses on Ways and Means 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86.

Sinnickson, Thomas (F–NJ), Salem, NJ, Dec. 21, 1744–May 15, 1817; House 1789–91, 1797–99; Congresses on Ways and Means 5.

Sloan, Charles H. (R–NE), Monticello, IA, May 2, 1863–June 2, 1946; House 1911–19, 1929–31; Congresses on Ways and Means 63, 64, 65.

Smilie, John (JR–PA), Ireland, 1741–Dec. 30, 1812; House 1793–95, 1799–Dec. 30, 1812; Congresses on Ways and Means 6, 7, 10, 11, 12.

Smith, Francis O. J. (D–ME), Brentwood, NH, Nov. 23, 1806–Oct. 14, 1876; House 1833–39; Congresses on Ways and Means 24.

Smith, Isaac (F–NJ), Trenton, NJ, 1740–Aug. 29, 1807; House 1795–97; Congresses on Ways and Means 4.

Smith, Israel (JR–VT), Suffield, CT, Apr. 4, 1759–Dec. 2, 1810; House Oct. 17, 1791–97, 1801–03; Senate 1803–Oct. 1, 1807; Congresses on Ways and Means 3, 4, 7; Governor of VT 1807–08.

Smith, Nathaniel (F–CT), Woodbury, CT, Jan. 6, 1762–Mar. 9, 1822; House 1795–99; Congresses on Ways and Means 4, 5.

Smith, Samuel (JR–MD), Carlisle, PA, July 27, 1752–Apr. 22, 1839; House 1793–1803, Jan. 31, 1816–Dec. 17, 1822; Senate 1803–15, Dec. 17, 1822–23; Congresses on Ways and Means 14, 15, 16, 17; Chairman 15th–17th Congresses.

Smith, William (PAU–MD), Donegal Township, PA, Apr. 12, 1728–Mar. 27, 1814; House 1789–91; Congresses on Ways and Means 1; Member of the Continental Congress 1777.

Smith, William A. (R–MI), Dowagiac, MI, May 12, 1859–Oct. 11, 1932; House 1895–Feb. 9, 1907; Senate Feb. 9, 1907–19; Congresses on Ways and Means 59.

Smith, William L. (F–SC), Charleston, SC, 1758–Dec. 19, 1812; House 1789–July 10, 1797; Congresses on Ways and Means 3, 4, 5; *Chairman 3d, 4th, and 5th Congresses.*

Smyth, Alexander (J–VA), Island of Rathlin, Ireland, 1765–Apr. 17, 1830; House 1817–25, 1827–Apr. 17, 1830; Congresses on Ways and Means 20, 21.

Spaulding, Elbridge G. (R–NY), Summer Hill, NY, Feb. 24, 1809–May 5, 1897; House 1849–51, 1859–63; Congresses on Ways and Means 36, 37.

Speer, Emory (I–GA), Culloden, GA, Sept. 3, 1848–Dec. 13, 1918; House 1879–83; Congresses on Ways and Means 47.

Sprague, Peleg (AJ–ME), Duxbury, MA, Apr. 27, 1793–Oct. 13, 1880; House 1825–29; Senate 1829–Jan. 1, 1835; Congresses on Ways and Means 19, 20.

Springer, William M. (D–IL), New Lebanon, IN, May 30, 1836–Dec. 4, 1903; House 1875–95; Congresses on Ways and Means 52; Chairman 52d Congress.

Stanley, Augustus O. (D–KY), Shelbyville, KY, May 21, 1867–Aug. 12, 1958; House 1903–15; Senate May 19, 1919–25; Congresses on Ways and Means 63; Governor of KY 1915–19.

Stanly, Edward (W–NC), New Bern, NC, Jan. 10, 1810–July 12, 1872; House 1837–43, 1849–53; Congresses on Ways and Means 32.

Stanton, Joseph, Jr. (JR–RI), Charlestown, RI, July 19, 1739–1807; House 1801–07; Senate June 7, 1790–93; Congresses on Ways and Means 8.

Stark, Fortney Pete (D–CA), Milwaukee, WI, Nov. 11, 1931– ; House 1973– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Stebbins, Henry G. (D–NY), Ridgefield, CT, Sept. 15, 1811–Dec. 9, 1881; House 1863–Oct 24, 1864; Congresses on Ways and Means 38.

Steele, George W. (R–IN), Connersville, IN, Dec. 13, 1839–July 12, 1922; House 1881–89, 1895–1903; Congresses on Ways and Means 54, 55, 56, 57.

Steiger, William A. (R–WI), Oshkosh, WI, May 15, 1938–Dec. 4, 1978; House 1967–Dec. 4, 1978; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95.

Stephens, Alexander H. (W, D–GA), Crawfordville, GA, Feb. 11, 1812–Mar. 4, 1881; House Oct. 2, 1843–59, Dec. 1, 1873–Nov. 4, 1882; Congresses on Ways and Means 30, 31, 33; Governor of GA 1882–83.

Sterling, John A. (R–IL), Le Roy, IL, Feb. 1, 1857–Oct. 17, 1918; House 1903–13, 1915–Oct. 17, 1918; Congresses on Ways and Means 65.

Stevens, Moses T. (D–MA), North Andover, MA, Oct. 10, 1825–Mar. 25, 1907; House 1891–95; Congresses on Ways and Means 52, 53.

Stevens, Thaddeus (UR, R–PA), Danville, VT, Apr. 4, 1792–Aug. 11, 1868; House 1849–53, 1859–Aug. 11, 1868; Congresses on Ways and Means 36, 37, 38; Chairman 37th and 38th Congresses.

Stevenson, Andrew (JR–VA), Culpeper County, VA, Jan. 21, 1784–Jan. 25, 1857; House 1821–June 2, 1834; Congresses on Ways and Means 17, 18, 19; Speaker of the House 20th–23d Congresses.

Stone, David (JR–NC), Windsor, NC, Feb. 17, 1770–Oct. 7, 1818; House 1799–1801; Senate 1801–Feb. 17, 1807, 1813–Dec. 24, 1814; Congresses on Ways and Means 6; Governor of NC 1808–10.

Stratton, John L. N. (R–NJ), Mount Holly, NJ, Nov. 27, 1817–May 17, 1899; House 1859–63; Congresses on Ways and Means 37.

Sullivan, Christopher D. (D–NY), New York, NY, July 14, 1870–Aug. 3, 1942; House 1917–41; Congresses on Ways and Means 72, 73, 74, 75, 76.

Sundquist, Donald K. (R–TN), Moline, IL Mar. 15, 1936– ; House 1983– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 101.

Swanson, Claude A. (D–VA), Swansonville, VA, Mar. 31, 1862–July 7, 1939; House 1893–Jan. 30, 1906; Senate Aug. 1, 1910–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 55, 56, 57, 58; Governor of VA 1906–10.

Sweet, Thaddeus C. (R–NY), Phoenix, NY, Nov. 16, 1872–May 1, 1928; House Nov. 6, 1923–May 1, 1928; Congresses on Ways and Means 70.

Tague, Peter F. (D–MA), Boston, MA, June 4, 1871–Sept. 17, 1941; House 1915–19, Oct. 23, 1919–25; Congresses on Ways and Means 67, 68.

Taliaferro, Benjamin (F–GA), VA, 1750–Sept. 3, 1821; House 1799–1802; Congresses on Ways and Means 6.

Tallmadge, Benjamin (F–CT), Long Island, NY, Feb. 25, 1754–Mar. 7, 1835; House 1801–17; Congresses on Ways and Means 10, 11.

Tallmadge, James, Jr. (R–NY), Stanfordville, NY, Jan. 28, 1778–Sept. 29, 1853; House June 6, 1817–19; Congresses on Ways and Means 15.

Tarsney, John C. (D–MO), Medina, MI, Nov. 7, 1845–Sept. 4, 1920; House 1889–Feb. 27, 1896; Congresses on Ways and Means 53, 54.

Tawney, James A. (R–MN), Mount Pleasant Township, PA, Jan. 3, 1855–June 12, 1919; House 1893–1911; Congresses on Ways and Means 54, 55, 56, 57, 58.

Taylor, John (JR–SC), unknown–unknown; House 1815–17; Congresses on Ways and Means 14.

Taylor, John W. (JR–NY), Charlton, NY, Mar. 26, 1784–Sept. 18, 1854; House 1813–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 13; Speaker of the House 16th and 19th Congresses.

Thomas, Phillip F. (D–MD), Easton, MD, Sept. 12, 1810–Oct. 2, 1890; House 1839–41, 1875–77; Congresses on Ways and Means 44; Governor of MD 1848–51.

Thomas, William M. (R–CA), Wallace, ID, Dec. 6, 1941– ; House 1979– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 98, 99, 100, 101.

Thompson, Chester C. (D–IL), Rock Island, IL, Sept. 19, 1893–Jan. 30, 1971; House 1933–39; Congresses on Ways and Means 74, 75.

Thompson, Clark W. (D–TX), La Crosse, WI, Aug. 6, 1896–Dec. 16, 1981; House June 24, 1933–35, Aug. 23, 1947–67; Congresses on Ways and Means 87, 88, 89.

Thompson, Jacob (D–MS), Leasburg, NC, May 15, 1810–Mar. 24, 1885; House 1839–51; Congresses on Ways and Means 31.

Thompson, Wiley (JR–GA), Amelia County, VA, Sept. 23, 1781–Dec. 28, 1835; House 1821–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 17, 18.

Thurston, Lloyd (R–IA), Osceola, IA, Mar. 27, 1880–May 7, 1970; House 1925–39; Congresses on Ways and Means 75.

Tilson, John Q. (R–CT), Clearbranch, TN, Apr. 5, 1866–Aug. 14, 1958; House 1909–13, 1915–Dec. 3, 1932; Congresses on Ways and Means 66, 67, 68.

Timberlake, Charles B. (R–CO), Wilmington, OH, Sept. 25, 1854–May 31, 1941; House 1915–33; Congresses on Ways and Means 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72.

Tod, John (JR–PA), Hartford, CT, 1779–Mar. 27, 1830; House 1821–24; Congresses on Ways and Means 17.

Toombs, Robert (W–GA), Wilkes County, GA, July 2, 1810–Dec. 15, 1885; House 1845–53; Senate 1853–Feb. 4, 1861; Congresses on Ways and Means 30, 31.

Tracy, Albert H. (JR–NY), Norwich, CT, June 17, 1793–Sept. 19, 1859; House 1819–25; Congresses on Ways and Means 16.

Tracy, Uriah (PAU–CT), Franklin, CT, Feb. 2, 1755–July 19, 1807; House 1793–Oct. 13, 1796; Senate Oct. 13, 1796–July 19, 1807; Congresses on Ways and Means 3.

Treadway, Allen T. (R–MA), Stockbridge, MA, Sept. 16, 1867–Feb. 16, 1947; House 1913–45; Congresses on Ways and Means 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78.

Trimble, David (JR–KY), Frederick County, VA, June 1782–Oct. 20, 1842; House 1817–27; Congresses on Ways and Means 15, 16.

Tucker, James G., Jr. (D–AR), Oklahoma City, OK, June 13, 1943– ; House 1977–79; Congresses on Ways and Means 95.

Tucker, John R. (D–VA), Winchester, VA, Dec. 24, 1823–Feb. 13, 1897; House 1875–87; Congresses on Ways and Means 44, 45, 46, 47; Chairman 46th Congress.

Turner, Henry G. (D–GA), Henderson, NC, Mar. 20, 1839–June 9, 1904; House 1881–97; Congresses on Ways and Means 50, 51, 52, 53, 54.

Tyler, John (JR–VA), Charles City County, VA, Mar. 29, 1790–Jan. 18, 1862; House Dec. 16, 1817–21; Senate 1827–Feb. 29, 1836; Congresses on Ways and Means 16; Governor of VA 1825–27; Vice President of United States Mar. 4, 1841–Apr. 4, 1841; 10th President of the United States Apr. 6, 1841–45.

Ullman, Albert C. (D–OR), Great Falls, MT, Mar. 9, 1914–Oct. 11, 1986; House 1957–81; Congresses on Ways and Means 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96; Chairman 94th–96th Congresses.

Underwood, Oscar W. (D–AL), Louisville, KY, May 6, 1862–Jan. 25, 1929; House 1895–June 9, 1896, 1897–1915; Senate 1915–27; Congresses on Ways and Means 56, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63; Chairman 62d and 63d Congresses.

Utt, James B. (R–CA), Tustin, CA, Mar. 11, 1899–Mar. 1, 1970; House 1953–Mar. 1, 1970; Congresses on Ways and Means 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91.

Van Rensselaer, Killian K. (F–NY), Greenbush, NY, June 9, 1763–June 18, 1845; House 1801–11; Congresses on Ways and Means 7.

Vander Jagt, Guy A. (R–MI), Cadillac, MI, Aug. 26, 1931– ; House Nov. 8, 1966– ; Congresses on Ways and Means 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

Vander Veen, Richard F. (D–MI), Grand Rapids, MI, Nov. 26, 1922– ; House Feb. 18, 1974–77; Congresses on Ways and Means 93, 94.

Vanderpoel, Aaron (D-NY), Kinderhook, NY, Feb. 5, 1799-July 18, 1870; House 1833-37, 1839-41; Congresses on Ways and Means 26.

Vanik, Charles A. (D-OH), Cleveland, OH, Apr. 7, 1913- ; House 1955-81; Congresses on Ways and Means 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96.

Verplanck, Gulian C. (J-NY), New York, NY, Aug. 6, 1786-Mar. 18, 1870; House 1825-33; Congresses on Ways and Means 20, 21, 22; Chairman 22d Congress.

Vining, John (PAU-DE), Dover, DE, Dec. 23, 1758-Feb. 1802; House 1789-93; Senate 1793-Jan. 19, 1798; Congresses on Ways and Means 1; Member of the Continental Congress 1784-85.

Vinson, Frederick M. (D-KY), Louisa, KY, Jan. 22, 1890-Sept. 8, 1953; House Jan. 12, 1924-29, 1931-May 12, 1938; Congresses on Ways and Means 72, 73, 74, 75; Chief Justice of the Supreme Court 1946-53.

Vinton, Samuel F. (W-OH), South Hadley, MA, Sept. 25, 1792-May 11, 1862; House 1823-37, 1843-51; Congresses on Ways and Means 29, 30, 31; Chairman 30th Congress.

Wadsworth, Jeremiah (PAU-CT), Hartford, CT, July 12, 1743-Apr. 30, 1804; House 1789-95; Congresses on Ways and Means 1; Member of the Continental Congress 1788.

Waggonner, Joseph D., Jr. (D-LA), Plain Dealing, LA, Sept. 7, 1918- ; House Dec. 19, 1961-79; Congresses on Ways and Means 92, 93, 94, 95.

Waldron, Henry (R-MI), Albany, NY, Oct. 11, 1819-Sept. 13, 1880; House 1855-61, 1871-77; Congresses on Ways and Means 43.

Wallace, David (W-IN), Lewistown, PA, Apr. 24, 1799-Sept. 4, 1859; House 1841-43; Congresses on Ways and Means 27; Governor of IN 1837-40.

Washburn, Israel, Jr. (R-ME), Livermore, ME, June 6, 1813-May 12, 1883; House 1851-61; Congresses on Ways and Means 36; Governor of ME 1861-61.

Wasielewski, Thaddeus F. B. (D-WI), Milwaukee, WI, Dec. 2, 1904-Apr. 25, 1976; House 1941-47; Congresses on Ways and Means 78, 79.

Watson, Henry W. (R-PA), Bucks County, PA, June 24, 1856-Aug. 27, 1933; House 1915-Aug. 27, 1933; Congresses on Ways and Means 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73.

Watson, James E. (R-IN), Winchester, IN, Nov. 2, 1864-July 29, 1948; House 1895-97, 1899-1909; Senate Nov. 8, 1916-33; Congresses on Ways and Means 58, 59, 60.

Watterson, Henry (D-KY), Washington, DC, Feb. 16, 1840-Dec. 22, 1921; House Aug. 12, 1876-77; Congresses on Ways and Means 44.

Watts, John (PAU-NY), New York, NY, Aug. 27, 1749-Sept. 3, 1836; House 1793-95; Congresses on Ways and Means 3.

Watts, John C. (D-KY), Nicholasville, KY, July 9, 1902-Sept. 24, 1971; House Apr. 14, 1951-Sept. 24, 1971; Congresses on Ways and Means 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92.

Wearin, Otha D. (D-IA), Hastings, IA, Jan. 10, 1903- ; House 1933-39; Congresses on Ways and Means 75.

Webster, Taylor (D-OH), PA, Oct. 1, 1800-Apr. 27, 1876; House 1833-39; Congresses on Ways and Means 25.

Wellborn, Marshall J. (D-GA), Eatonton, GA, May 29, 1808-Oct. 16, 1874; House 1849-51; Congresses on Ways and Means 31.

Weller, John B. (D-OH/CA), Hamilton County, OH, Feb. 22, 1812-Aug. 17, 1875; House 1939-45 (OH); Senate Jan. 30, 1852-57 (CA); Congresses on Ways and Means 28; Governor of CA 1858-60.

Wentworth, John (R-IL), Sandwich, NH, Mar. 5, 1815-Oct. 16, 1888; House 1843-51, 1853-55, 1865-67; Congresses on Ways and Means 39.

West, Charles F. (D-OH), Mount Vernon, OH, Jan. 12, 1895-Dec. 27, 1955; House 1931-35; Congresses on Ways and Means 73.

West, Milton H. (D-TX), Gonzales, TX, June 30, 1888-Oct. 28, 1948; House Apr. 22, 1933-Oct. 28, 1948; Congresses on Ways and Means 76, 77, 78, 79, 80.

Wheeler, Joseph (D-AL), Augusta, GA, Sept. 10, 1836-Jan. 25, 1906; House 1881-June 3, 1882; Jan. 15-Mar. 3, 1883; 1885-Apr. 20, 1900; Congresses on Ways and Means 53, 54, 55.

White, George (D-OH), Elmira, NY, Aug. 21, 1872-Dec. 15, 1953; House 1911-15, 1917-19; Congresses on Ways and Means 65; Governor of OH 1931-35.

Whiting, Justin R. (D-MI), Bath, NY, Feb. 18, 1847-Jan. 31, 1903; House 1887-95; Congresses on Ways and Means 52, 53.

Wilde, Richard H. (J, D-GA), Dublin, Ireland, Sept. 24, 1789-Sept. 10, 1847; House 1815-17, Feb. 7-Mar. 3, 1825, Nov. 17, 1827-35; Congresses on Ways and Means 22, 23.

Wilkin, James W. (JR-NY), Wallkill, NY, 1762-Feb. 23, 1845; House June 7, 1815-19; Congresses on Ways and Means 14.

Williams, David R. (JR-SC), Robbins Neck, SC, Mar. 8, 1776-Nov. 17, 1830; House 1805-09, 1811-13; Congresses on Ways and Means 9; Governor of SC 1814-16.

Williams, John S. (D-MS), Memphis, TN, July 30, 1854-Sept. 27, 1932; House 1893-1909; Senate 1911-23; Congresses on Ways and Means 58, 59.

Williams, Robert (JR-NC), Prince Edward County, VA, July 12, 1773-Jan. 25, 1836; House 1797-1803; Congresses on Ways and Means 5.

Wilson, William L. (D-WV), Charles Town, VA (now WV), May 3, 1843-Oct. 17, 1900; House 1883-95; Congresses on Ways and Means 50, 52, 53; Chairman 53d Congress.

Winfield, Charles H. (D-NY), Crawford, NY, Apr. 22, 1822-June 10, 1888; House 1863-67; Congresses on Ways and Means 39.

Winthrop, Robert C. (W-MA), Boston, MA, May 12, 1809-Nov. 16, 1894; House Nov. 9, 1840-May 25, 1842, Nov. 29, 1842-July 30, 1850; Senate July 30, 1850-Feb. 1, 1851; Congresses on Ways and Means 29; Speaker of the House 30th Congress.

Wood, Fernando (D-NY), Philadelphia, PA, June 14, 1812-Feb. 14, 1881; House 1841-43, 1863-65, 1867-Feb. 14, 1881; Congresses on Ways and Means 43, 44, 45, 46; Chairman 45th and 46th Congresses.

Woodruff, Roy O. (P, R-MI), Eaton Rapids, MI, Mar. 14, 1876-Feb. 12, 1953; House 1913-15, 1921-53; Congresses on Ways and Means 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82.

Woods, Henry (F-PA), Bedford, PA, 1764-1826; House 1799-1803; Congresses on Ways and Means 6.

Young, George M. (R-ND), Lakelet, Ontario, Canada, Dec. 11, 1870-May 27, 1932; House 1913-Sept. 2, 1924; Congresses on Ways and Means 66, 67, 68.

Young, Stephen M. (D-OH), Norwalk, OH, May 4, 1889-Dec. 1, 1984; House 1933-37, 1941-43, 1949-51; Senate 1959-71; Congresses on Ways and Means 81.

Jurisdictional History of the Committee

This appendix presents a narrative jurisdictional history of the Committee on Ways and Means from its creation in 1789 as a select committee to its condition in 1989. House Rule X, Clause 1 (v) of the Rules of the House for the One Hundred First Congress, delineates the Ways and Means Committee's current jurisdiction as follows:

1. Customs, collection districts, and ports of entry and delivery.
2. Reciprocal trade agreements.
3. Revenue measures generally.
4. Revenue measures relating to the insular possessions.
5. The bonded debt of the United States (subject to the last sentence of clause 4(g) of this rule).
6. The deposit of public moneys.
7. Transportation of dutiable goods.
8. Tax exempt foundations and charitable trusts.
9. National social security, except (A) health care and facilities programs that are supported from general revenues as opposed to payroll deductions and (B) work incentive programs.

Clause 4(g) of House Rule X relates to procedures for setting the national debt limit triggered by House adoption of a congressional budget resolution reported by the Budget Committee.

Since its creation as a select committee in 1789, and its formal reconstitution as a standing committee in 1802, the Committee on Ways and Means has had its formal jurisdiction revised several times, typically when the House has adopted changes to, or conducted a recodification of, the Rules of the House.[1] However, the committee's jurisdictional responsibilities have more often been changed through precedent, as determined by referral patterns of measures. In these cases the committee has usually gained additional responsibilities.[2]

The following chronological history accounts for, and details, the development of the Ways and Means Committee's subject responsibilities and jurisdictional language, both as included in House Rules and as accrued through referrals that seemingly set precedent. The history explains the circumstances causing each modification, usually by citing the specific measure(s) which instigated the modification.[3]

Generally, *Hinds' Precedents of the House of Representatives* (1907) and

Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives (1936), *Deschler's Precedents of the House of Representatives* (1977), and *Procedure in the House of Representatives,* including the 1985 and 1987 Supplements to the Procedure Volume, have served as the primary source materials. As well, the *Congressional Record* and its predecessor volumes (i.e. the *Congressional Globe,* Gales and Seaton's *Register of Debates,* and the *Annals of Congress*) and the House *Journal,* have provided a wealth of information. The Rules of the House of Representatives, as adopted each Congress, and the Parliamentarian's explanatory notations regarding those rules, were consulted when those documents were available. Numerous periodicals that provide extensive coverage of congressional proceedings, such as *Congressional Quarterly* and *National Journal,* and several secondary sources, including many of the scholarly works cited in the text and bibliography of this history, were consulted for confirmation of certain events or, as was more often the case, for an explanation of the political or institutional context of certain occurrences. Where appropriate, footnotes indicate sections in the text of this history that more fully discuss the issue or the specific incident; in many cases, where necessary for precision, statements of jurisdictional topics are drawn directly from formulations in cited primary sources.

Chronological Jurisdictional History

1789: When the select Committee on Ways and Means was created on July 24, the jurisdiction was detailed in the resolution creating the panel as "to consider the report of a committee appointed to prepare an estimate of supplies requisite for the services of the United States for the current year, and to report thereon." The select committee was disestablished later this year.[4]

1794: The select committee was reestablished with jurisdiction to "inquire whether any, or what, further or other revenues are necessary for the support of public credit; and if further revenues are necessary, to report the ways and means." [5]

1794: The committee first gained jurisdiction over increased import and tonnage duties, excise, stamp, and license taxes, and direct taxes on land.

1795: The committee had jurisdiction over "all reports from the Treasury Department, all propositions relating to revenue, and they are to report on the state of the Public Debt, revenues, and expenditures." [6]

1795–1801: The committee during this period exercised jurisdiction over redemption of the federal debt, the modification of existing excise taxes, and the feasibility of soliciting foreign loans and of imposing a direct tax on land.

1796: The committee gained jurisdiction over "additional general revenues, expenses of foreign intercourse, and money for the military and naval establishments."

1801: By motion, and over the objections of the Ways and Means Committee, the Committee on Commerce and Manufactures was granted jurisdiction over import duties and tariff laws.[7]

1802: The panel was formally appointed as a standing committee in the House Rules. From 1795 until this time, the committee was consistently reappointed each Congress by resolution rather than by a provision in House Rules. When made a standing committee, it gained jurisdiction over examination of the public departments, their expenditures, and the economy of their management; it also included jurisdiction over revenue and appropriations bills generally.[8]

1802: The committee's jurisdiction as listed in House Rules was fully defined as "all such reports of the Treasury department, and all such propositions relative to the revenue . . . to inquire into the state of the public debt, of the revenue, and of the expenditures, and to report, from time to time, their opinion thereon; to examine into the state of the several public departments, and particularly into the laws making appropriations of moneys, and to report whether the moneys have been disbursed conformably with such laws; and also to report, from time to time, such provisions and arrangements, as may be necessary to add to the economy of the departments and to the accountability of their officers." [9]

1803: The committee reported that portion of the treaty for the Louisiana Purchase which related to the purchase price by authorizing and appropriating funds for "expenses incurred in foreign affairs," thereby exercising jurisdiction over that area.[10]

1805: The committee had referred to it the President's message on neutrality. (However, the committee did not have clear and undisputed jurisdiction over foreign affairs; for example, in 1807 the maritime rights issue raised by the *Chesapeake* incident was referred to the Committee on Commerce and Manufactures. The Committee on Foreign Affairs was created in 1822.) [11]

1814: The committee lost jurisdiction over examination of the public departments, their expenditures, and the economy of their management to the newly created Committee on Public Expenditures.[12]

1814: The committee was referred the petition requesting a charter for a national bank (the charter was rejected; a bill for a charter for the Second Bank of the United States was reported by the Committee on Currency).[13]

1815: The Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Commerce and Manufactures (which in 1819 was divided into two separate panels, one on Commerce and one on Manufactures) each received referrals of petitions seeking changes in the revenue, or urging further protection for manufactures.[14]

1816: The committee shared jurisdiction over tonnage duties with the Committee on Foreign Affairs.[15]

1819: The committee lost jurisdiction over originating tariff bills to the Committee on Manufactures (which earlier this year had been split into a separate committee), although tariff measures whose purpose was revenue only remained within the jurisdiction of the Ways and Means Committee. However, the Ways and Means Committee also continued to exercise jurisdiction over such measures whose primary focus was revenue. For example, 1824 and 1828 tariff bills were reported from the Committee on Manufactures; yet a 1828 tariff measure reported in response to the Committee on Manufactures' version was reported from the Committee on Ways and Means; it is generally agreed that this 1828 measure reported by the Ways and Means Committee signalled its intent to reassert its jurisdiction over the area.[16]

1824: The committee lost jurisdiction over veterans to a newly created Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

1824: The Committee on Manufactures reported the Tariff of 1824. A motion to refer the measure to the Committee on Ways and Means to review its bearing on revenue was tabled by a vote of 96–92. (During the debate, Chairman McLane of the Ways and Means Committee indicated his understanding of, and acceptance of the Committee on Manufactures' jurisdiction over protective tariffs.)[17]

1831: The President's message on tariff reduction was referred jointly to the Committee on Ways and Means, for portions "relieving the people from unnecessary taxation" and to the Committee on Manufactures, for portions on "manufactures and a modification of the tariff."[18]

1863: The committee gained jurisdiction over distributing the President's annual message.

1865: The House created an Appropriations Committee, with jurisdiction over appropriations bills, and a Banking and Currency Committee with jurisdiction over banking and currency bills; the Ways and Means Committee retained jurisdiction over raising revenue measures. Representative Samuel Cox stated at the time that his intention in offering the measure to create the two new committees was to alleviate the heavy workload burden (in part due to the Civil War) on the Ways and Means Committee members without denying them attractive jurisdictional areas, and that the Ways and Means Committee would preserve the "tariff, the internal revenue, the loan bills, legal tender notes, and all other matters connected with supporting the credit and raising money." (Also discussed during the debate was the undesirability of separating the revenue from the appropriations features of legislation. However, the Committee on Ways and Means retains jurisdiction over certain permanent spending authorities, such as Social Security, Medicare, interest on the national debt, public assistance grants, and other social services benefits. The Appropriations Committee, however, must recommend appropriations of funds to finance the entitlement spending programs within the jurisdiction of other committees. Until 1974, the Ways and Means Committee also had responsibility for general revenue sharing, which in that year was transferred to the Committee on Government Operations.) [19]

1865–1880: House Rule 151 listed the committee's jurisdiction as, "It shall be the duty of the Committee on Ways and Means to take into consideration all reports of the Treasury Department, and such other propositions relative to raising revenue and providing ways and means for the support of the Government as shall be presented or shall come in question and be referred to them by the House, and to report their opinion thereon by bill or otherwise, as to them shall seem expedient; and said Committee shall have leave to report for commitment at any time." [20]

1880: Pursuant to the rules recodification of this year, Section 2 of House Rule XI defined the committee's jurisdiction so as to include "revenue and bonded debt of the United States."

1880: By a vote of 140–82, the House referred a bill for revising tariff laws from the Committee on the Revision of the Laws (a predecessor of the Judiciary Committee) to the Committee on Ways and Means. After a lengthy debate, the House decided that the measure had been incorrectly referred.[21]

1881: The House referred a measure which "prohibits farmers and planters from selling leaf tobacco at retail directly to consumers without the payment of a special tax" to the Committee on Ways and Means. Previously, the House defeated a motion to refer a bill which amends a section of the Revised Statutes of the United States to the Committee on Agriculture, by a 97–135 vote, although in prior Congresses similar bills had been referred to the Agriculture Committee. Thereafter, with the exception of revenue legislation affecting oleomargarine, the revenue bills affecting tobacco, lard and cheese were referred to the Ways and Means Committee. (See, for example, in 1892, a bill imposing a tax on compound lard; in 1884, a bill to prevent the importation of adulterated and suspicious teas; and, in 1896, a bill imposing a tax on filled cheese.) Revenue measures affecting oleomargarine remained within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Agriculture, although the Ways and Means Committee occasionally reported on the subject of oleomargarine, such as in 1882 when the Ways and Means Committee reported a bill imposing a tax and regulating the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine and in 1900 when the committee reported a resolution of inquiry relating to the amount and character of material used by the various manufacturers of oleomargarine.[22]

1882: After defeating a motion to refer two joint resolutions regarding reciprocity treaties to the Foreign Affairs Committee by a 51–75 vote, the measures (one regarding the establishment by treaty of a customs union with the Hawaiian Islands, the other the establishment of a customs union with Mexico) were referred to the Ways and Means Committee. The precedents to that time had varied, with measures going at different times to the Ways and Means, Commerce, and Foreign Affairs Committees. Thereafter, however, the subjects of customs unions, reciprocity treaties, and conventions affecting the revenues were referred to the Ways and Means Committee. (See, for example, in 1884 a measure to carry into operation the reciprocity treaty with Mexico; in 1886, the joint resolution giving notice to terminate the convention with the Hawaiian Islands in reference to commerce; in 1891 a measure again relating to the Hawaiian treaty; in 1896 regarding general investigation of reciprocity and commercial treaties; in 1899 a bill to carry into effect a convention between the United States and the Republic of Cuba; in 1904 regarding legislation to carry into effect the reciprocity treaty with Cuba; and in 1906 on the subject of tariff relations with Germany. These latter two entries were contained in the President's message and were not freestanding pieces of legislation.) [23]

1884: The committee gained jurisdiction over seal herds and other revenue producing animals of Alaska when it reported a measure for investigation of the relations existing between the Alaska Commercial Company and the United States and whether the contract should be abrogated (see, in 1890 and in 1895, a bill to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to gather information as to the impending extinction of the fur seals and sea otter; in 1895 a bill on fur bearing animals in Alaska; in 1896, bills on Alaska fur seals, and an investigation of the seal fisheries; and in 1902, a bill to amend an act to prevent the "extermination of fur bearing animals in Alaska" that was transferred from the Committee on Territories to the Committee on Ways and Means).[24]

1888: The committee reported a bill for the consolidation of the customs collection districts, and after 1895 the entire jurisdiction over customs districts, ports of entry and delivery, and transportation of dutiable goods was transferred from the Commerce Committee to the Ways and Means Committee. (Measures from 1882, 1884, 1887, 1888, and 1890 were reported by the Commerce Committee; in 1896, the Ways and Means Committee reported on Alaska customs collection districts and ports of entry and delivery; in 1898 it reported a bill designating Gladstone, Michigan, as a sub-port of entry; and in 1900 it reported a bill relating to transportation of dutiable goods in bond between certain places in the United States, Canada, and Mexico.) [25]

1890: After defeating a motion to refer a bill "to relieve the Treasurer from the amount charged to him and deposited with several States" to the Appropriations Committee by a 9–134 vote, and defeating another motion to refer the bill to the Judiciary Committee by a 94–134 vote, the House referred the measure to the Ways and Means Committee. Thereafter, measures relating to the U.S. Treasury and the deposit of public moneys were referred to the Ways and Means Committee. (See, for example, in 1892, a bill to allow commissions of officers in the Treasury Department to be made out there rather than the State Department; in 1892, a bill on subtreasuries; in 1893, a bill on the condition of the Treasury; in 1901, a bill relating to the deposit of public funds received from certain duties in national banks; in 1906, on deposit of public money in U.S. depositories and on checks of disbursing officers of the Treasury.) [26]

1895: The committee gained jurisdiction of customs districts, ports of entry and delivery, and transportation of dutiable goods from the Committee on Commerce (see 1888 entry for more details).

1896: The committee reported a bill to provide for sub-ports of entry and delivery in Florida. (In 1890, a bill which substituted Cheboygan for Duncan City as a port of delivery was reported from the Commerce Committee. Two other bills on ports of delivery were also reported from the Commerce Committee in 1890. In 1893, a bill to provide for the establishment of a port of delivery at Council Bluffs, Iowa, was reported from the Commerce Committee. In 1896, however, the above noted bill on ports of entry and delivery was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means. That same year, a bill to constitute Stanford, Connecticut, as a sub-port of entry was also reported from Ways and Means Committee. In 1898, four bills, one to regulate the salary of officials at the port of Des Moines, two on designating sub-ports of entry, and one relating to the Mexican Free Zone, were reported by Ways and Means.) [27]

1896: The committee had jurisdiction over those portions of the President's message referring to "national finances, the public debt, including bond issues, to the public revenues, to our trade relations with foreign countries, and condition of the Treasury." (The committee in 1896 reported a resolution of inquiry on bond sales under the Resumption Act and a bill relating to sale to protect the coin redemption fund, and investigated the invasion of American markets by products of cheap labor and the effect of exchange between gold and silver standard countries; in 1898, it adversely reported a concurrent resolution relating to payment of the bonded obligations of the United States, and reported a bill authorizing the redemption and to limit the right of conversion of refunding certificates issued under the authority of an 1879 act.) (Yet see 1897 entry.) [28]

1897: The committee had its jurisdiction limited to "revenue and bonded debt of the United States and to . . . treaties affecting the revenue," after the Banking and Currency Committee successfully blocked an attempt to refer to the Ways and Means Committee those portions of the President's message which relate to "the revenue, the national finances, the public debt, the preservation of the Government credit, and to treaties affecting the revenue" thereby denying the Ways and Means Committee jurisdiction over "national finances and the preservation of Government credit" (see 1896 entry).[29]

1899: The committee reported a bill to provide revenue for Puerto Rico (see, in 1899, a bill to extend the customs laws over the Hawaiian Islands; in 1905, the Philippine Tariff Bill, and in 1906, another Philippine Tariff Bill).[30]

1908: The committee gained jurisdiction over fixing compensation of officials in the customs service (see also, in 1919, a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to fix compensation of certain laborers in the customs service; and in 1920, a bill to amend an act to "provide for the lading or unloading of vessels at night and the preliminary entry of vessels").[31]

1909: The committee gained jurisdiction over legislation relating to the importation of narcotics. (See, in 1909, a bill prohibiting the importation and use of opium for other than medicinal purposes; in 1914 and 1922, bills amending the Harrison Narcotics Act prohibiting the importation and use of opium for other than medicinal purposes; and, in 1924, a bill prohibiting the importation of crude opium for the purpose of manufacturing heroin.) [32]

1910: The committee gained jurisdiction over legislation specifying methods of packing tobacco on which a tax is levied (see, in 1910, a bill to authorize the packing of fine-cut chewing tobacco in wooden packages containing 10, 20, 40, and 60 pounds each).[33]

1910: The committee gained jurisdiction over legislation to license customhouse brokers.[34]

1910: The committee gained jurisdiction over legislation relating to appraisers of merchandise in the customs service. (See, in 1910, a bill to limit and fix compensation of the appraiser of merchandise at the port of San Francisco; and, in 1912, a bill to make the special examiner of drugs, medicines, and chemicals an assistant appraiser for the Port of Boston.) [35]

1911: The House Rules were amended and the committee's jurisdiction was redefined to include "such measures as purport to raise revenue."

1911: The committee gained jurisdiction over legislation providing for the creation of a tariff board.[36]

1912: The committee gained jurisdiction over legislation providing for refund of duties collected on imports.[37]

1912: The committee gained jurisdiction over legislation pertaining to entry under bond of exhibits without payment of duty.[38]

1912: The committee gained jurisdiction over legislation to provide an allowance for the loss of distilled spirits deposited in internal-revenue warehouses.[39]

1912: The committee gained jurisdiction (from the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands) over legislation relating to the issuance of certificates of indebtedness to the reclamation fund. (See, in 1912, a bill to authorize further advances to the reclamation fund for the issuance and disposal of certificates of indebtedness in reimbursement, which therefore was by unanimous consent discharged from the Committee on Arid Lands and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means; and, in 1919, a similar bill that was transferred by unanimous consent from the Committee on Arid Lands to the Committee on Ways and Means.)[40]

1912: The committee gained jurisdiction over bills providing methods of payment of duties and acceptance of negotiable instruments in payment of duties and taxes.[41]

1915: The committee lost jurisdiction over "distributing President's annual message" when the practice was discontinued.[42]

1920: The committee gained jurisdiction over adjusted compensation of World War veterans, except legislation relating to disabilities incurred in the service.[43]

1921: The committee gained jurisdiction over the authorization to conduct negotiations relating to obligations of foreign governments to the United States. (See, in 1921, a bill to create a commission authorized under certain conditions to refund or convert obligations of foreign governments owing to the United States; and, in 1924, a bill to authorize the settlement of the indebtedness of the Kingdom of Hungary to the United States.)[44]

1924: The committee lost jurisdiction over "seal herds and other revenue producing animals of Alaska" to the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee when the Speaker, by consent between the two committee chairmen, referred two measures on fur-bearing animals in Alaska and the use of the receipts from the sale of the fur seals, from the Committee on Ways and Means.[45]

1924: The committee lost jurisdiction over adjusted compensation of World War veterans to the newly created Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

1926: The committee gained jurisdiction over bills relating to the United States Customs Court (see, in 1926, a bill to provide the name by which the Board of General Appraisers and its members shall be known).[46]

1926: The committee gained jurisdiction over the control and disposition of alien property held by the United States, and the adjudication of conflicting claims of American subjects against foreign governments and foreign subjects against the United States. (See, in 1926, a bill to provide for the settlement of certain claims of American nationals against Germany and of German nationals against the United States, for the ultimate return of all property of German nationals held by the Alien Property Custodian, and for the equitable apportionment among all claimants of certain available funds.)[47]

1934: The committee gained jurisdiction when it reported the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act which authorized the President to negotiate import duties through reciprocal agreements with foreign nations.

1935: The committee withstood the challenge of the Labor Committee to have the Social Security Act referred to it.

1935: The committee gained jurisdiction (from the Foreign Affairs Committee) over a resolution of inquiry directing the Secretary of State to transmit to the House information touching on the failure of Brazil and Colombia to ratify certain trade agreements.[48]

1939: By unanimous consent, the Committee on Ways and Means was granted jurisdiction over a bill to consolidate and codify the internal revenue laws of the United States. It was stated that the Committee on Revision of the Laws (a predecessor of the present Judiciary Committee) had no objection despite their jurisdiction over "the revision and codification of the statutes of the United States."[49]

1941: By unanimous consent, the committee was discharged from consideration of a bill to provide that the United States should aid the states in fish restoration and management projects, and the bill was referred to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.[50]

1941: By unanimous consent, the committee was discharged from consideration of a bill to reduce the interest on loans on U.S. government life insurance and the bill was referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation (predecessor of the Committee on Veterans Affairs).[51]

1946: The Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, created to consider the organization and operations of the legislative branch, completed its deliberations and the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946[52] was adopted. The measure, which is often credited with creating the modern committee system, disestablished or merged many committees, and also for the first time systematically included jurisdictional language for each committee in House Rules. It stated the jurisdiction of the Ways and Means Committee as follows:

(a) customs, collection districts, and ports of entry and delivery
(b) national social security
(c) reciprocal trade agreements
(d) revenue measures generally
(e) revenue measures relating to the insular possessions
(f) bonded debt of the United States
(g) deposit of public moneys
(h) transportation of dutiable goods

—Under the Legislative Reorganization Act, duties of the committee relating to recesses and final adjournments were transferred from the committee to the Committee on Rules.

—Under the Legislative Reorganization Act, the committee was directed to report a legislative budget each year, accompanied by a concurrent resolution for its adoption, and to fix the maximum amount to be appropriated for expenditures in such year (provision now defunct).

1946–1974: The committee gained jurisdiction by precedential accruals to include customs unions, revenue relations with Puerto Rico, revenue bills relating to agricultural products generally (except oleomargarine, which remained within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Agriculture), taxes on cotton and grain futures.

1947: By unanimous consent, the Committee on Agriculture was discharged from consideration of a bill to amend the Farm Credit Act of 1933, as amended, and the Federal Farm Loan Act, as amended, to provide that after a certain date, employment by production credit associations and national farm loan associations would be covered by the old-age and survivors insurance benefit provisions of the Social Security Act. The bill was then referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.[53]

1947: By unanimous consent, the Committee on Agriculture was discharged from consideration of a bill to extend the period during which income from agricultural labor and nursing services may be disregarded by the states in making old-age assistance payments without prejudicing their rights to grants-in-aid under the Social Security Act. The bill was then referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.[54]

1947: By unanimous consent, the committee was discharged from consideration of a bill to change the order of priority for payment out of the German special deposit account (amending the Settlement of War Claims Act), and the bill was referred to the Commerce Committee.[55]

1948: By unanimous consent, the committee was discharged from consideration of a bill to amend the Federal Alcohol Administration Act to regulate commerce in distilled spirits, and the bill was referred to the Committee on Commerce.[56]

1951: By unanimous consent, a bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act so as to exempt annuity payments under such act from taxation was discharged from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service and referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.[57]

1955: By unanimous consent, the committee was discharged from consideration of a private bill to provide tax relief to a charitable foundation and the contributors thereto, and the bill was referred to the Judiciary Committee.[58]

1959: By unanimous consent, the committee was discharged from consideration of a bill to provide that the States should not impose taxes in respect of income derived from certain interstate activities, and the bill was referred to the Judiciary Committee.[59] (In 1974, a bill adding a new section to the Internal Revenue Code prohibiting states from taxing individual income earned by persons not domiciled in that state or earned from sources outside that state was referred from the Judiciary Committee to the Ways and Means Committee.)

1959: Under rules in effect in the 86th Congress, the Committee on Ways and Means (not the Commerce Committee) had jurisdiction over bills amending the Federal Alcohol Administration Act.[60]

1959: A bill relating to the interstate highway program and containing a title amending the Internal Revenue Code to provide for a temporary increase in the gas tax and a transfer of certain tax receipts to the Highway Trust Fund was referred to the Committee on Public Works with the understanding that it was not to constitute a precedent with respect to the surrender of jurisdiction over the fund by the Ways and Means Committee.[61]

1959: By unanimous consent, the committee was discharged from consideration of a private bill specifying that a certain annuity fund is exempt from taxation under provisions of the Internal Revenue

Code, and the bill was rereferred to the Committee on the Judiciary.[62]

1959: By unanimous consent, the committee was discharged from consideration of a bill to amend title V of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 to promote the maintenance of the American fishing fleet under competitive conditions and in the interest of sustained fish food supplies in case of emergency, and the bill was rereferred to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.[63]

1964: The committee gained jurisdiction over bills providing tax incentives (including deductions from gross income under the Internal Revenue Code) for persons investing in Indian property when the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs was discharged, by unanimous consent, from consideration of the measure, and the bill was rereferred to the Committee on Ways and Means.[64]

1969: By unanimous consent, the committee was discharged from consideration of a measure establishing a Commission on Population Growth to study population trends and their influences on government and the economy, and the measure was rereferred to the Committee on Government Operations.[65]

1969: By unanimous consent, the committee was discharged from consideration of an executive communication proposing the enactment of the Aviation Facilities Expansion Act and including extensive amendments to the Internal Revenue Code, and the measure was rereferred to the Committee on Commerce. The Commerce Committee was given jurisdiction over proposals providing for the expansion and improvement of airports and related facilities, even where such proposals include amendments to the Internal Revenue Code and the imposition of user charges on passengers and property transported by air; but the Committee on Ways and Means reserved the right to consider the tax features separately.[66]

1969: The Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries (not Ways and Means Committee) has jurisdiction over bills relating to the licensing of personnel on tug boats, towing boats, and freight boats.[67]

1972: By unanimous consent, the committee was discharged from consideration of proposals to assist states and localities to coordinate human services programs administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (predecessor of the Department of Health and Human Services), and the measure was rereferred to the Committee on Education and Labor.[68]

1972: By unanimous consent, the committee was discharged from consideration of bills to eliminate racketeering in the interstate sale and distribution of cigarettes and to assist state and local governments in the enforcement of cigarette taxes, and the measures were rereferred to the Judiciary Committee.[69]

1973: In the last Congress before the creation of the committee to study the committee system, House Rule X, clause 1(v), listed the Committee's jurisdiction as:

(a) customs, collection districts, and ports of entry
(b) national social security
(c) reciprocal trade agreements
(d) revenue measures generally
(e) revenue measures relating to the insular possessions
(f) the bonded debt of the United States
(g) the deposit of public moneys
(h) transportation of dutiable goods

1974: Select Committee on Committees (Bolling committee) was created and charged with studying, among other items, the committee system and committee jurisdictions, the first such comprehensive reorganization since the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, 25 years earlier. This effort resulted in the adoption of H. Res. 988.

A) The Bolling committee issued recommendations after listening to numerous witnesses at hearings and conducting several academic studies. These studies included publication of a monograph describing jurisdictional problems, conflicts, and overlaps among House committees, which listed the Ways and Means Committee as having overlaps with almost every standing committee in the House, especially the Committees on Agriculture, Appropriations, Banking, Education and Labor, Foreign Affairs, Government Operations, Interior and Insular Affairs, Commerce, Judiciary, Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Post Office and Civil Service, and Public Works.[70] The Bolling committee's recommendations included extensive jurisdictional changes for the Committee on Ways and Means, including the following:

—transferring jurisdiction over nontax aspects of health to a new Committee on Commerce and Health
—transferring jurisdiction over nontax aspects of unemployment compensation to the Committee on Labor
—transferring jurisdiction over renegotiation to the Banking Committee
—transferring jurisdiction over general revenue sharing to the Committee on Government Operations

—transferring jurisdiction over work incentive programs to the Labor Committee
—transferring jurisdiction over trade to the Foreign Affairs Committee
—transferring jurisdiction over food stamps from the Agriculture Committee to the Ways and Means Committee

B) Bolling committee reforms as adopted (after modifications made by the Caucus Committee on Organization, Study and Review, chaired by Julia Butler Hansen and called the Hansen committee) made the following changes in Ways and Means jurisdiction:
—transfer jurisdiction over export controls to the Foreign Affairs Committee (but the Ways and Means Committee would retain jurisdiction over reciprocal trade agreements)
—transfer jurisdiction over general revenue sharing to the Government Operations Committee
—transfer jurisdiction over health and health facilities not supported by payroll taxes to the Commerce Committee
—transfer jurisdiction over international commodity agreements to the Foreign Affairs Committee
—transfer jurisdiction over renegotiation to the Banking Committee
—transfer jurisdiction over work incentive programs to the Committee on Education and Labor
—jurisdiction over tax exempt foundations and charitable trusts was made explicit in Ways and Means jurisdictional list in the Rules (although the Banking Committee had been assigned this jurisdiction in 1971, the subject was usually considered by the Ways and Means Committee)

C) Ways and Means Committee jurisdictional language in House Rules after Bolling/Hansen reforms were adopted:

1) customs, collection districts, and ports of entry and delivery
2) reciprocal trade agreements
3) revenue measures generally
4) revenue measures relating to the insular possessions
5) the bonded debt of the United States
6) the deposit of public moneys
7) transportation of dutiable goods
8) tax exempt foundations and charitable trusts
9) National social security, except (A) health care and facilities programs that are supported from general revenues as opposed to payroll deductions and (B) work incentive programs [71]

H. Res. 988 also provided in House Rules that the Speaker could refer bills to more than one committee (multiple referral: including joint referral, split referral and sequential referral) if more than one committee had a jurisdictional interest or claim in the subject matter, either as defined in House Rules or accrued through precedent.[72]

1974: The committee gained jurisdiction (from the Judiciary Committee) over a bill to add a new section to the Internal Revenue Code prohibiting States or subdivisions from imposing a tax on individual income earned by persons not domiciled in that State or earned from sources outside that State.[73] (Several bills not directly amending the Internal Revenue Code which sought to regulate State taxation of interstate commerce, or to limit the taxing authority of States over out-of-state persons or sources, remain within the jurisdiction of the Judiciary Committee. (See entry under 1959 for more detail on the opposite situation.)

1975: The committee gained jurisdiction (from the Education and Labor Committee for the 94th Congress) over bills amending the Emergency Jobs and Unemployment Assistance Act of 1975 to provide extended and increased unemployment compensation.[74]

1975: By unanimous consent, the committee was discharged from consideration of a bill amending the Internal Revenue Code to provide for quarterly rather than annual payment to the government of the Virgin Islands of amounts equal to internal revenue collections made with respect to articles produced there and sent to the United States, and the bill was rereferred to the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee with the understanding that the action did not affect the jurisdiction of the Ways and Means Committee over the subject matter of the bill.[75]

1976: The committee gained jurisdiction (from the Post Office and Civil Service Committee) over bills providing unemployment compensation to individuals with military or federal service residing in Guam.[76]

1976: A bill creating a National Consumer Cooperative Bank and providing that the bank and its assets be exempt from local, state, and federal taxation, reported by the Banking Committee, was sequentially referred to the Committee on Ways and Means for consideration of provisions within the committee's jurisdiction, including section 404, which exempted the bank and its assets from taxation until the stock of the bank owned by the United States government had been fully retired.[77]

1978: The committee has joint jurisdiction (with the Judiciary Committee) over resolutions stating congressional disapproval of Treasury Department regulations, promulgated under the Gun Control Act of 1968, requiring governmental registration of firearms.[78]

1978: The committee has joint jurisdiction (with the Education and Labor Committee) over a bill amending the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (ERISA) to permit assignments or alienations of certain rights under pension plans.[79]

1978: The committee gained jurisdiction over a bill to offset the loss in tax revenues incurred by Guam and the Virgin Islands by reason of certain federal tax reductions when the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs was discharged by unanimous consent from consideration of the measure, which was then rereferred to the Committee on Ways and Means.[80]

1979: The committee has joint jurisdiction (with the Public Works and Transportation Committee) over a bill creating a public transportation trust fund, composed of a percentage of the funds generated by a windfall profits tax on domestic crude oil, to be available as provided in appropriations acts for expenditures for public transportation projects.[81]

1979: The committee's jurisdiction over revenue and the bonded debt was made subject to the last sentence of clause 4(g) of Rule X by P.L. 96-78. This clause allows House adoption of a congressional budget resolution, reported by the Budget Committee, to trigger procedures altering the national debt limit. The change was originally intended to apply to concurrent resolutions on the subject for fiscal years beginning on or after October 1, 1980. However, upon adoption of H.Res. 642 on April 23, 1980, this and other provisions of that public law amending the Rules of the House were made applicable to the third concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 1980 as well as to the first concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 1981.[82]

1980: The committee has joint jurisdiction (with the Energy and Commerce Committee and the Public Works and Transportation Committee on the basis of sequential referrals) over bills creating major oilspill and hazardous waste trust funds in the Treasury funded by assessments on all quantities of oil, petrochemical feedstocks, and other hazardous substances "sold for sale," [sic] where the scope and size of the funds and the method of fee assessment represented the collection of general revenue to fund particular Federal activities (similar to an excise tax, a type of funding mechanism traditionally within the jurisdiction of the Ways and Means Committee).[83]

1981: The committee has joint jurisdiction (with the Energy and Commerce Committee) over a bill amending the Public Health Service Act with respect to health professionals personnel and amending the Internal Revenue Code to require disclosure by the Internal Revenue Service to the Secretary of Health and Human Services of the location of borrowers who have defaulted on student loans made under the act.[84]

1982: The committee gained jurisdiction over private bills waiving provisions of the Tariff Act to require reliquidation of certain imported materials as duty free.[85]

1982: The committee has joint jurisdiction (with the Energy and Commerce Committee) over executive communications reporting on inpatient hospital services under title XVIII (Medicare) and under title XIX (Medicaid) of the Social Security Act.[86]

1983: A new clause 5(b) of House Rule XXI prohibits the reporting of a tax or tariff measure from a committee not having that jurisdiction (i.e., from a committee other than the Ways and Means Committee) and prohibits a tax measure from being offered as an amendment to a bill reported from a committee not having jurisdiction over tax measures (i.e., from a committee other than the Ways and Means Committee). (See, for example, in 1985, a provision in a reconciliation bill reported from the Budget Committee containing a recommendation from the Committee on Education and Labor excluding certain interest on obligations of the Student Loan Marketing Association from the application of the Internal Revenue Code, affecting interest deductions against income taxes, which was stricken on a point of order as not being reported from the Ways and Means Committee; in 1985, a fee imposed uniformly at ports of entry to be collected by the Customs Service as a condition of importation of a commodity constitutes a tariff; in 1985, a provision in a reconciliation bill reported from the Budget Committee containing a recommendation from the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries amending a law within that committee's jurisdiction to expand the tax benefits available to shipowners through a "capital construction fund" by permitting that repatriation of foreign-source income to avoid U.S. tax and expanding the definition of vessels eligible to establish such tax exempt fund, which was ruled to be within the jurisdiction of the Ways and Means Committee; and in 1985, in a bill reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs authorizing foreign assistance programs, an amendment to the tariff schedules to deny "most favored nation" trade treatment to a certain nation was ruled out as a tariff measure within the jurisdiction of the Ways and Means Committee).[87]

1986: The committee has joint jurisdiction (with the Public Works and Transportation Committee) over executive communications proposing draft legislation, and a corresponding bill, reauthorizing the Surface Transportation Act but also containing a revenue title raising taxes to fund surface transportation programs.[88]

NOTES TO JURISDICTIONAL HISTORY

[1] House Rule numbers cited are of the number at the time of the event.

[2] Jurisdictional items accrued through precedent set by the referral of specific measures are noted both by subject matter and by specific measure. The date cited is the first occasion of the referral which created the precedent. The citation, however, also includes information about later instances, especially confirming information.

[3] This analysis is confined to subject jurisdiction only and does not discuss the privileged reporting status the committee has for revenue measures and the changing interpretation of what those measures are and/or whether they are privileged.

[4] *Annals of Congress,* 1st Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 670–71.

[5] *Annals of Congress,* 3rd Cong., 1st Sess., 26 Mar. 1794, pp. 531–32.

[6] *Annals of Congress,* 4th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 159; House *Journal,* 4th Cong., 1st Sess., 21 Dec. 1795, p. 385.

[7] Ralph V. Harlow, *The History of Legislative Methods in the Period Before 1825* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), pp. 231–32.

[8] See second and third chapters of this volume for a discussion of the creation of the committee.

[9] House *Journal,* 7th Cong., 1st Sess., 7 Jan. 1802, p. 40.

[10] Noble Cunningham, *The Process of Government under Jefferson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 224–25.

[11] Ibid. pp. 224–25.

[12] House *Journal,* 27th Cong., 3d Sess., p. 739.

[13] See third chapter of this volume for a further discussion of the creation of a national bank.

[14] Harlow, p. 232.

[15] *Annals of Congress,* 14th Cong., 2d Sess., 5 Dec. 1816, p. 244; 13 Dec. 1816, p. 275; 11 Jan. 1817, p. 462.

[16] For a more detailed discussion of the tariff issue during this period, see third chapter of this volume; see also entry for 1824.

[17] *Annals of Congress,* 18th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 1,587–1,629.

[18] John Sherman, *Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate, and Cabinet* (1895; reprint ed. New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), I:195; see also, fourth chapter of this volume.

[19] *Congressional Globe,* 38th Cong. 2d Sess., p. 1,312; A discussion on retrospective jurisdiction of both Ways and Means and Banking Committees occurred on 7 Dec. 1897, *Congressional Record,* 55th Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 26–33.

[20] Asher C. Hinds, *Hinds' Precedents of the House of Representatives,* 4: sec. 4020.

[21] *Congressional Record,* 46th Cong., 2d Sess., 25 Mar. 1880, pp, 1,869–882.

[22] *Hinds' Precedents,* 4: sec. 4022.

[23] Ibid., 4: sec. 4021.

[24] Ibid., 4: sec. 4025.

[25] Ibid., 4: sec. 4026.

[26] Ibid., 4: sec. 4028.

[27] Ibid., 4: sec. 4026.

[28] Ibid., 4: sec. 4023.

[29] Ibid., 4: sec. 4023.

[30] Ibid., 4: sec. 4024.

[31] Clarence Cannon, *Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives,* 7: sec. 1724.

[32] Ibid., 7: sec. 1733.

[33] Ibid., 7: sec. 1726.

[34] Ibid., 7: sec. 1727.

[35] Ibid., 7: sec. 1728.

[36] Ibid., 7: sec. 1729.

[37] Ibid., 7: sec. 1731.

[38] Ibid., 7: sec. 1732.

[39] Ibid., 7: sec. 1734.

[40] Ibid., 7: sec. 1739.

[41] Ibid., 7: sec. 1730.

[42] Ibid., 8: sec. 3350.

[43] *Congressional Record,* 66th Cong., 2d Sess., 26 Feb. 1920, p. 3,521.

[44] *Cannon's Precedents,* 7: sec. 1736.

[45] *Congressional Record,* 68th Cong., 1st Sess., 25 Mar. 1924, p. 4,954.

[46] *Cannon's Precedents,* 7: sec. 1740.

[47] Ibid., 7: sec. 1737.

[48] *Congressional Record,* 74th Cong., 1st Sess., 3 June 1935, p. 8,604.

[49] Ibid., 76th Cong., 1st Sess., 18 Jan. 1939, p. 449.

[50] Ibid., 77th Cong., 1st Sess., 25 Feb. 1941, p. 1,389.

[51] Ibid., 77th Cong., 1st Sess., 28 Nov. 1941, p. 9,248.

[52] 60 Stat. 812.

[53] Ibid., 80th Cong., 1st Sess., 18 June 1947, p. 7,262–263.

[54] Ibid., 80th Cong., 1st Sess., 4 June 1947, p. 6,344.

[55] Ibid., 80th Cong., 1st Sess., 16 July 1947, p. 9,049.

[56] Ibid., 80th Cong., 2d Sess., 18 June 1948, p. 8,918.

[57] Ibid., 82d Cong., 1st Sess., 2 Feb. 1951, p. 1,294.

[58] Ibid., 84th Cong., 1st Sess., 1 Aug. 1955, p. 12,655.

[59] Ibid., 86th Cong., 1st Sess., 18 June 1959, p. 11,317.

[60] Ibid., 86th Cong., 1st Sess., 5 Aug. 1959, p. 15,190.

[61] Ibid., 86th Cong., 1st Sess., 14 Aug. 1959, p. 15,895.

[62] Ibid., 86th Cong., 1st Sess., 1 Sept. 1959, p. 17,612.

[63] Ibid., 86th Cong. 1st Sess., 2 Feb. 1959, p. 1,606.

[64] Ibid., 88th Cong., 2d Sess., 1 Feb. 1964, p. 1,582.

[65] Ibid., 91st Cong., 1st Sess., 23 Sept. 1969, p. 26,568.

[66] Ibid., 91st Cong., 1st Sess., 18 June 1969, p. 16,301.

[67] Ibid., 91st Cong., 1st Sess., 7 Oct. 1969, p. 28,798.

[68] Ibid., 92d Cong., 2d Sess., 21 June 1972, p. 21,733.

[69] Ibid., 92d Cong., 2d Sess., 9 Feb. 1972, pp. 3,429–430.

[70] House Select Committee on Committees, *Monographs on the Committees of the House of Representatives.* Washington, DC, U.S. Govt. Print. Off. 1974. (93d Cong., 2d Sess. House Committee Print), pp. 152–54.

[71] Lewis Deschler, *Deschler's Precedents of the House of Representatives,* 4: Ch. 17, sec. 51.

[72] For more detail on multiple referrals, and their effect on specific committees, see Davidson, Roger, et al., "One Bill, Many Committees: Multiple Referrals in the U.S. House of Representatives," *Legislative Studies Quarterly,* 13 Feb. 1988, pp. 3–28.

[73] *Congressional Record,* 93d Cong., 2d Sess., 19 Aug. 1974, p. 29,006.

[74] Ibid., 94th Cong., 1st Sess., 16 Apr. 1975, p. 10,346.

[75] Ibid., 94th Cong., 1st Sess., 6 Oct. 1975, pp. 31,870–871.

[76] Ibid., 94th Cong., 2d Sess., 28 Apr. 1976, p. 11,590.

[77] Ibid., 94th Cong., 2d Sess., 31 Aug. 1976, p. 28,532; see also *Procedure in the House of Representatives,* ch. 17, sec. 38.6.

[78] *Congressional Record,* 95th Cong., 2d Sess., 15 May 1978, p. 13,560.

[79] Ibid., 95th Cong., 2d Sess., 3 Aug. 1978, p. 24,217.

[80] Ibid., 95th Cong., 2d Sess., 8 Aug. 1978, p. 24,926.

[81] Ibid., 96th Cong., 1st Sess., 26 Sept. 1979, p. 26,350.

[82] House *Rules Manual,* Rule X, clause 1(v), Parliamentarian's notes.

[83] *Congressional Record,* 96th Cong., 2d Sess., 20 May 1980, p. 11,862; House Rule X, clause 9(v), Parliamentarian's notes.

[84] *Congressional Record,* 97th Cong., 1st Sess., 11 June 1981, p. 1,216.

[85] Ibid., 97th Cong., 2d Sess., 13 July 1982, p. 16,014.

[86] House *Rules Manual,* House Rule X, clause 1(v), Parliamentarian's notes.

[87] *Procedure in the House of Representatives,* 1987 Supplement, Ch. 17, sec. 17.14.

[88] House *Rules Manual,* Rule X, clause 1(v), Parliamentarian's notes.

Notes

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

[1] Cited in Steven S. Smith and Christopher J. Deering, *Committees in Congress* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1984), p. 1.

[2] Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1885), p. 79.

[3] Smith and Deering, *Committees in Congress*, pp. 1–6.

[4] Lauros G. McConachie, *Congressional Committees: A Study of the Origins and Development of Our National and Local Legislative Methods* (1898, reprint ed., New York: Burt Franklin, 1973), p. vii.

[5] The term "semi-standing" was coined by Thomas W. Skladony to refer to those early committees that were select in name, but standing in practice. See Thomas W. Skladony, "The House Goes to Work: Select and Standing Committees in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1789–1828," *Congress and the Presidency*, 12 (Autumn 1985): 170.

NOTES TO 1641–1789, ANTECEDENTS: LEGISLATIVE FINANCE COMMITTEES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA

[1] *Virginia House of Burgesses Journal*, 9 January 1778, pp. 114–17.

[2] The date of the committee's origin is variously cited as 1640 or 1641. See Norman W. Wilding and Philip Laundy, *An Encyclopedia of Parliament*, 3d. ed. (London: Cassell, 1968), pp. 764–67; and Kenneth Bradshaw and David Pring, *Parliament and Congress* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), p. 309.

[3] Ibid., pp. 306–308; and Sir Courtenay Ilbert, *Parliament: Its History, Constitution, and Practice*, 3rd ed., rev. by Sir Cecil Carr (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 11.

[4] Thomas Erskine May, *A Treatise on the Law, Privileges, Proceedings, and Usage of Parliament*, 7th ed. (London, 1873), pp. 590–91.

[5] K. C. Wheare, *Government by Committee: An Essay on the British Constitution* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 8–9; and Bradshaw and Pring, *Parliament and Congress*, pp. 208–209, 307–309.

[6] Cited in May, *Treatise on Parliament*, p. 575. See also Ilbert, *Parliament*, p. 76.

[7] Cited in Bradshaw and Pring, *Parliament and Congress*, p. 307. The formal title was "An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown."

[8] May, *Treatise on Parliament*, p. 584. See also Bradshaw and Pring, *Parliament and Congress*, p. 306.

[9] Bernard Bailyn and Jack P. Greene have examined the similarities and differences between the two political systems and come to different conclusions. See Bernard Bailyn, *The Origins of American Politics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968); Jack P. Greene, *The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies,*

1689–1776 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963); and Greene, "Political Mimesis: A Consideration of the Historical and Cultural Roots of Legislative Behavior in the British Colonies in the Eighteenth Century," *American Historical Review*, 75 (December 1975): 337–60, and the comment by Bailyn and Greene's reply which follow on pages 361–67. See also Richard R. Johnson, "Parliamentary Egotisms: The Clash of Legislatures in the Making of the American Revolution," *Journal of American History*, 74 (September 1987): 338–62. Royal instructions to the governors of the Carolinas included this phrase: "It is also our further pleasure that the council have the like power of framing money bills as the assembly." Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670–1776* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1935), 1: 112–13; and Greene, *Quest for Power*, p. 52.

[10] *New York House of Representatives Journal*, 4 September 1750, p. 277; and *Virginia House of Burgesses Journal*, 23 February 1759, pp. 3–5.

[11] The terminology used to denote legislative committees has changed since the 18th century. In modern usage, a select committee is one created to perform a special function; the committee expires once that function has been completed. A standing committee is a permanent group whose size and jurisdiction are determined by the standing rules of the House. Eighteenth-century British usage, on the other hand, referred to Committees of the Whole as "grand" committees, which were differentiated from "select" committees, so-named not because they were appointed for a specific purpose or for a given time period, but because their membership was composed of only a select part of the House's membership. Likewise, "standing" committees referred to those committees appointed to consider certain subject areas for the duration of the legislative session, rather than only those committees included in the rules of the legislative body. An 18th-century committee could thus have been both a select and a standing committee, something which is today a contradiction in terms. These definitions are based upon the usage of Parliament and American colonial legislatures. See Ralph Volney Harlow. *The History of Legislative Methods in the Period Before 1825* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), especially pp. 4–5, note 6; and George B. Galloway, *History of the United States House of Representatives*, 2d ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1976), p. 320.

[12] "An Analysis of Standing Committees in American Legislatures, 1609–1796," unpublished paper prepared by the staff of the House Committee on Energy and Commerce History Project (July 1986), p. 3.

[13] *Virginia House of Burgesses Journal*, 26 September 1758, p. 20; and *North Carolina Lower House of Assembly Journal*, 26 February 1754, p. 11.

[14] *Virginia House of Burgesses Journal*, 9 January 1778, pp. 114–17.

[15] Harlow, *History of Legislative Methods*, p. 69.

[16] Ibid., pp. 66–69.

[17] Ibid., pp. 70–72.

[18] Ibid., pp. 73–74.

[19] Ibid., pp. 74–75.

[20] Good accounts of the Confederation period include: Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation: A History of the United States during the Confederation, 1781–1789* (New York: Random House, 1950); Jack N. Rakove, *The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979); Jennings B. Sanders, *Evolution of the Executive Departments of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935); and Edmund Cody Burnett, *The Continental Congress* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1941).

[21] Burnett, *Continental Congress*, p. 41; Sanders, *Executive Departments*, pp. 4–7; House Committee on Energy and Commerce, "Analysis of Standing Committees" p. 10.

[22] House Committee on Energy and Commerce, "Analysis of Standing Committees," p. 10; Sanders, *Executive Departments*, pp. 54–64; Burnett, *Continental Congress*, pp. 221–23. The five members of the committee were James Duane (NY), Thomas Nelson (VA), Elbridge Gerry (MA), Richard Smith (NJ), and Thomas Willing (PA).

[23] Cited in Sanders, *Executive Departments*, p. 56. William Whipple (NH), James Wilson (PA), Elbridge Gerry (MA), Thomas Nelson (VA), and Robert Morris (PA) were elected to this committee. The British army's advance upon Philadelphia delayed the committee's deliberations.

[24] Ibid., pp. 69–74.

[25] Ibid., pp. 145–52; Clarence L. Ver Steeg, *Robert Morris: Revolutionary Financier* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954). The first three men elected to the board were unable to serve; after some delay Arthur Lee (VA), Samuel Osgood (MA), and Walter Livingston (NJ) were selected.

[26] Forrest McDonald, *Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1985), pp. 266–67.

[27] Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), 1: 233.

[28] Ibid., 2: 274.

[29] Ibid., 1: 233.

[30] Ibid., 2: 276–77.

NOTES TO 1789–1801, ORIGINS: THE HOUSE COMMITTEE OF WAYS AND MEANS

[1] Cited in *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1865), 2: 75–76.

[2] *Annals of Congress*, 1st Cong., 1st Sess., 29 April 1789, p. 39; 8 May 1789, p. 53; 9 July 1789, p. 108; and *House Journal*, 1st Cong., 1st Sess., 29 April 1789, p. 23.

[3] *House Journal*, 1st Cong., 1st Sess., 24 July, 1789, p. 66; and *Annals of Congress*, 1st Cong., 1st Sess., 24 July 1789, pp. 670–71.

[4] Martin I. J. Griffin, *Thomas Fitzsimons: Pennsylvania's Catholic Signer of the Constitution of the United States* (Philadelphia: American Catholic Historical Researches, 1887), pp. 15–26; *Annals of Congress*, 1st Cong., 1st Sess., 24 July 1789, p. 671.

[5] The term "discharged" creates some uncertainty as to whether the committee was actually dissolved by this action. Presumably, the House signified that there was no further need for the committee by discharging it from the responsibilities that had led to its appointment. There is no evidence that the committee continued to function, if it ever had. *Annals of Congress*, 1st Cong., 1st Sess., 17 September 1789, pp. 894–95; *House Journal*, 1st Cong., 1st Sess., 17 September 1789, p. 113.

[6] Patrick J. Furlong, "The Origins of the House Committee of Ways and Means," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 25 (October 1968): 587–604. Furlong was the first scholar to systematically examine the committee's origins. All subsequent students of Ways and Means are deeply indebted to him.

[7] Ralph Volney Harlow, *The History of Legislative Methods Before 1825* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), pp. 131–33; and Broadus Mitchell, *Alexander Hamilton: The National Adventure, 1788–1804* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), pp. 14–21, 199–201.

[8] Dall W. Forsythe, *Taxation and Political Change in the Young Nation, 1781–1833* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), pp. 23–31; and Mitchell, *Hamilton*, pp. 32–56, 57–85, 86–108.

[9] Furlong, "Origins," p. 588.

[10] Congress, House, Committee on Energy and Commerce, *Petitions, Memorials, and Other Documents Submitted for the Consideration of Congress: March 4, 1789 to December 14, 1795*, staff study prepared for the use of the Committee on Energy and Commerce. Committee Print 99–A. 99th Cong., 2d Sess., 1986, p. 361.

[11] Alexander Hamilton to Edward Carrington, 26 May 1792, in Harold C. Syrett, ed., *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 11: 429.

[12] A strong word of caution is in order concerning the meaning of political party in this period. Scholars commonly refer to the Federalist Party and the Jeffersonian Republican Party, yet parties had not taken on the meaning, organization, or apparatus that they would later in the 19th and 20th centuries. The party affiliations of members of Congress, for example, were not officially recorded until 1843. The numerical party breakdown of Congress as well as the individual party affiliation of members cannot be known with certainty. Historians and political scientists have only begun to examine the biographies and voting records of the early Congresses. James Sterling Young, *The Washington Community, 1800–1828* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), pp. 110–12; John F. Hoadley, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Congress, 1789–1803," *American Political Science Review*, 74 (September 1980): 757–79; and Hoadley, *Origins of American Political Parties, 1789–1803* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986), pp. 192–219.

[13] Hoadley, "Emergence of Political Parties," pp. 757–79; see also Rudolph M. Bell, *Party and Faction in American Politics: The House of Representatives, 1789–1801* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973).

[14] *Annals of Congress*, 2d Cong., 1st Sess., 30 December 1791, pp. 300–302.

[15] Leonard D. White, *The Federalists: A Study in Administrative History* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), pp. 352–54; and Syrett, ed., *Hamilton Papers*, 16: 193–97.

[16] James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, 26 March 1794, in *Madison Letters*, 2: 8–9.

[17] *Annals of Congress*, 3d Cong., 1st Sess., 26 March 1794, pp. 531–32.

[18] Madison to Jefferson, 31 March 1794, *Madison Letters*, 2: 9–10.

[19] David Cobb to William Eustis, 29 March 1794, David Cobb Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Cobb went on to speculate upon the need for revenue, which "must be supplied from sources that have not yet been touch'd," including a tax on land.

[20] George C. Rogers, Jr., *Evolution of a Federalist: William Loughton Smith of Charleston* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1962), pp. 236–41; *Annals of Congress*, 3d Cong., 1st Sess., 26 March 1794, p. 532.

[21] Theodore Sedgwick to Ephraim Williams, 16 January 1795, Sedgwick Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Sedgwick credited Elbridge Gerry with the observation that Smith had no policy.

[22] Madison to Jefferson, 14 April 1794, in *Madison Letters*, 2: 10–11; *House Journal*, 3d Cong., 1st Sess., 2 May 1794, p. 136. On May 5th the sugar bakers presented a similarly-worded memorial; Furlong, "Origins," p. 592.

[23] William Barry Grove to John Steele, 2 April 1794, in H. M. Wagstaff, ed., *The Papers of John Steele*, in Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission, vols. 11–12 (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1924), 11: 114.

[24] Madison to Jefferson, 11 May, 14 April 1794, in *Madison Letters*, 2: 10–11, 14.

[25] Theodore Sedgwick to Ephraim Williams, 5 June 1794, Sedgwick Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Senator James Monroe defended his Virginia colleague, arguing that if it was anyone's duty to propose a system of revenue, "it is particularly that of those who have made taxes necessary," that is, the Federalists. Monroe to Jefferson, 2 April 1794, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division.

[26] *House Journal*, 3d Cong., 1st Sess., 10 May 1794, p. 152; and Furlong, "Origins," p. 592.

[27] White, *The Federalists*, pp. 123–25.

[28] *Annals of Congress*, 4th Cong., 1st Sess., 7 December 1795. p. 127; 14 December 1795, p. 140.

[29] Ibid., 10 December 1795, p. 131; 17 December 1795, p. 152.

[30] Ibid., 18 December 1795, p. 159.

[31] Raymond W. Walters, Jr., *Albert Gallatin: Jeffersonian Financier and Diplomat* (New York: Macmillan, 1957), pp. 88–89.

[32] *Annals of Congress*, 4th Cong., 1st Sess., 21 December 1795, p. 159.

[33] *House Journal*, 4th Cong., 1st Sesss., 21 December 1795, p. 385.

[34] John Church Hamilton, *History of the Republic of the United States of America: As Traced in the Writings of Alexander Hamilton and His Contemporaries* (New York, 1857–64), 6: 328–29; Henry Adams, *The Life of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1897), p. 172; Harlow, *History of Legislative Methods*, pp. 156–58; C. W. Collins, "Notes on the Early History of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives," unpublished paper, Legislative Reference Service (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1919), p. 2. Gallatin himself claimed that the committee's creation was due to partisanship: "The financial department in the House was quite vacant . . . and having made myself complete master of the subject . . . it is not astonishing that my views should have been adopted by the Republican party and been acted upon when they came into power. My first step was to have a standing committee of ways and means appointed." Cited in Henry Adams, *The Life of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1879), p. 157.

[35] Furlong, "Origins," p. 604.

[36] Cited in ibid., p. 601, footnote 47.

[37] Ibid., pp. 600–601.

[38] *Annals of Congress*, 4th Cong., 1st Sess., 15 January 1796, p. 249; 18 January 1796, p. 253; 19 January 1796, pp. 256–57.

[39] Furlong, "Origins," p. 598.

[40] *Annals of Congress*, 4th Cong., 1st Sess., 18 May 1796, p. 1,392.

[41] Ames to Hamilton, 26 January 1797, in *Works of Fisher Ames* (Indianapolis: Literary Classics, 1969), 2: 1216. Ames complained that "Our whole system is little removed from simple democracy. . . . The heads of departments are head clerks. Instead of being the ministry the organs of the executive power and imparting a kind of momentum to the operation of the laws, they are precluded of late even from communicating with the house by reports." Ames, ed., *Works of Fisher Ames*, p. 1,215.

[42] Madison to Jefferson, 31 January 1796, in *Madison Letters*, 2: 75–76.

[43] Cited in Furlong, "Origins," p. 600.

[44] Madison to James Monroe, 26 February 1796, in *Madison Letters*, 2: 82–84.

"Would you have supposed," Madison wrote, "that a land tax and House tax, as *indirect taxes*, had also a patronage?"

[45] Madison to Jefferson, 31 January 1796, in ibid., 2: 76.

[46] Walters, *Gallatin*, pp. 83–84.

[47] *Annals of Congress*, 4th Cong., 2d Sess., 16 December 1796, p. 1,668.

[48] Rogers, *Evolution of a Federalist*, pp. 300–301.

[49] *Annals of Congress*, 5th Cong., 1st Sess., 10 June 1797, pp. 297–98. Blount had served on Ways and Means in the Fourth Congress.

[50] Ibid., 17 June 1797, pp. 331–35; the debate on the stamp tax can be followed on pages 393–433 *passim*.

[51] Ibid., 4 December 1797, p. 672.

[52] Sedgwick to Peter Van Schaack, 4 February 1800, Sedgwick Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Sedgwick considered Harper "one of the laziest men I have ever known except in the business of talking." The Speaker and the Secretary may well have felt blackmailed to appoint the South Carolinian. In a February 4th letter to Van Schaack, Sedgwick wrote that "Wolcott thought that if Harper was not appointed, he would embarrass us much as was in his power." Gallatin thought Harper "very good hearted," but "as great a bungler as I ever knew . . . his vanity destroys him." Joseph Cox, *Champion of Southern Federalism: Robert Goodloe Harper of South Carolina* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1972), p. 102, note 21.

[53] *Annals of Congress*, 5th Cong., 2d Sess., 1 May 1798, pp. 1,563–66.

[54] Ibid., 5th Cong., 3d Sess., 14 December 1798, pp. 2,444–45.

[55] Ibid., 6th Cong., 1st Sess., 9 December 1799, pp. 196–97; Sedgwick to Van Schaack, 9 February 1800, Sedgwick Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[56] *Annals of Congress*, 6th Cong., 2d Sess., 20 November 1800, p. 783; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 4 (Part 2): 10.

[57] Furlong, "Origins," p. 603.

NOTES TO 1801–1829, THE JEFFERSONIAN REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE

[1] *Annals of Congress*, 7th Cong., 1st Sess., 7 January 1802, p. 412.

[2] James Sterling Young, *The Washington Community, 1800–1828* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), pp. 13–48; Constance McLaughlin Green, *Washington: Village and Capital, 1800–1878* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 3–118. The quote is by William Lowndes, chairman of Ways and Means (1815–1818); Green, *Washington*, p. 66.

[3] Joseph Cooper, "Jeffersonian Attitudes Toward Executive Leadership and Committee Development in the House of Representatives, 1789–1829," *Western Political Quarterly* (March 1965): 58.

[4] Ibid., p. 59.

[5] Ibid., p. 54, note 55, p. 61, note 85.

[6] Ibid., p. 61–62; Joseph Cooper, "Origins of the Standing Committees and the Development of the Modern House," *Rice University Studies*, 56 (Summer 1970): 56–59, 154, note 231.

[7] *Annals of Congress*, 14th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 922–23. Cited in Cooper, "Origins of the Standing Committees," p. 52.

[8] Marshall Smelser, *The Democratic Republic, 1801–1815* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 51; Kenneth C. Martis, *The Historical Atlas of Political Parties in the United States Congress, 1781–1989* (New York: MacMillan, 1989), p. 76.

[9] *Annals of Congress*, 7th Cong., 1st Sess., 7 January 1802, p. 412; 8 December 1801, p. 312; Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., *The Process of Government under Jefferson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 216–17.

[10] Cooper, "Origins of the Standing Committees," p. 42.

[11] Raymond J. Walters, Jr., *Albert Gallatin: Jeffersonian Financier and Diplomat* (New York: Macmillan, 1957), p. 145.

[12] Ibid., pp. 94, 147.

[13] Cited in William Cabell Bruce, *John Randolph of Roanoke, 1773–1833* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), 1: 176.

[14] The first quote is from Smelser, *Democratic Republic*, p. 51; see also Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and His Time* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970), 4: 443–47. The wording of the "rotten mackerel" quotation varies from source to source, as does the identity of the object of ridicule. Cited in Gerald W. Johnson, *Randolph of Roanoke: A Political Fantastic* (New York: Minton, Balch, 1929), p. 16.

[15] Randolph quote is cited in Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., *The Jeffersonian Republicans in Power: Party Operations, 1801–1809* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), p. 74; see also p. 92. See also Bruce, *Randolph*, 1: 174–75.

[16] Bruce, *Randolph*, 1: 199–217.

[17] Cunningham, *Jeffersonian Republicans in Power*, p. 77.

[18] Cited in Bruce, *Randolph*, 1: 267; see also Henry Adams, *John Randolph* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1899), p. 70.

[19] Jefferson to Randolph, 1 December 1803, in Paul L. Ford, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897), 8: 282.

[20] Cited in Walters, *Gallatin*, p. 186. The issue under consideration was the Yazoo land fraud, which Randolph denounced, although he conspicuously omitted Gallatin from criticism. C. Peter McGrath, *Yazoo: Law and Politics in the New Republic* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1967), pp. 39–49.

[21] Adams, *Randolph*, pp. 71, 324; Ralph V. Harlow, *The History of Legislative Methods in the Period Before 1825* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917), pp. 168–72.

[22] Dall W. Forsythe, *Taxation and Political Change in the Young Nation, 1781–1833* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), pp. 50, 57–58; Walters, *Gallatin*, pp. 143–54.

[23] Cunningham, *Jeffersonian Republicans in Power*, p. 217; Forsythe, *Taxation and Political Change*, pp. 50, 58; Hugh A. Garland, *The Life of John Randolph of Roanoke* (New York: D. Appleton, 1850), 1: 192; Walters, *Gallatin*, pp. 147–48.

[24] Bruce, *Randolph*, 1: 177–78; Garland, *Randolph*, 1: 195; Walters, *Gallatin*, pp. 152–53.

[25] *Annals of Congress*, 8th Cong., 1st Sess., 21–22 March 1804, pp. 1,204, 1,210–26; see also Walters, *Gallatin*, pp. 150–51.

[26] Cited in Bruce, *Randolph*, 1: 221.

[27] Malone, *Jefferson*, 5: 66–69; Cunningham, *Jeffersonian Republicans in Power*, pp. 88–92.

[28] Malone, *Jefferson*, 5: 72–73.

[29] *Annals of Congress*, 9th Cong., 1st Sess., 29 January 1806, pp. 409–12; Adams, *Randolph*, pp. 164–67; Bruce, *Randolph*, 1: 225–30; Cunningham, *Jeffersonian Republicans in Power*, p. 82; Harlow, *Legislative Methods*, p. 221; Norman K. Risjord, *The Old Republicans: Southern Conservatism in the Age of Jefferson* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), pp. 52–53; Walters, *Gallatin*, pp. 189–91.

[30] *Annals of Congress*, 9th Cong., 1st Sess., 21 April 1806, pp. 1,107–15; Adams, *Randolph*, pp. 83–84; Bruce, *Randolph*, 1: 286–87; Cunningham, *Jeffersonian Republicans in Power*, p. 87.

[31] Bruce, *Randolph*, 1: 306–307; Cunningham, *Jeffersonian Republicans in Power*, p. 88; Cunningham, *Process of Government*, pp. 228–29.

[32] Bruce, *Randolph*, 1: 308; Harlow, *Legislative Methods*, p. 171.

[33] *Annals of Congress*, 8th Cong., 1st Sess., 31 January 1804, p. 1,250.

[34] Cited in Cunningham, *Process of Government*, pp. 217–18.

[35] Ibid., pp. 224–25.

[36] Ibid., p. 227.

[37] Ibid., pp. 230–31. The analysis of committee appointments is based upon a computerized listing of committee assignments compiled by Polimetric Associates of Burlington, Vermont, reproduced in 1981 and updated in 1989 by the Government Division of the Congressional Research Service. (See appendix.)

[38] *Dictionary of American Biography*, 2 (Part 1): 452.

[39] Walters, *Gallatin*, pp. 203–207.

[40] Cunningham, *Jeffersonian Republicans in Power*, p. 98.

[41] *Annals of Congress*, 10th Cong., 2d Sess., 23 November 1808, pp. 514–21.

[42] Archie Vernon Huff, Jr., *Langdon Cheves of South Carolina* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1977), pp. 61–63.

[43] Ibid., pp. 61–62; Walters, *Gallatin*, pp. 246–47.

[44] Huff, *Cheves*, p. 65; Walters, *Gallatin*, p. 249.

[45] Huff, *Cheves*, pp. 74, 65–66; Walters, *Gallatin*, p. 254.

[46] Walters, *Gallatin*, pp. 255–56.

[47] *Annals of Congress*, 12th Cong., 2d Sess., 5 December 1812, pp. 275–77, 291–92.

[48] Cited in Walters, *Gallatin*, pp. 255–56.

[49] Huff, *Cheves*, pp. 72–73; *Annals of Congress*, 12th Cong., 2d Sess., 25 February 1813, p. 1,126.

[50] Ibid., pp. 75–76.

[51] Risjord, *Old Republicans*, pp. 152–57.

[52] *Annals of Congress*, 13th Cong., 2d Sess., 10 January 1814, p. 873.

[53] *Annals of Congress*, 13th Cong., 2d Sess., 10 March 1814, p. 1,861; 19 February 1814, pp. 1,578–79; 15 April 1814, p. 2,023.

[54] Raymond J. Walters, Jr., *Alexander James Dallas: Lawyer, Politician, Financier, 1759–1817* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943), pp. 182–87.

[55] *Annals of Congress*, 13th Cong., 3d Sess., 10 October 1814, pp. 378–81; 18 October 1814, pp. 401–410; Risjord, *Old Republicans*, pp. 154–55; Ralph C. H. Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1903), p. 10; Walters, *Dallas*, pp. 190–91.

[56] Walters, *Dallas*, p. 193.

[57] *Annals of Congress*, 13th Cong., 3d Sess., 24 October 1814, pp. 457–58; Risjord, *Old Republicans*, p. 156; Catterall, *Second Bank*, p. 10.

[58] Walters, *Dallas*, p. 193.

[59] *Annals of Congress*, 14th Cong., 1st Sess., 10 April 1816, pp. 1,812–25; Catterall, *Second Bank*, p. 10; Ibid., pp. 210–12.

[60] Chase C. Mooney, *William H. Crawford, 1772–1834* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974), pp. 150–51; Risjord, *Old Republicans*, pp. 192–93; Walters, *Dallas*, p. 202.

[61] Forsythe, *Taxation and Political Change*, p. 79; Edward Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1903), 1: 111, 136–37.

[62] Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, 1: 137.

[63] Ibid., 1: 139.

[64] Frank A. Cassell, *Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland, 1752–1839* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), p. 216.

[65] Forsythe, *Taxation and Political Change*, p. 71; Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, 1: 159; Ibid., p. 217.

[66] Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, 1: 175–81.

[67] Ibid., 1: 114–15; Cassell, *Samuel Smith*, pp. 113–14; Harlow, *Legislative Methods*, pp. 231–32.

[68] Cassell, *Samuel Smith*, p. 113; Harlow, *Legislative Methods*, pp. 231–32.

[69] Harlow, *Legislative Methods*, pp. 232–34.

[70] Ibid., pp. 233–34; Cassell, *Samuel Smith*, p. 113.

[71] John A. Munroe, *Louis McLane: Federalist and Jacksonian* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1973), pp. 142–43; Forsythe, *Taxation and Political Change*, pp. 77, 84–97; Harlow, *Legislative Methods*, pp. 234–35; Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, 1: 201–202, 269–90.

[72] Forsythe, *Taxation and Political Change*, pp. 88–94.

[73] Munroe, *McLane*, p. 113.

[74] Ibid., p. 210.

[75] Ibid., pp. 254–55; Cassell, *Samuel Smith*, pp. 219, 228.

[76] Munroe, *McLane*, p. 210.

[77] This analysis is based upon the 1989 updated version of Polimetric Associates, Congressional Committee List (Ways and Means).

[78] *Annals of Congress*, 14th Cong., 2d Sess., 5 December 1816, p. 244; 13 December 1816, p. 275; 11 January 1817, p. 462.

[79] See Ways and Means Records, "Transcribed Reports of the Committee of Ways and Means, 8th Cong., 1st Sess., to 18th Cong., 2d Sess.," 2: 238, 270, Record Group 233 (HR8C–A2). National Archives, Washington, DC.

[80] *Annals of Congress*, 14th Cong., 2d Sess., 2 January 1817, pp. 407–408.

[81] *Annals of Congress*, 14th Cong., 2d Sess., 2 January 1817, p. 406; 17th Cong., 2d Sess., 6 January 1823, p. 487.

[82] DeAlva Stanwood Alexander, *History and Procedure of the House of Representatives* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), p. 234; John S. Pancake, *Samuel Smith and the Politics*

of Business, 1752–1839 (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1972), pp. 153–58; Cassell, *Samuel Smith*, p. 222.

[83] Harlow, *Legislative Methods*, p. 234.

NOTES TO 1829–1861, APPROPRIATIONS, BANKING, AND THE TARIFF

[1] John Sherman, *Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate, and Cabinet* (1895, reprint ed., New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 1: 180.

[2] Alexis de Tocqueville and Frederick Marryat, quoted in James C. Curtis, *The Fox at Bay: Martin Van Buren and the Presidency, 1837–1841* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), p. 86.

[3] This general overview of structural and procedural changes in congressional committees during the pre-Civil War era is based on Steven S. Smith and Christopher J. Deering, *Committees in Congress* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1984), pp. 13–18; Joseph Cooper, "Origins of the Standing Committees and the Development of the Modern House," *Rice University Studies*, 56 (Summer 1965), p. 154; and also on a computerized listing of committee assignments compiled by Polimetric Associates of Burlington, Vermont, reproduced in 1981 and updated in 1989 by the Government Division of the Congressional Research Service.

[4] George McDuffie of South Carolina chaired the Committee of Ways and Means for three Congresses (the Twentieth through the Twenty-second). However, his first term as chairman preceded the time period covered in this chapter. In addition, McDuffie only served as chairman for one session of the Twenty-second Congress. Polimetric Associates, Congressional Committee Project List (Ways and Means).

[5] For a brief discussion of the early congressional provisions for permanent clerks to standing committees, see Lindsay Rogers' article, "Staffing of Congress" *Political Science Quarterly*, 56 (March 1941), p. 3.

[6] James K. Paulding, quoted in Leonard D. White, *The Jacksonians: A Study in Administrative History, 1829–1861* (New York: MacMillan, 1954), pp. 7–8. For a summary of the growth of the federal bureaucracy during this period, see White, pp. 9, 531.

[7] Edward S. Corwin, *The President: Office and Powers, 1787–1957* (New York: New York University Press, 1957), p. 128.

[8] Congress, Senate, *History of the Committee on Finance,* Senate Document 97–5, 97th Cong., 1st Sess., 1981, pp. 25–26.

[9] 5 Stat. 523, sec. 14 (August 26, 1842).

[10] *House Journal*, 23d Cong., 2d Sess., 9 December 1834, pp. 50–51.

[11] See Ways and Means Records, Record Group 233, Minutebook (1858–1861). 35th Cong., 2d Sess. to 37th Cong., 1st Sess. (HR 30), pp. 17, 22–23, 66–67. National Archives, Washington, DC.

[12] *House Journal*, 23rd Cong., 2d Sess. *Appendix* (rules listed), pp. 702–703.

[13] See Ways and Means Records, 27th Cong., Record Group 233. Copy of letterbook kept by Fillmore as chairman contains correspondence to various officials concerning their estimates and expenditures (HR 27A–D24.5). National Archives, Washington, DC.

[14] For an overview of the complexities connected with the appropriations process during this period, see White *Jacksonians*, pp. 125–142.

[15] See Ways and Means Records, 25th Cong., Record Group 233. Several pieces

of correspondence in the committee record files, dated during the summer of 1837, relate to the Smithson legacy (HR25A-D26.6). National Archives, Washington, DC.

[16] For a concise but informative discussion of contemporary attitudes toward the tariff, see John M. Dobson, *Two Centuries of Tariffs: The Background and Emergence of the U.S. International Trade Commission* (Washington, DC: U.S. Trade Commission, 1976), pp. 49–56.

[17] Sidney Ratner, *A Political and Social History of Federal Taxation, 1789–1913* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1942), p. 39.

[18] Dobson, *Two Centuries*, pp. 50–51.

[19] Edwin Luther Green, *George McDuffie* (Columbia, SC: The State Company, 1936), p. 86.

[20] Green, *George McDuffie*, pp. 84–85; Edward Stanwood, *American Tariff Controveries of the Nineteenth Century* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1903–1904), 1: 362–65.

[21] Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, 1: 360–62.

[22] Ibid., 1: 369–70.

[23] Ibid., 1: 374–75.

[24] F. W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States* (1892; reprint ed., New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967), p. 110; Green, *George McDuffie*, p. 235; Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, 1: 375–85.

[25] Charles G. Sellers, Jr., *James K. Polk: Jacksonian, 1795–1843* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 158; Robert W. July, *The Essential New Yorker: Gulian Crommelin Verplanck* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1951), p. 156.

[26] July, *Verplanck*, pp. 148–58; Sellers, *Polk*, 1: 158–59.

[27] Sellers, *Polk*, 1: 159–61; July, *Verplanck*, pp. 161–63.

[28] The economic impact of the Tariff of 1833 is discussed in Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, 2: 1–10; and Dobson, *Two Centuries*, pp. 54–55.

[29] July, *Verplanck*, pp. 170–72; Green, *George McDuffie*, pp. 126–28; Davis R. Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*, 4th ed. (London: Longmans, Green, 1912), pp. 200–201. McDuffie's favorable report of April 13, 1830, concerning the Second Bank of the United States is reprinted in *Register of Debates in Congress*, 21st Cong., 1st Sess., *Appendix*, pp. 104–32.

[30] Green, *George McDuffie*, pp. 128–29; Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 202–203.

[31] July, *Verplanck*, pp. 170–76; Dewey, *Financial History*, p. 204. Verplanck's majority report of March 1, 1833, concerning the Second Bank of the United States is reprinted in *Register of Debates in Congress*, 22d Cong., 2d Sess., *Appendix*, pp. 64–66, while Polk's minority report, issued on the same date, is reprinted on pp. 66–82.

[32] Eugene I. McCormac, *James K. Polk: A Political Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1922), pp. 29–34; Sellers, *Polk*, 1: 178–95; July, *Verplanck*, pp. 176–79; Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 204–205.

[33] Sellers, *Polk*, 1: 213–14.

[34] Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 203–204.

[35] Sellers, *Polk*, 1: 214–19.

[36] Sellers, *Polk*, 1: 214–21. Polk's majority report of March 4, 1834, on removal is reprinted in *Register of Debates in Congress*, 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Appendix*, pp. 161–76, while the minority report of Binney, Wilde, and Gorham issued on the same date, is reprinted on pp. 176–187.

[37] The first resolution passed by a vote of 134-82; the second by 118-103; the third by an almost identical margin, while only 32 members opposed the fourth resolution. Sellers, *Polk*, 1: 221-22.

[38] Ibid., 1: 223-25.

[39] Ibid., 1: 225-31.

[40] *Dictionary of American Biography*, 2 (Part 1): 432.

[41] Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America: From the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 335; Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 209-22; Ratner, *Federal Taxation*, pp. 39-40.

[42] The economic impact of the Bank War is considered in Peter Temin, *The Jacksonian Economy* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1969), and Hammond, *Banks and Politics*.

[43] Curtis, *Van Buren*, pp. 86-88, 96-97; John Niven, *Martin Van Buren: The Romantic Age of American Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 420-24.

[44] Curtis, *Van Buren*, pp. 105-109.

[45] Ibid., pp. 111-41.

[46] Ibid., pp. 138-51.

[47] Fletcher's remarks of December 13, 1837, concerning the Ways and Means Committee's relationship with the Van Buren Administration are reprinted in *Congressional Globe*, 25th Cong., 1st Sess., 13 December 1837, pp. 21-24. See also Curtis, *Van Buren*, p. 95.

[48] Robert Seager II, *And Tyler too: A Biography of John and Julia Gardiner Tyler* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), pp. 152-62; Robert J. Rayback, *Millard Fillmore: Biography of a President* (East Aurora, NY: Henry Stewart, 1972), p. 118.

[49] Daniel Webster, quoted in Seager, *Tyler*, p. 164.

[50] Rayback, *Fillmore*, pp. 116-22; Seager, *Tyler*, p. 164.

[51] *Congressional Globe*, 27th Cong., 3d Sess., 9 January 1843, pp. 134-35.

[52] *Congressional Globe*, 27th Cong., 3d Sess., 23 January 1843, pp. 188-92.

[53] Rayback, *Fillmore*, pp. 124-25; Seager, *Tyler*, pp. 165-68.

[54] Rayback, *Fillmore*, pp. 124-36.

[55] Ibid., p. 136.

[56] Millard Fillmore to A.P. Upshur, 15 January 1842, in "Millard Fillmore Papers," vol. 2, *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* 11 (1907), p. 226.

[57] See Ways and Means Records, 27th Cong., Record Group 233. Millard Fillmore to Abel Upshur, 15 January 1841 (HR27A-D24.5). The committee's letterbook located in this file contains several other examples of correspondence concerning appropriations and oversight. National Archives, Washington, DC.

[58] Reprinted in Milo Milton Quaife, ed., *The Diary of James K. Polk* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1910), 4: 321-22. See also *Dictionary of American Biography*, 6 (Part 2): 75.

[59] Paul H. Bergeron, *The Presidency of James K. Polk* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), pp. 183-89, 191-93; McCormac, *Polk*, pp. 665-70; Sellers, *Polk*, 2: 469.

[60] Sellers, *Polk*, 2: 43-45.

[61] Bergeron, *Polk Presidency*, pp. 185-88; McCormac, *Polk*, pp. 672-78; Sellers, *Polk*, 2: 451-58.

[62] Sellers, *Polk*, 2: 453-54; Quaife, ed., *Polk Diary*, 4: 421-22.

[63] Andrew Johnson, quoted in Sellers, *Polk*, 2: 455; Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 255–56; Ratner, *Federal Taxation*, pp. 42–44; Margaret G. Myers, *A Financial History of the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 136–38.

[64] See Ways and Means Records, 27th Cong., Record Group 233. James Buchanan to James I. McKay, 7 August 1846 (HR29.A–D22.8). National Archives, Washington, DC.; Bergeron, *Polk Presidency*, pp. 85–87; Sellers, *Polk*, 2: 479–84.

[65] Quaife, ed., *Polk Diary*, 4: 321–22, 5: 26; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 10 (Part 1): 284–85.

[66] For request from the Pennsylvania Colonization Society concerning a colonization site in Liberia, see Ways and Means Records, 32d Cong., Record Group 233. W. Parker Foulke to George S. Houston, undated (HR32A–D22.2). National Archives, Washington, DC.

[67] Roy F. Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York: Free Press, 1948), pp. 186–88; 10 Stat. 61 (August 30, 1852); *Congressional Globe*, 33d Cong., 2d Sess., 15 February 1855, pp. 752–61.

[68] Holman Hamilton, *Prologue to Conflict: The Crisis and Compromise of 1850* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964), p. 121. Green was the son of Duff Green, a Jacksonian partisan who had edited the *United States Telegraph*. Benjamin Green may therefore have been politically motivated to bring charges against Bayly. The Virginia congressman had also insinuated in some earlier remarks to the House that Green misused the funds in question for his own speculation scheme.

[69] *House Report* No. 142, 33d Cong., 2d Sess., 3 March 1855, p.1; *Congressional Globe*, 33d Cong., 1st Sess., 21 July 1854, pp. 1,835–37; *Congressional Globe*, 33d Cong., 2d Sess., 3 March 1855, p. 1,155.

[70] Campbell's remarks on the Army Appropriations bill are reprinted in *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 2d Sess., 29 July 1856, pp. 1,811–12.

[71] *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 3d Sess., 22 August 1856, pp. 10–12; Roy F. Nichols, *Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958), p. 480. Part of the Senate's more assertive stance in appropriations can be explained by procedural differences between the two bodies. In the 1840s, the Senate had no bar against riders to appropriations bills, nor did it have a general germaneness rule as did the House. This meant that the Senate could freely tack on unrelated riders to House appropriations bills. See Allen Schick, "Legislation, Appropriations, and Budgets: The Development of Spending Decision-Making in Congress," unpublished CRS report prepared under contract. 84–106GOV (Library of Congress, May 1984), p. 17.

[72] White, *Jacksonians*, p. 135.

[73] Sherman, *Recollections*, 1: 155.

[74] Sherman, *Recollections*, 1: 168. In the Thirty-sixth Congress, first session, there were 114 Republicans, 92 Democrats and 31 congressmen from the American Party.

[75] Sherman, *Recollections*, 1: 167–80.

[76] Ibid., 1: 180.

[77] Ibid., 1: 155. See also Ways and Means Records, Record Group 233, Minutebook (1858–1861). 35th Cong., 2d Sess., to 37th Cong., 1st Sess. (HR 30). Entry for 13 June 1860 mentions 53 Senate amendments to the Army appropriations bill. The committee recommended that only two of these amendments be adopted. The minutebook contains several other examples of extensive Senate amendments to Ways and Means appropriations bills from 1858 to 1861. National Archives, Washington, DC.

[78] See Ways and Means Records, Record Group 233. Minutebook (1858–1861), pp. 31–32, 42. National Archives, Washington, DC.

[79] Sherman, *Recollections*, 1: 186.

[80] Ibid., 1: 188.

[81] 11 Stat. 107 (3 March 1857). The minutebook indicates that the committee elected a clerk for each session. At the end of the Thirty-sixth Congress, first session, George Bassett replaced Robert Cochran as clerk by a vote of 4–3, with one of the members abstaining. All of the votes in Bassett's favor were cast by the Northern congressmen on the committee—Sherman (OH), Thaddeus Stevens (PA), Justin Morrill (VT), and Elbridge Spaulding (NY), while John Phelps (MO), John Millson (VA), and Martin Crawford (GA), representatives from the South and a border state, voted to reinstate Cochran. Henry W. Davis (MD), also from a border state, was the member who declined to vote. This vote provides an illustration of the extent to which congressional deliberations, even of a routine nature, were complicated by sectional divisions in the House. See Minutebook (1858–1861), pp. 88, 101. Record Group 233, National Archives, Washington, DC.

[82] Sherman, *Recollections*, 1: 155.

NOTES TO 1861–1865, FINANCING THE CIVIL WAR

[1] *Congressional Globe.* 38th Cong., 2d Sess., 2 March 1865, p. 1,312. The quote is taken from Cox's speech recommending the division of the committee's jurisdiction among three committees on the ground that it had been overworked during the war.

[2] Cited in Ralph Korngold, *Thaddeus Stevens: A Being Darkly Wise and Rudely Great* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1955), p. 131.

[3] Alphonse B. Miller, *Thaddeus Stevens* (New York: Harper and Row, 1939), pp. 1–13.

[4] Cited in Miller, *Thaddeus Stevens*, pp. 133–34.

[5] Ibid., pp. 14–22; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 9 (Part 1): 622.

[6] Thomas Frederick Woodley, *Thaddeus Stevens* (Harrisburg, PA: Telegraph Press, 1934), p. 303.

[7] John Sherman, *Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate, and Cabinet* (1895; reprint ed., New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 1: 195; Elbridge Gerry Spaulding, *History of the Legal Tender Paper Money Issued During the Great Rebellion* (Buffalo: Express Printing Company, 1869), p. 8. Spaulding's recollections provide the only primary source account located concerning the inner dynamics of the committee during the war years.

[8] Miller, *Thaddeus Stevens*, pp. 144–54; and John Bruce Robertson, "Lincoln and Congress," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Wisconsin, 1966), pp. 1–3.

[9] Cited in Samuel W. McCall, *Thaddeus Stevens* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1899), p. 189; see also Robertson, "Lincoln and Congress," pp. 148, 40.

[10] McCall, *Thaddeus Stevens*, p. 204; Richard Nelson Current, *Old Thad Stevens: A Story of Ambition* (1942; reprint ed., Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), pp. 195–96.

[11] McCall, *Thaddeus Stevens*, pp. 143–44.

[12] Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke: Financier of the Civil War* (1907; reprint ed., New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), 1: 121–67, 187.

[13] McCall, *Thaddeus Stevens*, p. 142.

[14] Sidney Ratner, *A Political and Social History of Federal Taxation, 1789–1913.* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1942), p. 64.

[15] Edwin R. A. Seligman, *The Income Tax: A Study of the History, Theory and Practice of Income Taxation at Home and Abroad* (3d ed., New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1970), p. 431.

[16] Ibid., p. 431.

[17] Ratner, *Federal Taxation*, p. 65–66.

[18] Seligman, *Income Tax*, p. 434.

[19] Ratner, *Federal Taxation*, p. 68.

[20] J. W. Schuckers, *The Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase* (New York: D. Appleton, 1874), p. 227.

[21] Margaret G. Myers, *A Financial History of the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 152.

[22] Sherman, *Recollections*, 1: 271.

[23] Ibid., pp. 271–72.

[24] Current, *Old Thad Stevens*, p. 156.

[25] Spaulding, *Legal Tender Paper Money*, pp. 18–21, 96.

[26] Cited in Current, *Old Thad Stevens*, p. 155; see also Sherman, *Recollections*, 1: 274.

[27] Miller, *Thaddeus Stevens*, p. 160.

[28] Ibid., p. 164.

[29] Spaulding, *Legal Tender Paper Money*, pp. 18–21, 96.

[30] Miller, *Thaddeus Stevens*, p. 160.

[31] *Dictionary of American Biography*, 9 (Part 1): 436–37.

[32] Cited in Randolph E. Paul, *Taxation in the United States* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1954), p. 9. See also a letter addressed to the Hon. Schulyer Colfax from M. S. Black of the *New York Sun*. In this letter Black accused Congress of indecision regarding taxes ("You legislators are befogging yourselves and the country with debates about ways and means for revenues"), and ordered its members to "Drop the talk" and implement his "practical proposition," namely a one-half percent sales tax on all property sales. M. S. Black to Schulyer Colfax, 15 January 1864, in Ways and Means Records, 38th Cong., Record Group 233 (HR38A–E22.19). National Archives, Washington, DC.

[33] Ratner, *Federal Taxation*, pp. 74–75; Paul, *Taxation in the U.S.*, pp. 9–10.

[34] Ratner, *Federal Taxation*, pp. 75–77; F. W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States* (1892; report ed., New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967), pp. 162–64.

[35] Ratner, *Federal Taxation*, pp. 82–83; Seligman, *The Income Tax*, pp. 440–41.

[36] Ratner, *Federal Taxation*, pp. 85–88; Seligman, *The Income Tax*, pp. 440–46.

[37] Ratner, *Federal Taxation*, pp. 88–90; Taussig, *Tariff History*, p. 169.

[38] Current, *Old Thad Stevens*, p. 192.

[39] Miller, *Thaddeus Stevens*, pp., 140–41; ibid., pp. 192–93.

[40] John M. Blum, et al., *The National Experience. Part One: A History of the United States to 1877*, 5th ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981), p. 364; Myers, *Finan-*

cial History, p. 164; Fritz Redlich, *The Molding of American Banking. Part II: 1840–1860* (New York: Hafner Publishing, 1951), pp. 100–105.

[41] DeAlva Stanwood Alexander, *History and Procedure of the House of Representatives* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), pp. 235–36. See also *Congressional Globe*, 38th Cong., 2d Sess., 2 March 1865, p. 1,313.

[42] Alexander, *History and Procedure*, pp. 235–36; Miller, *Thaddeus Stevens*, pp. 386–87; William H. Barnes, *History of the Thirty-ninth Congress of the United States*. (1868; reprint ed., New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), p. 29.

[43] See Ways and Means Records, 38th Cong., Record Group 233. Report from G. Gumpert to Jos. I. Lewis, 12 November 1864 (HR38A–E22.16); S.P. Chase to Thaddeus Stevens, 9 February 1864 (HR38A–E22.16); letter to the Hon. G. Orth from his constituents, 9 February 1864. This letter was accompanied by a petition submitted to the House and Senate by J. N. Ray of Indianapolis, Indiana, regarding the imposition of a dog tax. (HR38A–G24.4). National Archives, Washington, DC.

[44] See Ways and Means Records, 37th and 38th Cong., Record Group 233. Circular petitions of pharmacists and brewers, undated (HR37A–E20.13); G. B. Lewis to Thaddeus Stevens, 13 January 1864 (HR38.A–E22.19); B. C. Tilghman to the Hon. Henry Wilson, 14 January 1864 (HR38A–E22.16); John G. Nicolay to Thaddeus Stevens, 15 February 1864 (38A–E22.16). National Archives, Washington, DC.

[45] See Ways and Means Records, 37th Cong., Record Group 233. B. B. French to Thaddeus Stevens, 5 January 1862 (HR37A–E20.1); B. B. French to Thaddeus Stevens, 12 December 1862 (HR37A–E20.1). See also Dr. Nichols to John Sherman, 27 December 1860 (HR37A–E20.12). National Archives, Washington DC.

[46] Robertson, "Lincoln and Congress," pp. 402–405; Current, *Old Thad Stevens*, pp. 220–21.

[47] *Congressional Globe*, 38th Cong., 2d Sess., 2 March 1865, pp. 1,311–15.

[48] Ibid., pp. 1,315–16.

[49] Ibid., p. 1,316.

[50] *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., 13 December 1865, p. 21.

[51] Barnes, *Thirty-ninth Congress*, p. 29.

NOTES TO 1865–1890, THE GILDED AGE COMMITTEE

[1] James A. McKenzie, quoted in James A. Barnes, *John G. Carlisle: Financial Statesman* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1931), p. 66. See also *Congressional Record*, 46th Cong., 2d Sess., Appendix, p. 139.

[2] Henry Adams, quoted in Samuel Eliot Morison, et al., *The Growth of the American Republic*, 7th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 2: 148.

[3] Mark Twain, quoted in Alvin W. Josephy, Jr., *The American Heritage History of the Congress of the United States* (New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, 1975), p. 260; Charles Edward Russell, *Blaine of Maine: His Life and Times* (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1931), p. 191.

[4] Morison, et al., *American Republic*, 2: 158; John M. Dobson, *Two Centuries of Tariffs: The Background and Emergence of the U.S. Trade Commission* (Washington, DC: U.S. Trade Commission, 1976), pp. 18–19.

[5] Nelson W. Polsby, "The Institutionalization of the U. S. House of Representatives," *American Political Science Review*, 62 (March 1968), 144–68; Allan G. Bogue, et

al., "Members of the House and the Process of Modernization, 1789-1960," *Journal of American History*, 63 (September 1976): 300-301; Neil MacNeil, *Forge of Democracy: The House of Representatives* (New York: David McKay, 1963), p. 41.

[6] Marshall Edward Dimock, *Congressional Investigating Committees* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1929), pp. 9, 58, 117-63.

[7] Steven S. Smith and Christopher J. Deering, *Committees in Congress* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1984), p. 19.

[8] John William DeForest, quoted in Margaret S. Thompson, "Corruption—or Confusion? Lobbying and Congressional Government in the Early Gilded Age," *Congress and the Presidency*, 10 (Autumn 1983): 182. DeForest was the author of several novels, including *Honest John Vane* (1875), and *Playing the Mischief* (1875), which portrayed lobbyists in an extremely unfavorable manner.

[9] Frank G. Carpenter, *Carp's Washington* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960), p. 279.

[10] For this interpretation, see Ari Hoogenboom, "Did Gilded Age Scandals Bring Reform?" in A. S. Eisenstadt et al., eds., *Before Watergate: Problems of Corruption in American Society* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn College Press, 1978). See also Margaret S. Thompson's article, "Corruption—or Confusion?" and her recent book *The "Spider Web:" Congress Lobbying in the Age of Grant* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).

[11] Thompson, "Corruption—or Confusion?" pp. 185-86. The committee's recommendations were the result of a hearing it held during the Forty-third Congress concerning the improper management of a federal subsidy granted to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. This hearing is reprinted in its entirety as H.R. Rep. No. 268, 43d Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. 7 (1874).

[12] Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1885), p. 126.

[13] This general overview of the committee's chambers is based largely upon unpublished information provided to the authors by the Office of the Curator, The Architect of the Capitol, Washington, DC. See also William A. Robinson, *Thomas B. Reed: Parliamentarian* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1931), pp. 383-84.

[14] Carpenter, *Carp's Washington*, pp. 292-94; McNeil, *Forge*, pp. 199-200. One member of the Committee of Ways and Means who died in office was Fernando Wood of New York. His elaborate funeral cortege is described by Samuel Augustus Pleasants in his biography, *Fernando Wood of New York* (New York: Columbia University, 1948), p. 200.

[15] DeAlva Stanwood Alexander, *History and Procedure of the House of Representatives* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), pp. 110-11.

[16] Congress, House. Committee on Rules, *A History of the Committee on Rules: 1st to 97th Congresses, 1789-1981.* Committee print. 97th Cong., 2 Sess., 1983, p. 64.

[17] *Congressional Record*, 46th Cong., 2d Sess., 6 January 1880, p. 205.

[18] This analysis is based on the computerized listing of committee members cited in previous chapters. This list was compiled in 1981 by Polimetric Associates of Burlington, Vermont, and an updated copy was provided for the authors' use by the Government Division of the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress in Washington, DC.

[19] Carpenter, *Carp's Washington*, pp. 24-25.

[20] Allan Peskin, *Garfield: A Biography* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1978), p. 321.

[21] U.S. Senate, Committee on Finance, *History of the Committee on Finance* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1981), pp. 111-17.

[22] Carpenter, *Carp's Washington*, pp. 258–59; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 8 (Part 2): 427–28; *Dictionary of American Biography*, 10 (Part 2): 456–57. See also Pleasants, *Fernando Wood*, p. 201.

[23] Peskin, *Garfield*, pp. 281–82, 319.

[24] See Ways and Means Records, 40th Cong., Record Group 233. Undated newspaper clipping (HR 40A–F27.1). National Archives and Records Administration.

[25] *Evidence Before the Committee of Ways and Means Relative to Moieties and Customs Revenue Laws*, 43d Cong., 1st Sess., Misc. Doc. 264 (1874).

[26] William A. Richardson, quoted in Leonard D. White, *The Republican Era, 1869–1901: A Study in Administrative History* (New York: MacMillan, 1963), pp. 371–72.

[27] H.R. Rep. No. 268, 43d Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. 7 (1874); McNeil, *Forge*, p. 190.

[28] *Duty on Steel Rails: Notes of a Hearing before the Ways and Means Committee*, 46th Cong., 2d Sess. (1880) (statement of Henry A. Poor, representative of the Illinois Central Railroad), pp. 1–27; (statement of William H. Grace of New York), pp. 79–83.

[29] H.R. Rep. No. 589, 47th Cong., 1st Sess. Serial Set 2066 (1882), p. 2.

[30] Harry J. Brown and Frederick D. Williams, eds., *The Diary of James A. Garfield, Vol. 3: 1875–1877* (Ann Arbor: Michigan State University Press, 1973), pp. 209–210, 228. See also Asher C. Hinds, comp., *Hind's Precedents of the House of Representatives of the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1907), 4: Section 4533, p. 919.

[31] See Ways and Means Records, 41st Cong., Record Group 233. George Bassett to E. W. Barber, 18 March 1869 (HR41A–F27.9). National Archives, Washington, DC.

[32] See Ways and Means Records, 41st Cong., Record Group 233, Robert C. Schenck to Joseph S. Courtney, 24 February 1869 (HR41A–F27.9). National Archives, Washington, DC.

[33] See Ways and Means Records, 39th Cong., Record Group 233. Pamphlet advertizing Jewett's Patent Artificial Leg Company, Washington, DC (HR 39A–F29.19). National Archives, Washington, DC.

[34] See Ways and Means Records, 40th Cong., Record Group 233. J. K. Morehead to Robert C. Schenck, 11 April 1868 (HR40A–F27.1). National Archives, Washington, DC.

[35] See Ways and Means Records, 40th Cong., Record Group 233. B. F. Tracey to Robert C. Schenck, 27 January 1868 (HR40A–F27.1). National Archives, Washington, DC.

[36] See Ways and Means Records, 41st Cong., Record Group 233. William Marks to Samuel Hooper, 11 April 1870 (HR41A–F27.19). National Archives, Washington, DC.

[37] See Ways and Means Records, 41th Cong., Record Group 233. Emor E. Smith to Robert C. Schenck, 8 June 1870 (HR41–F27.19). National Archives, Washington, DC.

[38] See Ways and Means Records, 45th Cong., Record Group 233. Frank A. Adway to James A. Garfield, 14 December 1877 (HR45A–F36.23). National Archives, Washington, DC.

[39] Sidney Ratner, *A Political and Social History of Federal Taxation, 1789–1913* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1942), p. 113.

[40] Ibid., p. 113.

[41] Ibid., p. 115.

[42] Davis R. Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*, 4th ed. (London: Longmans, Green, 1912), p. 37.

[43] John Sherman, *Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet* (1895; reprint ed., New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 1: 378.

[44] Ibid., p. 435.

[45] Ratner, *Federal Taxation*, p. 122.

[46] Ibid., pp. 126–27.

[47] Ibid., pp. 130–31.

[48] Edwin R. A. Seligman, *The Income Tax: A Study of the History, Theory and Practice of Income Taxation at Home and Abroad* (1948; reprint ed., New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1970), p. 431.

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[52] Ibid., 2: 197.

[53] Robinson, *Reed*, p. 295.

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[57] O. O. Stealey, *Twenty Years in the Press Gallery* (New York: Publisher's Printing Company Printers, 1906), p. 53.

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[61] Robinson, *Reed*, p. 238. See also House Rules Committee, *A History*, pp. 69, 73.

[62] Stealey, *Twenty Years*, p. 68. See also Robinson, *Reed*, pp. 195–216.

[63] Stealey, *Twenty Years*, p. 68; House Rules Committee, *A History*, pp. 70–71.

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[2] Evans C. Johnson, *Oscar W. Underwood: A Political Biography* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), pp. 137–42. Underwood is cited on p. 137.

[3] This overview of the Committee's membership is based on a computerized listing of Ways and Means members compiled by Polimetric Associates of Burlington, Vermont, reproduced in 1981 and updated in 1989 by the Government Division of the Congressional Research Service.

[4] The percentages of members carried over from one Congress to the next were computed by comparing the numbers of members reappointed with the possible number of slots available to the majority or minority party. Figures were computed

for each Congress and averaged on a decade-by-decade basis. For the 1870s the carryover percentage of committee members was 49.6 percent; the 1880s, 55.5 percent; 1890s, 65.3 percent; 1900s, 76.1 percent, 1910s, 71.7 percent; and 1920s, 87.6 percent. The percentages were compiled from the computerized members' listing cited in the previous footnote.

[5] See Ways and Means Records, 53d Cong., Record Group 233. Minutebook, 53d Cong., 1st Sess. (HR53A–F46.4). National Archives, Washington, DC. Entries for 23 and 29 August 1893 mention the appointment of subcommittees by the Committee on Ways and Means. Entries for 29 and 30 August and 27 November 1893 give details on committee hearings and other procedures connected with the tariff in the 53d Congress. These procedures were also followed in the preparation of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff in 1929. See also E. E. Schattschneider, *Politics, Pressures and the Tariff: A Study of Free Private Enterprise in Pressure Politics, as Shown in the 1929–1930 Revision of the Tariff* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1935), p. 34, footnote 24.

[6] Schattschneider, *Politics, Pressures and the Tariff*, pp. 13–66.

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[17] Kennedy, *Birth Control*, pp. 270–71.

[18] See Ways and Means Committee Records, 53d Cong., Record Group 233. Minutebook, 53d Cong., 1st Sess. (HR53A–F46.4). Entry for 23 August 1893 contains the clerk's report in its entirety. National Archives, Washington, DC.

[19] Davis R. Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*, 4th ed. (London: Longmans, Green 1912), p. 495.

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[21] John M. Dobson, *Two Centuries of Tariffs: The Background and Emergence of the U.S. International Trade Commission* (Washington, DC: U.S. Trade Commission, 1976), pp. 49–56.

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[23] Edward Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1903–1904), 2: 260.

[24] Ibid., 2: 261.

[25] Ibid., 2: 263.

[26] Ibid., 2: 268.

[27] Ibid., 2: 295–95. See also Spielman, *William McKinley*, p. 54; Sidney Ratner, *A Political and Social History of Federal Taxation, 1789–1913* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1942), pp. 59–60; Dewey, *Financial History*, pp. 438–40.

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[30] Summers, *William L. Wilson*, pp. 130–31, 156–60; Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, 2: 309–18; Ratner, *Federal Taxation*, p. 171.

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[35] Colletta, *Bryan*, 1: 56–57.

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[37] Summers, *William L. Wilson*, pp. 184–85.

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[47] Paul, *Taxation in the U.S.*, pp. 65–67; Ratner, *Federal Taxation*, pp. 230–39.

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[67] Ibid., p. 100.

[68] Witte, *Federal Income Tax*, pp. 135–40; Holmans, *U.S. Fiscal Policy*, pp. 134–35.

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[70] Witte, *Federal Income Tax*, p. 141; ibid., pp. 168–69.

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[72] Democratic Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota observed that "if oystershells and clamshells can be included in the bill, then anything can be included. Why not include duck feathers. Or canary birdseed, or dried up beetles, or anything?" Holmans, *U.S. Fiscal Policy*, p. 175.

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[79] Reichard, *Reaffirmation of Republicanism*, pp. 129–32.

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[9] Judy Schneider and Carol Hardy, "Congressional Committee Staff and Funding," continuously updated issue brief (1989); and John F. Manley, "Congressional Staff and Public Policy-Making: The Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation," *Journal of Politics*, 30 (November 1968): 1,046–67.

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[12] Manley, *Politics of Finance*, p. 100. See also John F. Manley, "Wilbur D. Mills: A Study in Congressional Influence," *American Political Science Review*, 63 (1969): 442–64.

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[15] Ibid., p. 108.

[16] Ibid., p. 220.

[17] Ibid., p. 115.

[18] Ibid., p. 142.

[19] Ibid., pp. 21–56.

[20] Ibid., p. 251.

[21] Ibid., pp. 253–54.

[22] Ibid., pp. 217, 269–70.

[23] Curtis, "House Committee on Ways and Means," p. 128; Manley, "Congressional Staff," pp. 1,050, 1,066; Spohn and McCollum, *Revenue Committees*, pp. 47–55.

[24] Manley, *Politics of Finance*, pp. 297–314; Manley, "Congressional Staff," pp. 1046–67; Michael J. Malbin, *Unelected Representatives: Congressional Staff and the Future of Representative Government* (New York: Basic Books, 1979), pp. 170–87.

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[28] Ibid., 18: 263–64.

[29] Ibid., 18: 266–68.

[30] Margaret G. Myers, *A Financial History of the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), pp. 405–406; Ibid., 18: 278–85.

[31] *C Q Almanac* (1965), 21: 243–44; (1960), 16: 151.

[32] *C Q Almanac* (1960), 16: 153.

[33] Ibid., 16: 153–54.

[34] Ibid., 16: 157.

[35] *C Q Almanac* (1961), 17: 75.

[36] Ibid., 17: 257–61.

[37] Manley, *Politics of Finance*, pp. 27–29, 119.

[38] *C Q Almanac* (1965), 21: 252.

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[53] Congress, House, Select Committee on Committees, *Briefing Book: Committee Reform Amendments of 1974* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 76; Albert R. Hunt, "Waning Institution? Even If Mills Stays On, Ways and Means Panel Faces a Loss of Power," *Wall Street Journal*, 10 July 1973, p. 1.

[54] Smith and Deering, *Committees in Congress*, pp. 45–48. Two staffers of the Bolling committee have written an account of the congressional reform movement. They agree that the Committee on Ways and Means was "a major target of reorganization." Roger H. Davidson and Walter J. Oleszek, *Congress Against Itself* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), p. 179.

[55] Daniel J. Balz, "Ways and Means Seeks to Maintain Power and Prestige," *National Journal*, 22 June 1974, p. 915.

[56] The two incidents involved exotic dancer Annabella Battistella—whose stage name was Fanne Foxe. These incidents occurred in October and late November, one in the Washington Tidal Basin and the other on a Boston stage. Mills entered Bethesda Naval Hospital on December 3. He agreed to resign the chairmanship after several of his colleagues warned him that he would be removed. See "The Fall of Chairman Mills," *Time*, 16 December 1974, pp. 22–26; and *Washington Post*, 4 November 1978, B1.

NOTES TO 1975–1989, THE POST-REFORM COMMITTEE

[1] Randall W. Strahan, *Change in Congress: House Committee on Ways and Means* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, forthcoming, 1990), chapter 5.

[2] Cited in Tom Arrandale, "Ways and Means in 1975: No Longer Pre-eminent," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, 34 (January 10, 1976), p. 44.

[3] Bruce A. Ray, "Committee Attractiveness in the U.S. House, 1963–1981," *American Journal of Political Science*, 26 (1982): 609–10. Ray's measure of attractiveness for Ways and Means in the period from 1963–1971 was .756, for the period 1973–1981,

it had fallen to .431. Appropriations had become the top-ranked committee for the latter period, with a score of .438.

[4] Steven S. Smith and Bruce A. Ray, "The Impact of Congressional Reform: House Democratic Assignments," *Congress and the Presidency,* 10 (1983): 238.

[5] Sam Gibbons (D-FL), cited in Daniel J. Balz, "Slow Progress on Tax Reform Issues," *National Journal,* 30 August 1975, p. 1,237.

[6] Cited in Juan D. Cameron, "And They Call It the Most Important Committee in Congress," *Fortune,* 93 (March 1976): 148.

[7] Arrandale, "Ways and Means in 1975," p. 41.

[8] Michael J. Malbin, *Unelected Representatives: Congressional Staff and the Future of Representative Government* (New York: Basic Books, 1980), pp. 120–25; Judy Schneider and Carol Hardy, "Congressional Committee Staff and Funding," continuously updated issue brief (1989).

[9] Cited in Richard E. Cohen, "Al Ullman—The Complex, Contradictory Chairman of Ways and Means," *National Journal,* 4 March 1978, p. 347.

[10] Cited in Catherine E. Rudder, "Committee Reform and the Revenue Process," in *Congress Reconsidered,* Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, eds., (New York: Praeger, 1977), pp. 124–25.

[11] Cited in "Republicans: On the Sidelines," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report,* 32 (March 15, 1975), p. 516.

[12] Cited in Arrandale, "Ways and Means in 1975," p. 40.

[13] Cited in ibid., p. 40.

[14] John F. Witte, *The Politics and Development of the Federal Income Tax* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), pp. 238–42.

[15] Cited in Cohen, "Al Ullman," p. 348.

[16] Witte, *Federal Income Tax,* pp.182–87; Rudder, "Committee Reform and the Revenue Process," p. 127

[17] Witte, *Federal Income Tax,* pp. 190–98.

[18] Ibid., pp. 207–12.

[19] Cited in Elizabeth Wehr, "Rostenkowski: A Firm Grip on Ways and Means," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report,* 43 (July 6, 1985), p. 1,317.

[20] Cited in ibid., p. 1,316. See also Catherine E. Rudder, "Fiscal Responsibility and the Revenue Committees," in *Congress Reconsidered,* Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, eds., 3d ed. (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1985), p. 218.

[21] Cited in Wehr, "Rostenkowski: A Firm Grip on Ways and Means," p. 1,318.

[22] Pamela Fessler, "Rostenkowski Seeks More Influential Role," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report,* 41 (January 29, 1983), p. 195.

[23] The discussion of the technical innovations instituted by Chairman Rostenkowski is based upon M. Kenneth Bowler, "Preparing Members of Congress to Make Binary Decisions on Complex Policy Issues: The 1986 Tax Reform Bill," *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management,* 8 (1989): 35–45.

[24] Witte, *Federal Income Tax,* p. 222.

[25] Ibid., p. 223.

[26] U.S. President, "Statement on Signing the Social Security Amendments Act of 1983" (April 20, 1983), *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Ronald Reagan*

(1983). U.S. National Achives and Records Administration (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1983), p. 560.

[27] For a detailed, insightful, and entertaining account of the Tax Reform Act of 1986, see Jeffrey H. Birnbaum and Alan S. Murray, *Showdown at Gucci Gulch: Lawmakers, Lobbyists, and the Unlikely Triumph of Tax Reform,* (New York: Random House, 1987).

[28] *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (1986), 42: 507.

[29] Ibid., 42: 518.

[30] Ibid., 42: 10.

[31] Congress, House, Committee on Ways and Means, *Legislative Record of the Committee on Ways and Means.* Committee Prints 95–109, 96–78, 98–4, 99–3, 100–13, 95th–99th Cong., 1978–87. The committee's legislative record for the 100th Congress will be printed in 1989.

[32] Cited in *The Dirksen Congressional Center Report* (March 1989), 9. Rostenkowski's observation, "I guess I don't read lips too well," referred to Bush's campaign slogan asking voters to read his lips as he promised no new taxes.

[33] *Annals of Congress,* 3d Cong., 1st Sess., 26 March 1794, pp. 531–32.

Sources

GUIDE TO LEGISLATIVE RECORDS

The following is a general overview of the legislative source materials consulted in the preparation of this book. The authors have also listed some materials not used but mentioned here to promote further inquiry into the committee's past and present.

The legislative resources available to the student of congressional history and politics are vast. Before undertaking a study of the Committee on Ways and Means, or any other congressional committee, the researcher should become acquainted with the numerous aids and research guides available on the subject of Congress. The reference works cited are applicable to all standing committees. With a few exceptions, these works can be located at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, and at various libraries and research institutions located throughout the United States.

For a general understanding of Congress and the legislative process, see four works published by Congressional Quarterly: *Guide to Congress* (3d ed. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1981), *Powers of Congress* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1982), *How Congress Works* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1983), and Walter J. Oleszek, *Congressional Procedures and the Policy Process* (3d ed. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1989). There are also several guides to government documents and publications. Three of the best are Laurence F. Schmeckbier and Roy B. Easton, *Government Publications and Their Use* (2d rev. ed. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1969), Robert Goehlert, *Congress and Law-Making: Researching the Legislative Process* (Santa Barbara, CA: Clio Books, 1979), and Joe Morehead, *Introduction to United States Public Documents* (3d ed. Littleton, CO: Libraries Unlimited, 1983). These guides can greatly assist an individual in locating, identifying and narrowing the parameters of legislative sources in the preliminary research stage.

To produce the present study, the authors examined both published and unpublished legislative sources. The principal published sources were the records of the colonial and early state legislatures (individually cited in the text) and the floor proceedings of the House of Representatives. The *Journal of the House of Representatives,* which is required by the Constitution, has been published continuously since 1789. It chronicles the introduction of and subsequent actions taken on bills, the referral of bills and other business to committees, and roll call votes, among other proceedings. Two journals are also published for the Senate. The debates on House and Senate legislation are the subject of another series of publications. For the period 1789–1824, see *Annals of Congress* (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1834–1857); 1824–1837, see *Register of Debates* (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1824–1837); 1833–1873, see *Congressional Globe* (Washington, DC: Francis P. Blair and John C. Rives, 1833–1873); and for the period from 1873 to the present, see *Congressional Record* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1874–). Both the House and Senate *Journals* are indexed, albeit with varying degrees of accuracy and comprehensiveness. These indexes were used to compile the bill histories upon which much of the narrative concerning the committee's legislation was based. For concise histories of Ways and Means Committee legislation since 1945, an excellent source is the *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1945–). The *Almanac,* published annually, summarizes congressional activities for the previous year. The committee's legislation as approved by Congress since 1789 is compiled in *United States Statutes at Large,* 99 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1845–), a chronological listing by session of all statutes enacted by the federal legislature. These laws are periodically codified in *United States Code* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1926–). For the evolution of a federal law on a given subject, see *United States Code Annotated* (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing, 1973). For committee and conference reports on legislation since 1941, see *The U.S. Code Congressional and Administrative News* (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing, 1941–).

Information regarding the jurisdictional history of the Committee on Ways and Means was obtained principally from published congressional proceedings and other published sources. The evolution of House precedents from 1789 to 1907, including committee jurisdiction, is chronicled in Asher C. Hinds, *Hinds' Precedents of the House of Representatives of the United States,* 5 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1907). Hinds' work has been updated by Clarence Cannon through 1936, in *Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives,* 6 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1936), and by Lewis Deschler, *Deschler's Precedents of the United States House of Representatives,* 8 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1977). An understanding of the historical development of House procedures can be enhanced by consulting the House *Rules and Manual,* published biennially by the Government Printing Office as part of the Congressional Serials Set. For procedural developments from 1959–1980, see Lewis Deschler and William Holmes Brown, *Procedure in the U.S. House of Representatives, a Summary of the Modern Precedents and Practices of the House: 86th–97th Congress,* with a 1985 and 1987 supplement (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1982). For the most recent precedents see the parliamentarian's annotations of current practice in the latest edition of the House *Rules and Manual.*

Published committee documents were also utilized for this volume. These are documents such as bills and resolutions, hearings and committee prints, and reports. They have been cited individually in the notes of the text. Information concerning the availability and location of committee documents can be obtained after first consulting the *CIS U.S. Serial Set Index, 1789–1969,* published by the Congressional Information Service in 1969 and supplemented by individual indexes published each year from 1970 to the present. There are other valuable published indexes on committee documents for various time periods. For hearings, see U.S. Congress, Clerk of the House of Representatives, *Index to Congressional Committee Hearings in the Library of the House of Representatives prior to January 1, 1951* (1 vol. with supplements. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1951–1969); and on committee prints, Rochelle Field, ed. *A Bibliography and Indexes of United States Committee Prints,* 2 vols. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977). To obtain a general sense of congressional documents available for the period prior to 1817, see the series *American State Papers,* 38 vols. (Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton, 1832–1861). This series, which is indexed in the *CIS U.S. Serial Set Index,* also reprints early messages and reports from the executive branch, including presidential communications. For presidential communications, also see U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States,* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1958–), as well as other published series of presidential papers, a few of which are cited elsewhere in this bibliography and in the text.

Biographical information concerning the members of the Committee on Ways and Means has been derived principally from biographies, cited individually below, and from biographical directories. The most extensively used was Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography,* 17 vols., including supplements (rev. ed. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958–1981). The first seven volumes of this dictionary are subdivided into two parts, the second part being a reprint of an earlier edition issued in the 1920s. The entries are arranged alphabetically. Another useful source was the recently published bicentennial edition *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–1989* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1989). For published guides to manuscript collections of committee members, a good place to start is Cynthia Pease Miller, ed., *Guide to Research Collections of Former Members of the House of Representatives, 1787–1987* (Washington, DC: Office of the Bicentennial of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1988); and John J. McDonough, comp., *Members of Congress: A Checklist of their Papers in the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1980).

The unpublished records of the Committee on Ways and Means are extensively cited throughout this history. These records are located at the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, DC. The National Archives has acted as the depository for the historic records of all three branches of the Federal Government since 1934. The textual records of Congress are administered by the Center for Legislative Archives and Records Administration. The Center has custody of eight record groups pertaining to Congress. The Record Group consulted for this publication was Record Group 233 (Records of the U.S. House of Representatives), which contains a wealth of items pertaining to the committee's history and legislation.

The principal record types reviewed were extant minutebooks, petitions, and memorials referred to the committee; draft and printed versions of committee bills, reports and papers; papers accompanying specific bills and resolutions; and committee correspondence of various types. While these records constitute an invaluable body of information, they are so dense that it behooves the researcher to consult finding aids to the records before attempting to review them in any systematic fashion. This process has been simplified by the recent publication of Charles E. Schamel, et al., *Guide to the Records of the United States at the National Archives, 1789–1989* (H. Doc. No. 100–245), a bicentennial edition that provides the general public with a comprehensive guide to the nearly 26,000 cubic feet of House records under the custody and archival care of the National Archives. See especially Chapter 21, which discusses the records of the Committee on Ways and Means. A companion volume, Robert W. Coren, et al., *Guide to the Records of the Senate at the National Archives, 1789–1989* (S. Doc. 100–42) is also available for Senate records.

A listing of the published primary and secondary source materials consulted by the authors, and arranged by subject, appears below.

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Credits

KEY

AC	Architect of the Capitol
BA	Bettmann Archive, Inc.
DT	Department of the Treasury
JB	Photography by Joseph H. Bailey
LC	Library of Congress
NA	National Archives
SI	Smithsonian Institution
UPI	UPI/Bettmann Newsphoto
USNWR	*U.S. News and World Report*
WM	Committee on Ways and Means

Front Matter

Hard Cover Art: Ninon Grim, WM. **Dust Jacket:** *Harper's Weekly,* 1888; Private Collection, Robert J. Leonard. **iii:** Ninon Grim, WM. **iv-v:** Ed Segal, Capitol Photo. **ix:** Linda Creighton, USNWR.

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7: Palace of Westminster, London. **9:** House of Lords Record Office, London. **10–12:** LC. **13:** LC. **14:** Artist Pine, National Portrait Gallery. **15:** LC. **16:** BA. **18:** Artist Cristy, JB, AC. **19:** LC. **21:** *Massachusetts Centinel,* August 2, 1788, BA.

1789–1801 Origins: The House Committee of Ways and Means

25: Artist Doolittle, New York Public Library. **27:** Ida Idelson, Philadelphia. **29:** BA. **30:** Bureau of the Public Debt, DT. **31:** Artist Sharples, Independence National Historical Park Collection. **34:** Artist Stuart, Gibbs Gallery of Art. **38:** Artist Wilson, JB, DT. **40:** Drawing Latrobe, AC. **42–43:** JB, NA. **44:** JB; Private Collection, Timothy L. Hanford. **47:** Artist Corne, U.S. Naval Academy Museum. **48–50:** LC.

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57: LC. **61:** JB, NA. **64:** AC. **67:** Artist de Thulestrup, Louisiana State Museum. **71:** Artist Chappel, LC. **75:** Artist Thorp, JB, DT. **77:** BA. **79:** Artist Morrison, AC. **81:** BA. **82:** LC. **84:** LC. **87:** JB, NA. **89:** Artist Fisher, JB, DT.

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96: Artist Sully, National Gallery of Art. **101:** JB, NA. **107–124:** LC. **127:** National Numismatic Collection, SI. **128:** Artist Sword, AC. **130–134:** LC. **137:** *The Liberator,* April 23, 1831, BA. **138:** LC.

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144: LC. **148:** BA. **150:** LC. **152–153:** BA. **155:** LC. **156:** National Numismatic Collection, SI. **159:** LC. **161–162:** JB, Internal Revenue Service. **164:** JB, NA. **166:** BA. **168:** JB, NA.

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177: BA. **179:** LC. **183–184:** JB, NA. **186–187:** LC. **189:** Artist Gillam, BA. **192:** *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* No. 940, LC. **194:** Artist Keppler, LC. **197** (left): AC; (right): LC. **199:** Artist Nast, LC. **200:** National Numismatic Collection, SI. **202** (top left and right): LC; (center): BA; (bottom left and right): LC. **204:** Artist Keppler, LC. **207:** *Harper's Weekly,* 1888; Private Collection, Robert J. Leonard. **212:** LC.

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216: Artist Jacobs, AC. **221:** AC. **223:** Warshaw Collection, Museum of American History, SI. **228:** Artist Keppler, *Puck,* March 7, 1888; Private Collection, Timothy L. Hanford. **230:** Artist Thorp, AC. **232–233:** LC. **234:** Washington and Lee University. **236:** Artist Pughe, BA. **239:** AC. **240:** National Philatelic Collection, SI. **242:** Artist Beaux, AC. **243:** BA. **244:** *Puck,* March 13, 1912, LC. **246:** LC. **249:** Internal Revenue Service. **250:** Artist Thorp, AC. **251–252:** LC. **254:** National Park Service, Statue of Liberty National Monument. **255–257:** LC. **258:** AC. **259:** AC. **261–263:** UPI. **264:** Artist Gordon, AC. **265:** LC. **267:** UPI.

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273: Artist Gordon, AC. **274–277:** UPI. **278:** JB, WM. **280–281:** UPI. **283–284:** JB, WM. **285–287:** UPI. **288:** Social Security Administration. **291–292:** UPI. **293:** JB, WM. **297:** UPI. **298–299:** Artist Berryman, *Washington Star,* LC. **301:** UPI. **302:** NA. **303–306:** UPI. **307:** Historical Picture Service, Chicago. **308:** Artist Spencer, AC. **311:** Artist Werner, LC. **313:** Artist Rosen, LC. **314:** Artist Gordon, AC.

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320: Artist Gordon, AC. **323:** Dev O'Neill, WM. **324:** Bob Daugherty, Wide World Photos. **327:** UPI. **328:** The Kennedy Library. **331:** *Time,* January 11, 1963. **332–333:** Artist Crockett, *Washington Star,* LC. **334:** UPI. **335:** JB, WM. **336:** USNWR, LC. **338:** Artist Alexander, *Philadelphia Bulletin.* **339:** UPI. **340:** JB, WM. **342:** *Newsweek,* August 14, 1967. **344** (left): Artist Pletcher, *Sioux City Journal;* (right): Artist Herblock, *Washington Post.* **346:** *Dun's,* October 1971. **349:** *Business Week,* May 8, 1971. **351:** Artist Hesse, *St. Louis Globe Democrat.* **353:** Artist Crockett, *Washington Star.*

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359: Artist Rodgers, AC. **363:** UPI. **364:** Jimmy Carter Library. **367:** Artist Bentley, AC. **368:** UPI. **369:** Keith Jewell, Washington, DC. **370:** Artist Herblock, *Washington Post.* **371:** Social Security Administration. **372:** Linda Creighton, USNWR. **373:** WM. **375:** *Congressional Quarterly,* September 21, 1985. **376:** WM. **377:** Artist Oliphant, Universal Press Syndicate. **378:** JB; Private Collection, Dan Rostenkowski. **379:** *Newsweek,* August 25, 1986. **380:** Keith Jewell. **381:** JB, WM. **383:** WM. **385:** Linda Creighton, USNWR.

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